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CONGRESS
IN
EVOLUTION

BEING A COLLECTION OF
CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS
FROM 1885 TO 1934

CONGRESS IN EVOLUTION

A COLLECTION OF
CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS FROM
1885—1934
AND
OTHER IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS

COMPILED BY
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THE BOOK COMPANY, LTD.
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To
The Workers
of
The Indian National Congress
who have consecrated
Their Lives to the Sacred Task
of
Indian Nation Building
This Work is respectfully Dedicated
by the compilers
On the occasion of
Golden Jubilee of the Congress.

FOREWORD.

I am greatly interested to learn that it is proposed to publish, on the occasion of the Congress Jubilee, a book containing the resolutions hitherto adopted by the Congress and important resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee, etc. Such a publication is certainly a crying need. I felt the need myself when I was engaged in writing "The Indian Struggle" last year—a comprehensive account of our political movement from 1920 to 1934. During my recent stay in Europe several foreigners interested in our political movement have approached me for literature in connection with our political movement and whenever such a request has been made, I have felt most acutely how backward we are in the matter of literature, as compared with other political movements. In the circumstances, a publication of this sort is bound to prove useful to the student of Indian politics and to the Historian as well. I have great pleasure, therefore, in welcoming this publication and in commending it to the general public.

SUBHAS C. BOSE.

Vienna,

18-12-35.

PREFACE

The importance and usefulness of a collection of the Resolutions of the Indian National Congress cannot be overstated. Apart from its intrinsic value there is an added significance in that the collection indicates within a short compass the historical evolution of the Congress, as well as, of the Indian National movement during the last fifty years. But as this object can not be achieved by a mere recording of the resolutions of the successive sessions it has been deemed necessary to classify them under different heads according to their idiology. It is for this reason that some of the A.I.C.C. and Working Committee resolutions, as well, had to be included to supply the links.

The idea of bringing out this work had long been in our mind. But it did not materialise for want of a suitable occasion and opportunity. The fiftieth anniversary of the Indian National Congress and the celebration of its Jubilee created such an opportunity. Yet it was not till the middle of the current month that the work was undertaken after it was authoritatively ascertained from the Congress headquarters that Congress resolutions were not to be included in the scope of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiaya's book. Under the circumstances it will be too much to claim that the work has been brought up to the standard intended. The undersigned will, however, feel gratified if it be appreciated as a humble contribution of the workers of the Congress Nationalist Party, Bengal, on this memorable occasion.

A short history of the Congress and allied movements has been given in the beginning to serve the purpose of a context for the resolutions and a ready reference to contemporary facts and events. Moreover, with a view to tracing the gradual development of the Congress Constitution along with the broadening of the basis of the Congress towards democracy, the constitutions, as in 1915 and as adopted at Nagpur in 1921 have been set forth in the Appendix. The Congress League Scheme (1916) and the All Parties Conference Scheme (Nehru Report 1928) have also been given in the Appendix as indicating the lines of constitutional Reforms urged by the Congress prior to its demand of Complete Independence. The Appendix also includes a few important resolutions accidentally left out from the body of the work. It remains to be said that for the purpose of counting the sessions the

adjourned session at Surat in 1907, has been included in the list.

In conclusion, we have a particular pleasure in acknowledging the able and valued co-operation of our friend and co-worker, Sj. Dulal Chandra Mitra. Mention should also be made of the ungrudging assistance rendered by our younger colleagues, Srimans Jatindranath Chakrabarty and Sudhir Chandra Chakrabarty.

The proprietor and workers of the Sri Gouranga Press also deserve our warmest thanks. But for their unfailing attention and unsparing efforts it would never have been possible to bring out the book within the very short time at our disposal .

27 .12. 35.

CONGRESS NATIONALIST PARTY

BENGAL

D. CHAKRAVARTY

C. BHATTACHARYYA

Secretaries.

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NOTE.

1. Resolution No. 4 "Political Demands" was passed at the Calcutta Congress, 1886.
2. Asterisks in the body of the resolutions should be taken to mean that the words omitted are merely repetitions of previous similar resolution.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

A SHORT REVIEW.

The history of the Indian National Congress is the story of the Nation's struggle for freedom for a period covering half a century. Like other phases of Indian life, which are peculiarly her own, her striving towards political aspirations has also a peculiarity all its own. This is due in no small measure to the uniqueness of the problem. Never before did more unarmed and disorganised a nation, the vastness of whose population is at once a source of strength and weakness, encounter in a trial of strength an Imperialist power, which by common consent is to-day one of the most mighty and resourceful. This naturally lends an additional charm to the unfailing element of romance that there is in all struggles for liberation.

Since the days of Plassey, it is just over a century and three-quarters that India has known the British domination. The impact during this period of the Western civilisation has brought about unthought of changes in our material and moral outlook. Not only has the fundamental unity of the sub-continent been rendered real and manifest, but India has also been made alive to her organic connection with other countries of the world in their diplomatic relations and far-flung trade ramifications. With such an out-stretched orbit, our intellectual perspective had its ambit equally widened and ourselves swayed powerfully by the trend of Western thought and culture.

A PRODUCT OF FUSION OF CULTURES.

Of this fusion of cultures the Congress with its gospel of Indian nationalism is essentially the product. The welding together of the conglomeration of races

and communities, that there exist among us, into a self-governing Nation is the stupendous task that the Congress set before itself at its very inception. To trace its phenomenal growth one has to go back to the days of Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 with all its excesses and horrors. However bloody the episode, it had its redeeming feature in the transfer of India to the British Crown and the Queen's Proclamation. Under the new regime the country quietly settled down to the work of progress and reform. With the spread, however, of English education and assimilation of Western ideas, there grew up in India the politically-minded intelligentsia and the early reformers, who began by questioning the truth of 'inherited beliefs'.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, was the foremost in the field. A votary of freedom of conscience in matters spiritual, the Raja urged in 1832 equally advanced political reforms before the Committee of the House of Commons in England. Keshav Chandra Sen's was the clarion call for national regeneration. The British Government, he complained, had brought here not only Shakespeare and Milton but also Brandy bottles. His success, moreover, in England, challenging as it did, the racial superiority filled Young Bengal with just pride.

Another contributing factor towards the growth of national consciousness was the Hindu revivalist. According to Edwyn Bevan, Indian "Nationalism is an organising principle of conservatism and resistance". Whatever may be said with regard to the orthodoxy of their views, there is no denying the fact that the revivalists stemmed in the tide of the western cultural conquest. The pro-Hindu teachings of Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, the founders of the Theosophical Society, who came here in 1878, strengthened the hold of Hindu religion and culture. The American Theosophist sounded to the people a note of warning against the "irreligious education by Government and their anti-nationalistic education by

missionaries, whose policy was to destroy their reverence for their national religion."

Among other reviving agencies, mention must be made of the Arya Samaj of Mulshankar, later Dayananda Saraswati and of the Prathana Samaj in Bombay, of which Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Sir Narayan Chandravarkar were the pioneers. According to Sir Valentine Chirol "the Arya Samaj represents in one of its aspects a revolt against Hindu orthodoxy, but in another it represents equally a revolt against western ideals". Then there came to the self-forgetful race the inspiring messages of Ram Krishna Paramahangsha and Swami Vivekananda.

It was, again, under Raja Ram Mohan's fostering care that there grew up simultaneously the Nationalist Press. Even a decade before the Congress came into being, no less than 478 newspapers circulated in the country. The *Hindu Patriot* of Harish Chandra Mukherji and Kristo Das Pal; the *Indian Mirror* of Narendranath Sen, and last by no means the least, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (anglo-vernacular) began by boldly espousing in Bengal the popular cause. So did the *Mahratta*, *Rast Goftar*, *Bombay Samachar* and *Keshari* in the Bombay Presidency and the *Hindu* in Madras under the inspiring guidance of Mr. Ananda Charlu. As to the literature that influenced political thought of the period the Bengali drama *Nildarpan* of Dinabandhu Mitra, claims the pride of place. Its English translation by Rev. Long created a furore among the Indigo Planters and the subsequent prosecution of the translator at their instance, earned for the drama an undying fame. Ranga Lal's *Padmīni*, Bankim Chandra's *Ananda Math* and Hem Chandra's *Bharat Sangit* are but too well known in this connection. Mention may as well be made of spirited address of Mr. Anstey in defence of the Wahabi leader, Amir Khan against his detention under Regulation III.

FIRST POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Political consciousness in India resulted mainly from the interaction of these forces. But then it was limited to the educated community alone and none of the political associations of the day, *viz.*, the British Indian Association (1851), of the Bengali landed aristocracy, the Bombay Association or the later East Indian Association in Bombay, had anything more than a sectional outlook. With the growth of higher political aspirations, there grew up political organisations with more radical ideas. Mention may be made in this connection of the Indian Association (1876) in Bengal, Poona Sarbajanik Sabha (1872) and Mahajan Sabha (1878) in Madras. The Indian Association of which Sir Surendranath Bannerjee was the moving spirit had the object of organising a system of active political propaganda throughout the country.

And the time was also ripe for it. The highly re-actionary and extravagant official measures during the weak viceroyalty of Lord Lytton created in the country widespread discontent. He gave a rude shock to the public mind by his characterisation of the University as "educational hotbeds and forcing houses" and the lowering of the age limit for I. C. S. examination to nineteen years to the virtual elimination of the Indian candidates. His aggressive Frontier Policy causing India huge waste in men and money and the senseless extravagance of the Delhi Darbar, only filled with despair the people already groaning under the miseries of a terrible famine. To crown all came the forced disarmament of the nation, the gagging of the Vernacular Press and the repeal of the Cotton Import Duty at the dictates of Lancashire.

Repression had in the popular mind its inevitable reaction and it was left to Surendranath, the "dismissed servant of Government" to organise an all-India agitation against the new Civil Service Regulations. In three successive tours he carried on a whirlwind campaign throughout the Northern, Western and

Southern India; and as a result an all-India Memorial was presented to the Parliament urging increase of the age limit of candidates for I.C.S. examination, as well as, simultaneous examinations, both in England and India. This joint move of the different Presidencies paved the way for the formation of an all-India organisation. The assemblage of all the Indian Princes and Potentates at the Delhi Durbar in 1877 must have as well convinced our leaders its practicability. There, was, moreover, before them the ocular demonstration of the success of organised action, on the part of the Europeans, in connection with the Ilbert Bill agitation in 1883.

It was not however before two years had elapsed that the Congress came into being. In Bengal the National Conference first met in Calcutta in 1883 and had another Session in 1885 attended by representatives from Bombay, Benares, Allahabad, Bihar and Assam. The International Exhibition in 1884 also became the occasion for the congregation in Calcutta of people from different provinces. Then there was the same year Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar in Madras. Such concourse of people from different provinces could not help bringing them nearer and develop in them community of thoughts and ideas. Thus at the time of the Theosophical Convention Mr. Allan Octavius Hume who is reputed to be the Father of the Congress, first laid bare to his friends his project of organising the Congress. A Committee was formed for making the necessary preparations for holding the session next year at Poona. Among the members barring Mr. Hume, the prominent were : Sjts. Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Narendranath Sen, Hon. S. Subramania Iyer, Messrs. P. Ananda Charlu, Hon. V. N. Mandalik, Hon. K. T. Telang, Sardar Dyal Singh, Lala Sri Ram, and others.

'FATHER OF THE CONGRESS'.

The "Father of the Congress", while still in Government Service, marked in the popular discontent

the gathering of clouds. Lest there be another catastrophe, like the Mutiny, Mr. Hume, a thorough-going Liberal as he was, wanted to direct the popular agitation on constitutional lines. In this he took Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy into confidence; and by a flying visit to England made himself sure of support of the people and press at home. It bespeaks no less of the organising ability of the shrewd Scotchman that by way of preparing the ground he addressed an open letter to the Graduates of the Calcutta University. His was a fervent appeal for self-help, which ran as follows:—

“And if even the leaders of thought are all either such poor creatures, or so selfishly wedded to personal concerns, that they dare not strike a blow for their country’s sake, then justly and rightly are they kept down and trampled on, for they deserve nothing better. Every nation secures precisely as good a government as it merits. If you, the picked men, the most highly educated of the nation, cannot, scorning personal ease and selfish objects, make a resolute struggle to secure greater freedom for yourselves and your country, a more impartial administration, a larger share in the management of your own affairs, then we, your friends, are wrong and our adversaries right, then are Lord Ripon’s noble aspirations for your good fruitless and visionary, then, at present at any rate, all hopes of progress are at an end; and India truly neither lacks nor deserves any better government than she enjoys. Only, if this be so, let us hear no more factious, peevish complaints that you are kept in leading strings and treated like children, for you will have proved yourself such. Men know how to act. Let there be no more complaints of Englishmen being preferred to you in all important offices, for if you lack that public spirit, that highest form of altruistic devotion that leads men to subordinate private ease to the public weal, that patriotism that has made Englishmen what they are,—then rightly are these preferred to you, rightly and inevitably have they become your rulers. And rulers and task-masters they must continue, let the yoke ~~gall~~

your shoulders never so sorely, until you realise and stand prepared to act upon the eternal truth that, self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness."

Mr. Hume belongs to a group of Englishmen and Anglo-Indians who sincerely supported the cause of India. They were known as the "Friends of India" and included amongst themselves a group of Radical members of Parliament; the prominent among those were, Sir W. Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. It was the support of this group that naturally turned the attention of the Congress at the beginning more towards England than to work in India. Parliament being the supreme authority, Congress leaders naturally engaged themselves in the work of influencing the British public opinion. Moreover, the liberal sentiments to which, among others, Lord Macaulay gave expression, could not help captivating the Indian mind. For he stated :

"We shall never consent to administer the *pousta* (preparation of opium) to the whole community to stupefy and paralyse the great people whom God has committed in our charge, for the wretched purpose of rendering them more amenable to control * * We are free, we are civilised to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of the freedom and civilisation * * * It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system ; that by good government we may educate our subject into a capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institution ; whether such a day will ever come, I do not know. But never I will attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History".

The idea of forming an all-India organisation was by no means limited to leaders. Mr. Tarapada Bannerjee of the Krishnagar Bar in a letter published in the "Indian Mirror" of June 4, 1883, urged the necessity of the creation of a national assembly and a national fund. S. J. Surendranath Bannerjee, who was then serving out in the Presidency Jail a term of imprisonment, for contempt of Court, readily took up

the idea and wrote back to Tarapada Babu in reply on June 5, 1888 :—

“Your idea about the raising of a national fund has made deep impression in my mind and I have applied myself with the little energy that I can command in my present situation to write to my friends in different parts of India to contribute their mite towards the grand object”.

True to his word, after his release a nucleus for the “National Fund” was created under the auspices of the Indian Association.

THE FIRST CONGRESS AND ITS DEMANDS.

Now to return to the history of the Congress : The First Session of the Congress was to meet at Poona but owing to an outbreak of cholera the venue was latterly shifted to Bombay and the session began on the 28th December at the Gokul Das Tejpal Sanskrit College with Mr. W. C. Bonnerje, the doyen of the Calcutta Bar in the chair. There was a proposal for the Governor of Bombay to preside over the occasion. But Lord Dufferin discountenanced the idea lest the presence of an official hampered free and frank discussion. Officials, however, were present as visitors, and of the 72 delegates attending the session, there were a few who have left their ineffaceable mark in the evolution of the Congress movement. They were Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, Messrs. A. O. Hume, P. M. Mehta, D. E. Wacha, N. C. Chandravarkar, Narendra Nath Sen, Giriya Bhusan Mukherjee, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Sitaram H. Chiplonker, P. Keshav Pilai, Kashi Nath Trimbac Telang, Rahimutoolla Sayani. The object of the Congress as defined by the President, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, were as follows :—

“(a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the parts of the Empire.

(b) The eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord ~~Sipon's~~ ever memorable reign.

(c) The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion, of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

(d) The determination of the lines upon, and methods, by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests".

The resolutions adopted there also deserve mention inasmuch these constituted in the main our political demands for nearly two decades. Thus there were the demands for (1) the Royal Commission on Indian administration; (2) abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State; (3) creation of the Legislative Council for the N. W. Provinces and Oudh and the Punjab with the right of discussing the budget and of interpellation; (4) reduction of military Expenditure; (5) the introduction of simultaneous Public Service examinations in England and India. Congress leaders were thus fully alive to the fact that their cherished dreams could never become a reality unless they could wield political power. From the very outset, therefore, in no uncertain terms did they demand the opportunity of growing association with the system of administration. The insistence for the extended legislative councils with enlarged powers and the simultaneous examination in England and in India together with the throwing open of Commissioned Ranks to the people had none other object in view. In fact for nearly three decades the Congress went on hammering it times without number on like reforms. The Congress, as well, urged the spread of education and reduction in the cost of administration.

It may not be out of place in this connection to allude to the attitude of the Anglo-Indians to the Indian Nation thus growing articulate. They naturally looked at it askance and the 'Times' thus observed :

"If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the next system and then leave it to work"

The political demands, the Anglo-Indian Press characterised as "crude talk" and the Congress as a body of sedition mongers. The attitude of the authorities also began changing. The Congress which was honoured by Lord Dufferin as 'Her Majesty's Permanent Opposition' did in time come to be denounced as the "microscopical minority" resembling Irish fenianism. Anything like a systematic review of the sessions is in no way possible within this short compass. We would content ourselves with merely alluding to more important events and the historic sessions so as to trace the growth of the institution. After Bombay the second session of the Congress met in the Calcutta Town Hall with Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji as the President and Dr. Rajendralala Mitra as the Chairman of the Reception Committee. No less than 406 delegates were present. Pandit Malaviya, the veteran Congressman now alive, carried the audience by storm at his very first appearance on the Congress platform. Equally profound an impression was created by Raja Rampal's appeal for the formation of a Volunteer Corps. Boldly did he denounce the military policy of the government as "systematically crushing out of us all martial spirit and converting a race of soldiers and heroes into a timid flock of quill-driving sheep."

SIR S. AHMED'S ANTI-CONGRESS MOVE.

At the third session at Madras Mr. Badruddin Tyabji, a distinguished member of the Bombay Bar, presided. At this period a definite move was on foot to keep the Muhammadan community out of the Congress fold. It was with this end in view that the great Muhammadan leader, Sir Syed Ahmed formed the "Patriotic Association"; but the election of a Muhammadan President at Madras served to counteract somewhat the fissiparous tendency. From this session there began the attempt at drawing up the Constitution of the Congress; although nothing like definite was achieved in this connection till at the Madras Session (1908) twenty years after. At this period there ensued

in the press the memorable controversy over the Congress between Mr. Hume and Sir Auckland Colvin, the Governor of the U. P. It was, therefore, nothing unusual that in Sir Auckland's regime there would be difficulty in holding the fourth session there. No suitable site could be procured until the Raja of Darbhanga purchased the Lowther Castle, just facing the Governor's House, and placed the same at the disposal of the Reception Committee. Nor had Sir Auckland the courtesy of meeting the delegates assembled there, as was then customary with the official heads in other provinces.

The fifth session at Bombay in 1889 was unique of its kind. It came to be known as the "Bradlaugh Session" due to that eminent Parliamentarian attending that Session. Mr. Bradlaugh was enthusiastically received by a grateful nation for his introducing a Bill in Parliament advocating Indian Reforms. Mr. Bradlaugh's reply was characteristic of him. "For whom should I work," he remarked, "if not for the people. Born of the people, trusted by the people, I will die for the people."

The next Calcutta Session in 1890 was presided over by Sir Pherozsha Mehta. A sensation was created here by the Bengal Government circular forbidding Government servants from attending the Congress. Mr. George Yule resented this gratuitous insult and retorted to the officials that "in all the qualities of manhood we are as good as they." This had the desired effect and the Viceroy in no time declared the Congress movement to be "perfectly legitimate." In this connection Sir Pherozsha Mehta's vindication of the Congress also deserves mention: "We have survived," maintained the President, "the charge of being a microscopic minority; we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise; we have survived ridicule, abuse and misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty." The Congress decided upon the bold adven-

ture of holding its session in London itself, with 100 delegates so as to impress upon the British public the volume as well as strength of the Indian demands.

The Ninth Session (1893) at Lahore did by far surpass in magnificence the Sessions at Nagpur and Allahabad in the previous years. It fell to the lot of the martial races of the land of the Five Rivers to bestow the highest honour in the gift of the nation upon the first Indian Member of Parliament, Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji. It was not a little due to his exertion and of Hon. W. C. Bonnerji that Parliament adopted a resolution in favour of simultaneous examination; although the bureaucracy could successfully bury it in India. "Do not forget" stated the Irish Home Rulers to the President while leaving England, "to tell your colleagues that every one of Ireland Home Rule members in Parliament are at your back in the call of the Indian people."

Sj. Surendranath Banerjee, the uncrowned king of Bengal, presided over the next Session at Poona in 1895. By his persuasive eloquence of rare order he carried the audience by storm in his extempore speech lasting over two hours and a half. Thus from year to year the Congress went on recording its demand and reiterating the same, with hardly any appreciable effect either in England or upon the bureaucracy here. That being the stage of petitioning and prayer, constant efforts were made at influencing the British public opinion. Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee and Dadabhai Naoroji succeeded in organising in England an Indian Parliamentary Committee with nearly 150 members of the Parliament to espouse the Indian cause. The famous journal "India" conducted in London under the Editorship of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton did much to enlighten British public with regard to the Indian situation. It was mainly due to this Congress agency in England that Indian questions came to engage greater attention of Parliament as well as of the British public at large.

It is, however, not long that Congress continued in its petitioning role. A metamorphosis came with the growth of radical party within the Congress. Referring to this stage Sir W. W. Hunter observed that "The Indian National Congress has outlived the early period of misrepresentation, it has shown that it belongs to no single section of the population. Indian political reformers had, if they only knew it, an opportunity such as seldom happened in the history of the nation." Again, in his essay "Popular Movements in India" the same author writes: "It is not the old India of romance and adventure with which we have to deal—the old India of magnificent emperors and marble palaces and jewelled gods. * * * It is the new and common-place India of our day where men are beginning to be moved by the same political aspirations, what have made England what she is * * * what has brought about this change in the India of our day? It is an uprising of the Indian intellect, an awakening of Indian thought and Indian aspiration, such as the world has not seen since the revival of learning in Europe."

NEW TURN IN CONGRESS MOVEMENT.

With the year 1897 begins a new chapter in the life of the Congress. Hitherto it had been the period of development. From now began the deadly struggle which continued unabated till the inauguration of the Morley-Minto Scheme of Reforms. There was ushered in an era of ruthless repression against the surging tide of nationalism. It was under particularly unfortunate circumstances that the Congress met in 1897 at Amraoti. That year witnessed the outbreak of terrible famine and plague. As a part of the relief operations the inquisitorial searches of the Plague Committee at Poona within private houses and temples, created widespread discontent. The unfortunate murder of the President of the Plague Committee Mr. Rand and of Lieutenant Aiyer in this connection brought in a veritable reign of terror. Mr. Natu, the leading Poona Sardar, who happened to protest against

the excesses of the Plague Committee was arrested under the Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, along with his brother, and kept in prison without trial. The Anglo-Indian papers raised a hue and cry against the Vernacular Press and the educated community in general; Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was prosecuted with the Editors of two Vernacular Papers and convicted. The Congress was full of sympathy for the sufferers and urged for the release of Sardars Natu or their open trial. The helplessness of the situation filled the people with deep despair. The extremism of Indian politics, of which Messrs. Tilak, Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobinda Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai were the exponents, may be said to date from this time.

The next important Session was at Lucknow in 1899 with Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutt as the President. Here it was that the Congress Constitution was for the first time definitely framed, its creed being formulated as follows:—"The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by all constitutional means the interests and well-being of the people of the Indian Empire." At the Calcutta Congress in 1901 under the Presidenship of the Hon. D. E. Wacha there appeared Mr. Gandhi as "a petitioner on behalf of 100,000 British Indians in South Africa." Equally remarkable was Mr. Smedly's appeal to the youngmen. Referring to Congress decisions he remarked: "These resolutions, seem to me to be making so small a demand, that they will be glad to allow you these little things to keep you off from Home Rule. My last word is 'go in for Home Rule for India', and the blessing of God rest upon your efforts."

The Ahmedabad Session in 1902 began by recording protest against the reactionary measures of Lord Curzon particularly with regard to the Report of the Universities Commission. Its adverse recommendations aiming at officialisation of Universities, created alarm, deep, genuine and all pervading, felt by all sections of the educated community throughout India by Hindus and Musalmans alike. In the most scath-

ing terms did the President Mr. Surendranath Banerjee condemn Lord Curzon's Delhi Durbar. "Do you think", remarked the President, "that any administration in England or France or the United States, would have ventured to waste vast sums of money on an empty pageant when famine and pestilence were stalking over the land and the angel of Death was flapping his wings, almost within hearing of the light-hearted revellers."

THE ANTI-PARTITION AGITATION.

It was in 1903 that the 'Prancing Pro-Consul', as Lord Curzon came to be popularly known, conceived, in pursuance of the Imperialistic policy of divide and rule, the Partition of Bengal in utter disregard of public opinion. Madras Session raised its voice of protest against this threatened move. The Bombay Session in 1904 did also record equally emphatic a protest against the Partition. This brings us to the Anti-Partition Agitation days in Bengal.

The proposal for Partition was as old as 1891 when for the purpose of safeguarding the North Eastern Frontier it was proposed to transfer the Lushai Hills, as well as, the Chittagong Division to Assam. The question was revived in 1896. But with the true insight of a statesman Sir Henry Cotton, the then Chief Commissioner of Assam, thought wise to shelve the proposal. With the advent of Lord Curzon, as Viceroy in 1899 there began the overhauling of the entire administration on grounds of efficiency. Moreover, he was said to carry "Twelve Problems" in his pocket. These related mainly to the officialisation and curtailment of higher education, restriction of local Self-Government, the abolition of competitive tests in Provincial Services; and to crown all, the redistribution of territorial boundaries. All on a sudden on 3rd December, 1903, there was issued from the secret conclave of the Eastern Satrap the famous resolution of the Government of India announcing the transfer of entire Chittagong Division with the districts of Dacca

and Mymensingh. To the unsuspecting people, this was a bolt from the blue. The entire Bengalee population, Hindus and Musalmans alike, condemned outright this outrageous measure. To make matters worse in 1905 in his Convocation Address at the Calcutta University the haughty Viceroy without caring to traverse the "dusty fields" of education, thought fit to indulge in aspersions against the eastern character. The effect was almost instanteneous; the Calcutta Town Hall Meeting on the 11th March, 1905, practically passed a vote of censure upon the proud Earl of Keddlestone.

In the following July the Government announced that the Partition was to take effect from the 16th October, 1905. In a memorable public meeting in Calcutta on the 7th August there was inaugurated the Swadeshi and the Boycott movement to oppose the Partition. It was a sight for the Gods to see how on the memorable 16th of October, corresponding to 30th Aswin, 1312 B.S., the whole Bengalee population, high and low, observed throughout the length and breadth of the Province the Rakhi Day as a sign of preserving intact the United Bengal, despite the Government's partitioning. The volume of popular feeling the movement evoked and the proportions it assumed, were really unexpected and unprecedented in the annals of British India.

Despite the Partition constituting a provincial grievance, the Congress was not slow to espouse the cause of Bengal and it is noticeable how in the Congress of 1908 Hon'ble Mr. Krishnan Nair dwelt on this question: "The Partition of Bengal", said he, "affects the whole country like a deep bleeding and unhealing wound. So long such a wound exists in the human body it is difficult, if not impossible, for that body to know peace or enjoy repose." But the prestige-ridden Government was in no mood to pay heed to such counsels of prudence. On the contrary it took recourse to repression to meet the situation. Some of the most respected leaders were deported under rusty Regula-

tion. Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh of the Punjab were deported in 1907; and in Bengal next year Messrs. Krishna Kumar Mitra, Subodh Chandra Mullick, Aswini Kumar Dutta, Syamsundar Chakravarti, Sachindra Prasad Bose, Satish Chandra Chatterjee, Pulin Behari Das, Monoranjan Guha and Bhupesh Chandra Nag followed suit.

Though apparently provincial, in reality the Partition was far from a local affair. This was a diplomatic move towards crushing the growing political pre-eminence of Bengal. For in justification of the dismemberment of Bengal the Government of India stated: "It cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion, or what passes for it, should be manufactured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged or suppressed."

It was no wonder then that in this connection even the sanest and soberest of Indian politicians, the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, would declare from the Presidential Chair of the Benares Congress in 1905: "If all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattle; if men, whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus made to realise the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own, then all I can say is: "Good-bye to all hope of co-operating in any way with bureaucracy in the interests of the people." S. Surendranath also rose to the occasion. There was no more talk of "boons" or "generous gifts", from the authority; but Surendranath's was a rousing call for self-help and sustained effort. The Congress also in its Benares Session responded by approving of boycott as a political weapon. Of Lord Curzon what Surendranath spoke on this occasion has proved itself too true. "He has built better than he knew; he has laid broad and deep the foundations of our national life; he has stimulated those forces which contribute to up-building the nations; he has made us a nation; and the most reactionary of

the Indian Viceroys will go down to posterity as the architect of the Indian National life."

Of Hon. Mr. Gokhale it remains to be said he made Bengal's woes his own. "My Lord, conciliate Bengal" had been his fervent appeal in the Supreme Legislative Council. Equally touching was Mr. Gokhale's eulogy of the Bengalee race. According to him: "The Bengalees are in many respects a most remarkable people in all India. * * * In almost all the walks of life open to the Indians the Bengalees are among the most distinguished. Some of the greatest social and religious reformers of recent times have come from their ranks. Of orators, journalists, politicians, Bengal possesses some of the most brilliant. * * * Where will you find another scientist in all India to place by the side of Dr. J. C. Bose or Dr. P. C. Ray or a jurist like Dr. Ghose or a poet like Rabindranath Tagore. My Lord, these men are not mere freaks of nature. They are the highest products of which the race is regularly capable; and a race of such capability cannot, I repeat, be put down by coercion." Later when in England as a Congress deputationist Mr. Gokhale could prevail upon Mr. John Morley, the then Secretary of State for India to admit that the Partition had gone wholly and decisively against the wishes of the majority of the people concerned. But nevertheless the latter characterised it as a 'settled fact.'

DEMAND OF SWARAJ—1906.

The Congress Session in 1906 was the most historic of its kind not only because of the new orientation which extremism brought into the Congress politics, but also because of the President Dadabhai Naoroji's characterisation of India's claim as "comprised in one word Self-Government or Swaraj, like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies." The rise of extremism was not a little due to the sense of despair resulting from acts of repression like the violent dispersal of the Provincial Conference at Barisal in April that year. Tired of petitioning, the Congress at last

urged the adoption of "Boycott" in order to enforce the annulment of the Partition and the introduction of Self-Government in India.

Next year at Surat the Congress faced a serious crisis due to split within its ranks. It will not be possible at this distance to ascertain with any degree of exactitude the reasons why the extremists got suspicious about the President-elect Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh, turning down the "Swaraj", "Boycott" and "National Education" resolutions adopted in the previous year at the Calcutta Session. The unfortunate opposition of Mr. Tilak to the Presidentship of Dr. Ghosh gave rise to such heat that there took place among the delegates free fights in the Pandal resulting in the session being postponed *sine die*. In the melee a shoe hit Sir Pherozsha Mehta and Sir Surendranath Banerjee. Referring to this regrettable incident S. J. Ambica Charan Majumder, one of the ex-Presidents writes :

"The heavy Deccan shoe which hit Sir Pherozsha Mehta and Sir Surendranath Banerjee may be still in the possession of the latter and if its fellow could be found it might well have been preserved by the former also, and both might have left them either as a trophy or as a memento from their countrymen for their lifelong services to the country".

The day following the unfortunate incident the leaders met in a public meeting and formed a Convention for drawing up the Constitution of the Congress. The Convention met at Allahabad in April 1908 and drew up the Constitution. But the extremist would have none of it and since Surat kept away from the Congress. The next Session, however, met at Madras with Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh in the chair. Referring to this Session Mr. Majumder says :

"Born at Bombay and buried at Surat, the Congress attained its resurrection at Madras, purged and purified." *

The Constitution that was adopted at this Session gave the Congress the character of a constitutional organisation. It defined afresh the creed of Congress

and made the signing of it obligatory on the members. The creed is as follows :—

“The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the Self-governing Members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic, and industrial resources of the country”.

The Congress expressed satisfaction at the Minto-Morley Scheme of Reforms and recorded the usual protest against the Partition of Bengal and other repressive measures like the detention of persons without trial. In the next Session at Lahore the Congress condemned the Government attitude of neutralising the scheme of reforms by framing adverse regulations. The creation of the separate electorate was also disapproved. But by 1911 the political atmosphere grew calmer with the Royal visit in India. His Majesty's messages of the annulment of Partition inaugurated a new era of conciliation after prolonged repression. The Bankipur Session next year has its importance in its having finally adopted the Constitution of the Congress. The Madras Session in 1914 was held under the shadow of the Great War. Far from regarding England's difficulty as India's opportunity, this country contributed loyally towards its cost in men and money. Thus called upon to bear the Imperial burden the President, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, defined India's claim as one of “joint partnership on equal terms with the members of the Empire.” According to him our claim was “not a prayer but a call in the name of the people of India.” It was at this psychological hour that Mrs. Annie Besant also began urging that “India claims the right, as a Nation, to justice among the Peoples of the Empire.” She launched the Home Rule movement to make good the claim.

HOME RULE MOVEMENT.

Indeed, with the European War the Congress movement entered into an altogether new phase. In the Whiteman's War, claimed to be a war for self-determination of smaller nations India continued contributing her mite till she was practically bled white. The gallant exploits of the undaunted Indian soldiery in the battle fields of Flanders and Gallipoli earned for them an undying repute. It was but a bare recognition of India's splendid service to the allied cause that Lord Haldane had occasion to remark :

"The Indian soldiers were fighting for the liberties of humanity, as much as we ourselves. India had freely given her lives and treasure in humanity's great cause, hence things could not be left as they were. We had been thrown together in the mighty struggle and had been made to realise our oneness, so producing relations between India and England which did not exist before. Our victory would be victory for the Empire as a whole and could not fail to raise it to a higher level".

It was under these circumstances that in 1916 the Congress had its Session at Lucknow, rendered historic by the union of the Extremists and the Moderates and by the rapprochement between the Congress and the Muslim League making possible concerted action between the communities in enforcing joint demands. It does no small credit to the resourcefulness of S. J. Ambica Charan Majumder, the Grand Old Man of Bengal, that he could achieve this desideratum. The Congress League Scheme, adopted at the Lucknow Congress constituted the National Demand. The Viceroy had already sent to him the Nineteen Members' Memorandum. Then came on the 20th August, 1917 the famous announcement of Mr. Montagu with regard to the declaration of Policy. It ran as follows :—

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire".

But in the meantime the country had been in the vortex of the great Home Rule agitation. The Govern-

men^t was not slow to show its 'mailed fist.' The President of the League Mrs. Annie Besant was interned along with her lieutenants Messrs. Arundale and Wadia. Lokamanya Tilak and Sjt. Bepin Chandra Pal were externed. The repression only served to popularise the League so much so that Sir Subramania Aiyer came forward to espouse its cause and thousands of members were enrolled to the League. Mr. Joseph Baptista carried on in England extensive propaganda in favour of immediate grant of Home Rule to India. Next year the Home Rule deputation consisting of Hon'ble Narashinha Aiyer and Messrs. Syed Hossain, J. N. Gurtu, George Joseph and M. Ramaier sailed for England but they had their passport cancelled and sent back from Jibraltar. The second Home Rule deputation consisting of Lokamanya Tilak, Hon. Khaparde and Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, Karendikar and Bepin Chandra Pal shared the same fate and were allowed to proceed no further than Colombo on the ground that the war period was not the suitable time for launching uncompromising propaganda for Home Rule.

To these acts of high-handedness Sir Subramania Aiyer, the President of the League replied by addressing the President Mr. Wilson of the U. S. A. on the Indian situation. The publication of this historic letter created a furore among the authorities. The Secretary of State, Mr. Montagu characterised the letter in the House of Commons as "disgraceful and improper." In reply thereto Sir Subramania renounced his Knighthood. Referring to this, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, a Labourite still, happened to remark :

"When Sir Subramania Ayer flung back his knighthood at the feet of the government in consequence of the attack made upon him by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons, he did a fine thing. It is that spirit which has to awaken India from her subordinate and cringing attitude and spirit, and India sadly needs such an awakening".

The declaration of the Government policy, however, eased the situation ; and the unconditional release of Mrs. Besant was a further act of conciliation. At

the Calcutta Session that year Mrs. Besant was made the President and this led to the final exist of Moderates from the Congress.

M. C. REFORMS, ROWLATT BILL & SATYAGRAHA.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report was published in July, 1918. To consider the same a special Session of the Congress was held in August in Bombay. The subsequent Annual Session at Delhi with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the chair condemned the report as 'disappointing and unsatisfactory', and urged instead the recognition for India the right of self-determination in the following resolution :—

"In view of the pronouncement of the President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of Self-Determination should be applied to all progressive Nations, be it re-stated that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace Conference as one of the progressive Nations to whom the principle of self-Determination should be applied".

Mrs. Besant condemned the Reform proposal as "ungenerous for England to offer and unworthy for India to accept." But this attitude of the Congress towards the Reforms led to the secession of moderates like Messrs. Srinivas Sastri and Narashinha Sarma from the Congress. The next year saw the birth of the Satyagraha movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, which was destined to shape the future course of the Congress. The country became sorely aggrieved at the Government passing Rowlatt legislation despite universal opposition. It was the occasion for protest meetings throughout the country and of resignations of some of the members of the Council including Mr. M. A. Jinnah. In his resignation letter he stated :—

"The passing of the Rowlatt Bill by the Government of India and the assent given to it by your Excellency as Governor-General, against the will of the people, has severely shaken the trust reposed by them in British Justice * * * By passing this Bill your Excellency's Government have actively negated

every argument they advanced but a year ago when they appealed to India for help at the War Conference and have ruthlessly trampled upon the principles for which Great Britain avowedly fought the war".

But greater things were soon to follow; and there came on the 1st March the clarion call of Mahatma Gandhi for launching Satyagraha against the same. The following is a part of the "Satyagraha" vow :—

"Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills are unjust, subversive of all the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of the individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey those laws and such other laws as a Committee to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will faithfully follow the truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property".

With a view to train the people in the discipline of joint and organised action a Hartal was declared on the 6th of April. To the suspension of all normal work the day was to be devoted to fasting, prayer and penance. There was, however, in this connection an outbreak of violence at Delhi on the 30th of March and the Police opened fire. But all the same the Hartal on the 6th April was a phenomenal success. This was apparently too much for the irate Punjab Governor, who warned the province that the agitators there would "have a day of reckoning in store for them." On the way to Delhi Mahatmaji was stopped and detained; and on the 9th Dr. Satyapal and Mr. Kitchlew were deported. There was, in consequence, an outbreak of popular violence in Amritsar bringing in the terrible massacre of Jallianwallabagh by General Dyer. The enormities perpetrated in the Punjab under the Martial Law regime sent a thrill of horror throughout the country. Poet Rabindranath gave up his Knighthood owing to an overpowering sense of humiliation and resentment.

To add insult to the injury an Indemnity Act was passed exonerating the perpetrators of the tragedy of

Jallianwallabagh, even before the Hunter Committee appointed to enquire into the Punjab disorder began its inquiry. It was under the shadow of this great tragedy that the Congress in 1919 met at Amritsar. To the victims of Amritsar the Congress President Pandit Motilal Nehru thus rendered homage on behalf of the nation in mourning :—

“We must also do reverence to the sacred memory of the dead who were killed in Amritsar and elsewhere in the Punjab, and to the living who were put to indignities worse even than death and suffered the most shameful barbarities. No monument of marble or bronze is needed to consecrate their memory. Our speeches here will be forgotten, the resolutions you pass may, in the future have interest only for the historian, but India will never forget the sacrifice and the sufferings of these children of hers”.

Under these tragic circumstances His Majesty's Proclamation “Let the new era begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose,” created a favourable situation. For at the Amritsar Session the Congress agreed to work the Reforms, unsatisfactory though these were. A protest was also recorded against the attitude of British Ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat questions, which in no time came to play such an important part in India's politics. The Ali Brothers who were so long in internment, upon their release, took up the Khilafat cause. The Indian Mussalmans felt sorely aggrieved over the Versailles Treaty, so far as it affected the integrity of Turkey and the safety of the holy places of Islam. The Muhammadan deputation in England in this connection was no more successful. Out of sheer despair the Khilafatists at last decided upon throwing their lot with Gandhiji when he introduced the Non-Co-Operation Programme later on.

RISE OF NON-CO-OPERATION.

Equally disappointing was the white-washing Report of the Hunter Committee, which was condemned even by the Moderates, and the Labour Conference in England. The Special Congress in the meantime met

in Calcutta with Lala Lajpat Rai in the chair. Gandhiji succeeded in prevailing upon the Congress to adopt his Non-Co-operation programme with its four-fold boycotts for the redress of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs and for the attainment of Swaraj. The unanimity, that the decision lacked in Bengal, was gained at the Nagpur Session in the following December by Mr. C. R. Das's conversion to Gandhiji's views. Here it was that the creed of the Congress was changed for the third time to the following effect: "The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means." In this the earlier "constitutional means" was replaced by "legitimate and peaceful means." Swarajya, again, was interpreted to imply "within the Empire if possible, without, if necessary."

Nagpur completed Gandhiji's victory over the Congress and was the signal for the country-wide boycott campaign. There were the surrender of titles by title-holders, withdrawal of students from educational institutions, of the practising lawyers from the Courts and the prospective Councillors from the Council election under the Reforms. There also went on huge bonfires of foreign cloth as a part of the cloth boycott movement. Meetings and popular demonstrations were held everywhere and Gandhiji made his triumphal march throughout the country with the Ali brothers by his side. The country was in the vortex of an agitation the like of which India had never seen. Non-Co-operation progressed from stage to stage under the inspiring leadership of men like C. R. Das in Bengal, Motilal Nehru in U. P., Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab, Patel brothers in Bombay.

The response to the movement was phenomenal and Gandhiji seemed to be within an ace of success. With a view to ease the situation by an appeal to the traditional loyalty of the Indians H. R. H. the Prince of Wales visited India. But the Congress organised a complete hartal all over the country on the day of the Prince's landing at Bombay. Government

resorted to repression to suppress the boycott; there were numerous arrests made. Nevertheless the Hartal at Calcutta on that occasion was a complete success the like of which was never seen. To this the Government replied by the arrest of Deshabandhu C. R. Das, his wife, Basanti Devi with a host of other Congress leaders and workers. At this stage a rapprochement was attempted between the Congress and the authorities. Malaviya deputation on the 21st December urged the holding of a Round Table Conference and the immediate repeal of repressive measures and the release of Non-co-operation prisoners. But the Viceroy insisted upon the cessation of the agitation and the defiance of law as the condition precedent to a peace pourparlour.

At Ahmedabad Session in 1921 Civil Disobedience was decided upon and Mahatma Gandhi was made the Dictator. Elaborate arrangements were made for commencing "Satyagraha" at Bardoli in Gujrat. But the unfortunate outbreak of violence at Chauri-Chaura resulting in the loss of lives of a number of policemen, made the leader cry halt. Referring to the dreadful tragedy Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "The tragedy of Chauri-Chaura is really the index finger. It shows the way India may easily go if drastic precaution be not taken". The Working Committee at Bardoli gave an altogether new turn to the movement by suspending Civil Disobedience and concentrating upon constructive work. The Bardoli retreat created a division in the Congress camp and Mahatma Gandhi appreciably lost his popularity even among his followers. At this time Lord Reading's Government arrested Mahatmaji on March 10, 1922, on a charge of sedition and he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

RISE OF SWARAJ PARTY.

The abandonment of the aggressive programme and the withdrawal of Mahatmaji from the field naturally tended to loosen the hold of Gandhian idealism over his followers. The rise of the Swarajist Party

with its programme of Council entry was the result. The Gaya Congress in 1922 saw a struggle between the followers of Gandhi and the Swarajist Party, better known as the "No-changers" and the "Pro-changers" respectively. After much acrimonious controversy over this issue the Special Session at Delhi in 1923 adopted the Council entry programme without in any way minimising the importance of the constructive programme. Thus the Congress was saved from the inevitable split. In no time, however, the Swarajist Party under the leadership of Deshabandhu Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru came to dominate the whole Congress machinery, the "No-changers" preferring to keep themselves engaged in the constructive work, which was, from its very nature, more or less of a non-political character. At the elections for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Indian Legislative Assembly the Swarajist Party simply swept the polls making a short shrift of the old moderate group. The C. P. Council had a Swarajist majority and in Bengal Council the Swarajist formed the single largest party.

The Coconada Congress in 1923 sanctioned Council entry and discussed the question of National Pact with a view to bringing about a settlement of the communal problem. The next year saw the Swarajists, particularly in Bengal and C. P., busy defeating the Government in the Provincial Councils and in the Legislative Assembly. In Bengal their work was much hampered by the Government removing some important Swarajist leaders and keeping them in detention without trial. Satyagraha of some form was also being carried on by the Akalies in the Punjab and at Tarakeshwar in Bengal and at Vaikom in Southern India. At this time Mahatmajī appeared on the scene on his release due to illness. On his recovery he thought of removing the stalemate by restoring order and discipline in the Congress camp. He, therefore, chalked out a programme for joint action of both the parties; and completely surrendered to the Swarajists.

by entering into a pact with Messrs. Das and Nehru in Calcutta.

During the Non-co-operation days there grew up an analogous movement among the Sikhs for safeguarding their rights with regard to educational and religious institutions. There was the Sikh League, and the Gurudwara Probandhak Committee was formed in 1920 to undertake the management of Sikh Gurudwaras from the hands of the Mohunts. This movement naturally brought the reformists into collision with the Mohunts supported by the Government. The Akali Dal, a radical party of the reformists, began sending 'Jathas' for the peaceful possession of the Gurudwaras. The greatest tragedy that befell them was in connection with their attempted seizure of the Nankana in February 1921. A Jatha of 150 Sikhs entered the Nankana Gurudwara, but not a soul could return alive.

MOB OUTBREAKS AND UNITY ATTEMPTS.

Apart, however, from the troubles in connection with the Akali movement there also occurred, during this period, riots and outbreaks at other places. There was a serious mob-outbreak at Malgaon resulting in the murder of police officers. Riots more or less of a serious character, broke out also in Karachi, Aligarh, Nagpur, Calcutta, and Chittagong. But the most serious outbreak was that in Malabar territory among a tribe of mixed Arab and Indian decent, known as the Mophlas. The accounts of Khilafat agitation and the alleged desecration of holy places of Islam madened the half-educated community, and in a religious frenzy they broke out in an open revolt. Martial Law was declared; Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Muhammad Ali, who were on their way to Malabar to pacify the rioters, were turned back. This was followed by the arrests of noted Muhammadan leaders, the Ali brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and others over the famous Karaçhi Resolution urging resignation of Government servants. The 17th November, the date of landing of

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at Bombay, was also marked by an outbreak of violence there. As a result there were some 60 killed and 500 wounded. "The Swaraj I have witnessed", cried the apostle of non-violence in remorse, "during the last two days has stunk into my nostrils". A five days' fast by Gandhiji brought the people to their senses.

The political situation grew more murky due to the outbreak of a series of communal riots. The right of playing music before the Mosque by the Hindus and of cow killing by the Muhammadans, where they like, were the principal issues. There were riots at Gulbarga, Kohat and Lucknow. Having failed to restrain the outburst of communal passions Mahatmaji undertook a fast for 21 days by way of penance. By his bed-side the Unity Conference began discussing the question of communal unity. At Belgaum Congress in 1924 Mahatmaji presided. There became manifest a spirit of unity between contending groups of Congressmen as a result of the Calcutta Pact; and also between communities, owing to the deliberations of the Unity Conference. Non-cooperation was here officially abandoned and the cause of constructive work gained by the inclusion of spinning, as a part of the Congress franchise.

NATIONAL DEMANDS.

The Swarajya Party gained greater ground after the Cawnpore Congress in 1925. The National demands were formulated by the Swarajist and Independent Parties in the Assembly. It was decided to carry on the policy of obstruction in the legislatures so long as the Government refused to accept the National demands. The Gauhati Session next year definitely decided against the acceptance of Office. Much to the satisfaction of the radicals swearing by Independence the Session at Madras in 1927 defined the goal of the Congress to be Complete Independence. Here a formula of communal unity was also adopted on the basis of joint electorate. But the non-acceptance

of the National Demands by the Government and the appointment, in its stead, of the all-White Simon Commission created universal disappointment. All the Parties, moderate as well as the Congressites, therefore, combined to boycott the Commission. In its place the All-Parties Conference was called upon to formulate a scheme of Government for India, and the Nehru Committee's Report with Dominion Status as the Indian goal was the result. The Congress in Calcutta in 1928 saw the re-entrance of Gandhiji in Indian politics. A great cleavage was apprehended there on the question of the acceptance of the Nehru report; it did no doubt, imply the lowering down of flag after the declaration at Madras of Complete Independence as the goal of the Congress. Never failing in his resources Mahatmaji succeeded in prevailing upon the Congress to take the decision that unless Government agreed to grant India Dominion Status within the next 31st December, the Congress would declare Complete Independence.

The year 1929 opened with the inquiry of the Simon Commission in India and the Congress organising its boycott. There were demonstrations in all the principal towns it visited. After finishing its labours the Commission left the shores of India in 1930. For a time the Congress seemed to be concentrating its efforts upon the boycott of foreign cloth. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested in Calcutta for having created a bon fire in public Park. Lord Irwin proceeded to England on a short visit. On his return he made an announcement on the 31st October, 1929, to the effect that Dominion Status was the natural goal of India's advance. He also held out the prospect of a Round Table Conference for coming to an agreement with regard to the Indian constitutional issues. Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Motilal Nehru met the Viceroy on the 23rd December. In the interview the Viceroy could not assure the Congress leaders that the constitution to be drawn up by the Round Table Conference would grant Dominion Status to India. The Congress met

at Lahore at the end of December and true to the Calcutta decision declared for complete independence on the 31st December. Boycott of Councils was also decided upon and members were urged to withdraw from the legislatures.

SATYAGRAHA OF 1930.

In 1930 the 26th January was observed as the Complete Independence Day, with the hoisting of the National Flag and declaration of Independence. While preparations were going on for the impending Satyagraha, Gandhiji showed his readiness to meet the Government half-way. The mere acceptance by the Government of his Eleven Points would have satisfied him for the time. But that was not to be. In this connection finality was reached by Mahatmaji's communication to the Viceroy dated 6th March, 1930, which was in the nature of an ultimatum. Mahatmaji's historic Dandi March began on the 12th at the head of a batch of 79 satyagrahis. Salt Satyagraha was commenced on the 6th April and Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on the 4th May. There were the promulgations of nearly a dozen ordinances and all the Congress leaders, including Messrs. J. M. Sengupta, Ballavbhai Patel, Jawaharlal Nehru, were arrested with thousands of workers all over the country. Congress Working Committee and other Congress bodies were declared illegal. Pandit Motilal Nehru and other members of the Working Committee, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Dr. Ansari were also arrested. Jails were practically choked, still the movement knew no relaxation. Peace negotiations, however began with Mahatmaji and a few other leaders inside the prison at the instance of Messrs. Jayakar and Sapru. But it broke down by the 5th September. The movement continued in full swing till the end of the year.

MAHATMAJI AT ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

The First Session of the Round Table Conference in England was at this time drawing to a close. In

response to Premier's statement on January 19, 1931, at the R. T. C. offering the Congress a chance, if it so chose, of being represented at the R. T. C., the ban on the Working Committee was lifted and the members were released to take stock of the existing situation. This led to the Gandhi-Irwin Truce on 4th March, 1931. The Truce brought about a suspension of the Satyagraha on the Congress side and the withdrawal of the Ordinances from the side of the Government. The Congress was further allowed under Truce Terms to place at the Round Table Conference its demand for Complete Independence with full control over Army, Finance and External Relations with safeguards demonstrably in the interests of India. The Congress that met at Karachi on the 29th March endorsed the Gandhi-Irwin Truce and Mahatma Gandhi was chosen as the sole representative of the Congress at the Round Table Conference.

Before leaving for England Gandhiji made a determined effort to bring about communal settlement. There were peace talks and Conferences; as a result the Working Committee at Bombay evolved the Congress formula on communal settlement. Trouble, however, soon arose with regard to the implementing of Truce Terms. There were charges and counter-charges relating to breach of Truce till at last a second Pact was entered into between Gandhiji and the Government ratifying the Delhi Pact. After this Gandhiji left for England on the 29th August, 1931. Immediately on his arrival in London on 12th September he found that the situation was altogether against him. At the Round Table Conference he feelingly stated India's case for Swaraj. His attempts were also prolonged and arduous for arriving at a communal settlement. But it was all in vain. The so-called representatives of the minorities, communal as they were, could never be made to agree to any reasonable proposal. On the contrary at the instance of the conservative reactionaries, they entered into the notorious Minority Pact.

The Round Table Conference being over on the 28th December Gandhiji returned to India. He had none of his optimism left in him, when he found the stage here ready for the resumption of Civil Disobedience. Hijli and Chittagong outrages in Bengal, the promulgation of Ordinances in the N.-W. Frontier and the United Provinces and the arrests of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and of Messrs. Jawaharlal and Sherwani could never mean the continuance of the Delhi Truce. Gandhiji sought an interview with the Viceroy to discuss the situation relating to the promulgation of Ordinances and the arrests of his valued co-workers and trusted lieutenants. The Viceroy showed his willingness to interview Gandhiji provided there be no discussion relating to the Government measures. Unconditional interview Gandhiji was refused; and there was left for him no other alternative than the resumption of Satyagraha.

SATYAGRAHA OF 1932.

The Working Committee at its meeting at Bombay on 1st January, 1932, adopted a resolution tentatively planning Civil Disobedience, including boycott of British goods and disobedience of "unmoral" laws. Gandhiji's arrest on the 4th January was the signal for offensive on either side. The same day the Working Committee was declared unlawful and four new Ordinances were promulgated. There then began the usual round of breaking of laws and the consequent arrests, *lathi* charges, confiscation of property and the like. There were also instances of police opening fire. In the prison Gandhiji began on 20th October, 1932, a fast unto death for altering the provision of separate electorate for the Depressed Classes, in the Communal Award. The "Poona Pact" being ratified by the Premier, Gandhiji broke his fast on 26th October. For a time this fast gave a considerable impetus to the Congress movement for removal of untouchability.

Mahatma Gandhi began another fast for 21 days on the 8th May, 1933, and was released the same day.

On his release he suspended, in consultation with friends, the Civil Disobedience movement for one month. He broke his fast on the 29th May. As advised by Mahatmaji, Mr. Aney again urged suspension of movement for another six weeks *i.e.*, till 31st July. The Congress leaders met in an informal Conference on the 12th and 14th July at the Tilak Mandir, Poona. The acting President, Mr. Aney and Mahatma Gandhi issued statements urging substitution of individual for mass Civil Disobedience. Gandhiji got himself re-arrested on the 1st August and was convicted on the 4th to one year's imprisonment. As a result of again undertaking a fast Gandhiji was immediately set free. "I shall again use", said Gandhiji, "this unexpected freedom from imprisonment for the sake of exploring the avenues of peace". On the 15th September Gandhiji announced his retirement from aggressive Civil Disobedience till the 3rd August next, preferring to keep himself engaged wholly in the Harijan Work. The retirement of the leader could not help adversely affecting the progress of Civil Disobedience.

RISE OF THE NATIONALIST PARTY.

The movement somehow lingered on till the 8th April, when Gandhiji in a letter to Dr. Ansari definitely withdrew Civil Disobedience and blessed the revival of the Swarajya Party. The Swarajist Conference met at Ranchi on the 2nd May and it was decided upon to form a Parliamentary Board for the purpose of contesting the ensuing Assembly elections. The A. I. C. C. for the first time met at Patna and approved of the formation of the Parliamentary Board. But then there arose a great difference of opinion in connection with the neutral attitude, that the Congress Working Committee thought fit to adopt, with regard to the Communal Award. This led to the resignation of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya from the Congress Parliamentary Board and Mr. M. S. Aney both from the Board and the Working Committee. In Calcutta in August, 1934, the Congress Nationalist Party was

formed under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for the purpose of opposing the Communal Award.

This brings us to the close of our too short a survey of the great National institution, as it conceived the idea of Indian freedom and fought hard—and is still fighting its battle. Being ever associated with all that is great and good in our national life, the Congress has become the harbinger of hope for the teeming millions. It has by now passed through various phases and survived many crises, but has ever come out all the more strong and glorious. May god help it in its mission of making our national life richer, fuller and freer.

HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS AT A GLANCE

Fifty Years' Life from 1885 to 1934

HOW IT PROGRESSED FROM YEAR TO YEAR.

No.	Date	Serial	President.
1	1885	Bombay	W. C. Banerjee
2	1886	Calcutta	Dadabhai Nowroji
3	1887	Madras	Badruddin Tayabji
4	1888	Allahabad	G. Yule
5	1889	Bombay	Sir W. Wedderburn
6	1890	Calcutta	Sir Pherozsha Mehta
7	1891	Nagpur	Ananda Charlu
8	1892	Allahabad	W. C. Banerji
9	1893	Lahore	Dadabhai Nowroji
10	1894	Madras	A. Webb
11	1895	Poona	Surendranath Banerji
12	1896	Calcutta	M. R. Sayani
13	1897	Amraoti	Sir Shankaran Nayar
14	1898	Madras	Anandmohan Bose
15	1899	Lucknow	R. C. Dutt
16	1900	Lahore	Sir N. G. Chandavarkar
17	1901	Calcutta	D. E. Wachha
18	1902	Ahmedabad	Surendranath Banerji
19	1903	Madras	Lalmohan Ghose
20	1904	Bombay	H. L. A. Cotton
21	1905	Benares	Hon. G. K. Gokhale
22	1906	Calcutta	Dadabhai Nowroji
23	1907	Surat	Rasbihari Ghose
24	1908	Madras	Rasbihari Ghose
25	1909	Lahore	Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya
26	1910	Allahabad	Sir W. Wedderburn
27	1911	Calcutta	Bisan N. Dhar
28	1912	Bankipur	R. N. Mudhulkar
29	1913	Karachi	Nawab Sayd Mahmud
30	1914	Madras	Bhupendranath Basu
31	1915	Bombay	S. P. Sinha
32	1916	Lucknow	Ambikacharan Mujumdar
33	1917	Calcutta	Dr. Annie Besant
	1918	Bombay (Special)	Sayed Hasan Imam
34	1918	Delhi	Pt. M. M. Malaviya
35	1919	Amritsar	Pt. Motilal Nehru
	1920	Calcutta (Special)	Lala Lajpat Rai
36	1920	Nagpur	C. Vijaya Raghavacharya
37	1921	Ahmedabad	Hakim Ajmal Khan
38	1922	Gaya	Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan Das
	1923	Delhi (Special)	Abdul Kalam Azad
39	1923	Kokanada	Moulana Mahamad Ali
40	1924	Belgaum	Mahatma Gandhi
41	1925	Cawnpore	Smt. Sarojini Naidu
42	1926	Gauhati	Srinivasa Iyengar
43	1927	Madras	M. A. Ansari
44	1928	Calcutta	Pt. Motilal Nehru
45	1929	Lahore	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru
46	1931	Karachi	Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
47	1932	Delhi	Ranchohaddas Amritlal
48	1933	Calcutta	Mrs. Sengupta
49	1934	Bombay	Babu Rajendra Prasad

CONGRESS IN EVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL DEMANDS

During the course of evolution of the Congress extending over half a century, its political objective has by no means been the same. This is manifest from the varying nature of the resolutions that in this connection gained acceptance at its different sessions. The assumption by the Crown of the Government of India from the John Company after the Sepoy Mutiny, brought the Indian administration and finance under the control of Parliament. This together with English Liberalism of Burke and Morley made the introduction of a representative system of government the object of Indian political aspiration. It was, therefore, that the Congress from its very inception began by urging the extension and enlargement of legislatures, and the same to be constituted on elective principles.

The Indian Councils Acts of 1892 and of 1909 were the result. The new Provincial Councils were, no doubt, an improvement upon the older. Not only were there no official majorities but members were also entitled to move resolutions, discuss the budget and put supplementary questions. But these Reforms with their limited opportunities failed to satisfy the growing aspiration of the advanced political thinkers; and with them began the second stage in the struggle for freedom culminating in the spasmodic outbreak of terroristic violence. Despite the Congress condemnation of terrorism, the repression that followed in its wake naturally added filip to Congress demands. This is evident from the Congress at this stage making bold to declare "Swaraj" and no mere tinkering reforms, to be its ultimate goal.

Nevertheless, the European War for self-determination in 1914 gave rise to an outburst of wide-spread loyalty. This, however, was destined to be short-lived. Because the popular discontent at the end of the War over the Khilafat question, sham Montford-Reforms and the Rowlatt Act became equally profound. To the exasperated nation the tragedy of Jallianwallabagh supplied the spark and thus ushered in the third and the phenomenal stage of Non-Co-operation and the later struggle for Complete Independence.

• Following are Resolutions adopted in this connection :—

I. REFORMS

1. That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry into the working of the Indian administration, here and in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon and evidence taken both in India and in England. (Bombay First Session, 1885).

2. That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms. (Bombay Session 1885; confirmed in Session 1894).

3. That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential, and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration, and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities. (Bombay First Session 1885; confirmed in Sessions 1886; 1887; 1888; 1892; 1893; 1894.)

4. That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with great apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of representative institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

5. That this Congress is of opinion that in giving practical effect to this essential reform (relating to Legislatures) regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions :—

(a) The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half of the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats ex-officio in such Councils and not more than one-fourth to be members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.

(b) The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils* to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie* capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay, the councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University or by electoral Colleges composed of members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, councillors may be elected by an electoral College composed of members, elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards and the right of electing members to the latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted, (and the details must be worked out separately for each province), care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.

(c) The elected members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, to be elected by the elected members of the several Provincial Councils.

(d) No elected or nominated member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(e) All persons resident in India to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(f) All legislative measures and all financial questions including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration any member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the ex-officio Members (or such one of these as may be especially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as herein-after provided) to receive a reply to his question together with copies of any paper requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question and record thereon such Resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that in the opinion of the Executive, the public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the ex-officio Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(g) The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which in its opinion the public interest would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month and in the case of Local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain

their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the over-ruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the third resolution of last year's Congress, which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House. (Calcutta Second Session 1886).

6. That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and re-constitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of the Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M. P. with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons :—

(a) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

(b) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units for electoral purposes.

(c) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.

(d) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(e) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts, included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five million of the total populations of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bear to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(f) All elections to be by ballot. (Poona Fifth Session 1889).

7. That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair for the presentation in Committee of

the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorises the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., to sign a petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution. (Poona Fifth Session 1889).

8. That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers * * and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of his Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee * * * authorises and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meeting of this Congress, even as spectators, and to enquire most respectfully whether His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has or has not correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India. (Calcutta Sixth Session 1890).

9. That this Congress re-affirms the conclusion arrived at by all previous Congresses, viz., that India can never be well or justly governed, nor her people prosperous or contented, until they are allowed, through their elected representatives, a potential voice in the Legislatures of their own country, and respectfully urges the people of Great Britain and Ireland, whose good-will towards India it gratefully recognises, to permit no further delay in the concession of this just and necessary reform. (Nagpur Seventh Session 1891).

10. That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congresses affirms—that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that, in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

(a) The exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration, and all control over the finances of their own country, the remedy for which has been set forth in Resolution II.

(b) The extravagant cost of the present administration, military and civil, but especially the former; and to

(c) a short-sighted system of Land Revenue Administration, whereby not only is all improvement in the agriculture of the country, on which nine-tenths of the population depend for subsistence, rendered impossible, but the gradual deterioration of that agriculture assumed.

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

That the cost of the administration be greatly reduced in the military branch, by a substantial reduction of the Standing Army, by the substitution of long-termed local European

troops like those of the Hon. E. I. Company for the present short-term Imperial regiments with their heavy cost of recruitment in England, in transport and of the excessive mortality amongst non-acclimatized youths; by the cessation of the gigantic waste of money that has gone on now for several years, on so-called Frontier Defences, and by a strict economy in the Commisariat, Ordinance and Store Departments; and in the Civil Branch, by the wide substitution of a cheaper indigenous agency for the extremely costly imported Staff; and that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of Temporary Settlements in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible; and to establish agricultural banks.

That the Congress does most earnestly entreat the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to permit any further sacrifice of life by the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory administration, but to insist, and speedily, on these reforms. (Nagpur Seventh Session 1891).

11. That this Congress, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister, with the assent of the then Under Secretary of State for India,—that it is intended by it to give to the people of India a real living representation in the legislative Councils,—regrets that the Act itself does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of this country; further, that it prays that these rules may be published in the official Gazettes like other proposed legislative measures, before being finally adopted. (Allahabad Eighth Session 1892).

12. That this Congress while tendering its most sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal spirit in which he has endeavoured to give effect to the Indian Councils Act of 1892 regrets to have to put on record the facts, that alike in the Rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments notably in that of the Government of Bombay, material alterations are necessary if real effect is to be given to the spirit of this Act, and that the Punjab one of the most important provinces in the Empire,

is still denied the right to be represented, either in the Viceroy's or in any local Council. (Lahore Ninth Session 1893 ; confirmed in Madras 1894).

13. That this Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against the retrograde policy that the Government of India have this time followed in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council without asking local bodies to make recommendation for such nomination and earnestly hopes that Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the N.-W. Provinces. (Poona Eleventh Session 1895 ; confirmed in Calcutta 1896).

14. That having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, and in view to the utilisation by those Governors of the power of giving when necessary a casting vote allowed them by law, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by the Governors with Councils of three members and not of the Members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors must be other than a member of the Indian civil service, and in view to carrying out the object without additional cost, this Congress would suggest that the Officers commanding the Forces of those Presidencies be declared members of the respective Councils as the Commanders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay were, before the Madras and Bombay Armies Act of 1893 was passed (Calcutta Twelfth Session 1896 and confirmed in Sessions 1897, 1898 & 1899).

15. That this Congress while thanking the Government for granting the boon of a Legislative Council to the Punjab, places on record its regret that they have not extended to the Councillors the rights of interpellation, and to the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination such as are enjoyed by the Councillors and people in the other Provinces. (Amraoti Thirteenth Session 1897 ; confirmed in Sessions 1898 & 1899).

16. That the Province of Berar, though not a part of British India, is administered by the Governor-General in Council in the same way as any portion of British India, but the important work of legislating for the Province is performed by the Executive, instead of by the Legislative Council, resulting often in unsuitable and inconvenient legislation. This Congress, therefore, humbly prays that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General in Council all laws and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should

by the Government from the public, though it is now two years since the Commission reported, and though portions of it have found their way into the columns of papers beyond the reach of the Official Secrets Act.

In view of the great urgency of a thorough reform of the Police force of the country, in view further of the large public interests involved in a satisfactory solution of the question and the obvious necessity in consequence of giving the public ample opportunity to express its views, before the authorities proceed to formulate a scheme of reform ; in view, finally, of the fact that all public criticism expressed after the subject has been considered by both the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India is bound to be virtually ineffective, this Congress earnestly urges the publication of the Commission's Report without any further delay. (Bombay Twentieth Session 1904).

25. That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government of India, for the Partition of Bengal in any manner whatsoever. That the proposals are viewed with great alarm by the people, as the division of the Bengali nation into separate units will seriously interfere with its social, intellectual and material progress, involving the loss of various constitutional, and other rights and privileges which the province has so long enjoyed and will burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian taxpayers cannot at all afford.

The Congress is of opinion that no case has been made out for the Partition of Bengal, but if the present constitution of the Bengal Government is considered inadequate for the efficient administration of the province, the remedy lies not in any redistribution of its territories but in organic changes in the form of the Government such as the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that of Bombay and Madras. (Bombay Twentieth Session 1904 ; re-affirmed in Benares 1905 and in Madras 1908).

26. That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for a further expansion and reform of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, so that they may become more truly representative of the people, and the non-official members thereof may have a real voice in the Government of the country. The Congress recommends an increase in the number of the non-official and elected members and the grant to them of the right of dividing the Councils in financial matters coming before them—the head of the Government concerned possessing the power of veto. (Benares Twenty-first Session 1905).

27. That this Congress is of opinion that to enable Parliament to discharge more satisfactorily its responsibility in regard to the Government of India, periodical Parliamentary enquiries into the condition of India should be revived and the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the British Estimates. (Benares Twenty-first Session 1905).

28. This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, strongly urges :—

- (1) The constitution of the Punjab into a Regulation province;
- (2) The expansion and reform of the Punjab Legislative Council in accordance with the Indian Councils Act of 1892;
- (3) The establishment of a Chartered High Court of Judicature in the Punjab;
- (4) The enactment of legislation for Berar by the Supreme Legislative Council and not by Executive orders of the Governor-General in Council;
- (5) The restoration to the people of the Central Provinces of the right to elect their representative on the Supreme Legislative Council instead of being nominated by the Government; and
- (6) The cancellation of the Government of India Notification of 25th June, 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States as being a serious infringement of the liberty of the Press in those tracts. (Benares Twenty-first Session 1905).

29. Having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration, and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the Partition of that province was and is legitimate. (Calcutta Twenty-second Session 1906).

30. This Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should be extended to India and that as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out :—

- (a) All examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only.
- (b) The adequate representation of Indians in the Council of the Secretary of State and the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Madras and Bombay.
- (c) The expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, allowing a larger and truly effective representation of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country.
- (d) The powers of Local and Municipal bodies should be extended and official control over them should not be more than what is exercised by the Local Government Board in England over similar bodies. (Calcutta Twenty-Second Session 1906).

31. This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals

formulated in Lord Morley's despatch have been received throughout the country; it places on record its sense of the high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter and it tenders to Lord Morley and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

This Congress is of opinion that the proposed expansion of the Legislative Councils and the enlargement of their powers and functions, in the appointment of Indian members, to the Executive Councils with the creation of such Councils where they do not exist, and the further development of Local Self-Government, constitute a large and liberal instalment of the reforms needed to give the people of this country a substantial share in the management of their affairs and to bring the administration into closer touch with their wants and feelings.

This Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed Scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State's despatch have been conceived. (Madras Twenty-fourth Session 1908).

32. That this Congress while regretting that Cl. 3 of the India Councils' Bill, under which power was to be given to the Governor-General in Council to create Executive Councils to assist the heads of the Government in the United Provinces, the Punjab, Eastern Bengal, Assam and Burma, was not passed as originally framed, earnestly urges that action may be taken at an early date under the Act to create Executive Councils in the above named Provinces. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

33. That this Congress records its opinion that the Regulations framed for the Punjab, under the Reform Scheme, fail to give satisfaction for the following reasons, viz.

(a) In that the numerical strength of the Council provided for in the Regulations is not sufficient to allow an adequate representation to all classes and interests of the population, nor is it commensurate with the progress made by this Province, in matters social, educational, industrial and commercial.

(b) In that the elected element prescribed by the Regulations for the Local Council is unduly small and altogether insufficient to meet the needs and requirements of this Province, and compares very unfavourably with that accorded to other Provinces, not more advanced.

(c) In that the principle of protection of minorities, which has been applied in the case of non-Muhammadans in Provinces where they are in a minority, has not been applied in the case of non-Muhammadans who are in a minority in the Punjab, both in the Provincial and Imperial Councils.

(d) In that the Regulations, as framed, tend practically to keep out non-Muhammadans from the Imperial Council. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

34. That this Congress desires to give expression to the dissatisfaction produced among the people of the Central Pro-

vinces and Berar by the decision of the Government not to establish a Provincial Legislative Council for those territories, and by the exclusion of Berar from participation in the election of two members of the Imperial Legislative Council by the landholders and members of District and Municipal Boards of the Central Provinces, and this Congress appeals to the Government to remove the aforesaid complaints at an early date. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

35. That this Congress expresses its satisfaction that the Secretary of State has recognised that the Local Self-Government scheme of 1882, has not had a fair trial, and has pressed on the Government of India the necessity of an effectual advance in the direction of making local, urban, and rural bodies really self-governing, and it expresses the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to make all local Bodies, from village Panchayats upwards, elective with elected non-official Chairman, and support them with adequate financial aid. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

36. That this Congress earnestly appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India, not to treat the question of the Partition of Bengal as incapable of reconsideration, but to take the earliest opportunity so to modify the said Partition as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one and the same administration.

That this Congress humbly submits that the rectification of this admitted error will be an act of far-sighted statesmanship. It will restore contentment to the Province of Bengal, give satisfaction to other Provinces, and enhance the prestige of His Majesty's Government throughout the country.

That this Congress appoints Messrs. Surendranath Banerjea and Bhupendranath Bose to proceed to England as a deputation, to lay the question of the Partition before the authorities and public there. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

37. That in view of the prevalence of serious dissatisfaction among the people of the N. W. Frontier Province with the character of the administration under which they live, this Congress earnestly urges the Government of India to order a public enquiry into their complaints, and take steps to remedy the disadvantages under which they labour as compared with the population of the Punjab. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

38. That in view of the fact that Section III of the Indian Councils' Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the Office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to members of the English Bar, thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection may be made, this Congress

urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils, and Attorneys-at-Law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office. (Allahabad, Twenty-sixth Session, 1910).

39. That this Congress earnestly recommends that speedy action be taken under the Indian Councils Act to establish Executive Councils in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in the Punjab. (Allahabad, Twenty-sixth Session, 1910, re-affirmed in Calcutta, 1911).

40. That this Congress respectfully begs leave to tender to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor an humble expression of its profound gratitude for his gracious announcement modifying the Partition of Bengal. The Congress also places on record its sense of gratitude to the Government of India for recommending the modification and to the Secretary of State for sanctioning it. In the opinion of this Congress, this administrative measure will have a far-reaching effect in helping forward the policy of conciliation with which the honoured names of Lord Hardinge and Lord Crewe will ever be associated in the public mind. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

41. That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the creation of a separate Province of Behar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and prays, that in re-adjusting the provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

42. That this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the justice of creating an Executive Council in the United Provinces at as early a date as may be practicable, and it further expresses an earnest hope that those Provinces will soon be placed under a Governor, as Madras, Bombay, and Bengal. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

43. That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council for the Central Provinces and Berar, and for according to Berar, which is now held by the British Government on a permanent tenure, the status and privileges which are accorded to Provinces included in British India. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

44. That this Congress records its satisfaction at the recognition by the Government of India in their Despatch to the Secretary of State for India, dated the 25th August, 1911, of the necessity of introducing autonomous form of administration in the different Provinces of this Country, and begs to record its respectful protest against the interpretation sought

to be put upon the Despatch, which is contrary to its letter and spirit. (Bankipur, Twenty-eighth Session, 1912).

45. That this Congress is of opinion that the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, should be abolished, and makes the following suggestions for its reconstruction.

(a) that the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be placed on the English Estimates.

(b) That, with a view to the efficiency and independence of the Council, it is expedient that it should be partly nominated and partly elected.

(c) That the total number of members of the Council should not be less than nine.

(d) That the elected portion of the Council should consist of not less than one-third of the total number of members, who should be non-official Indians chosen by a constituency consisting of the elected members of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

(e) That not less than one-half of the nominated portion of the Council should consist of public men of merit and ability unconnected with the Indian administration.

(f) That the remaining portion of the nominated Council should consist of officials who have served in India for not less than 10 years and have not been away from India for more than two years.

(g) That the character of the Council should be advisory and not administrative.

(h) That the term of office of each member should be five years. (Karachi, Twenty-ninth Session, 1913).

46. That this Congress expresses its regret that the recommendations of the Decentralisation Commission, with regard to the further development of Local Self-Government, have not yet been given effect to, and urges that the Government of India may be pleased to take steps, without delay, to increase the powers and resources of Local Bodies. (Bankipur, Twenty-eighth Session, 1912; confirmed in Karachi, 1913).

47. That this Congress records its sense of keen disappointment that at the last revision of the Legislative Council Regulations, the anomalies and inequalities, rectification of which the four previous Congresses strongly urged upon the Government, were not removed. And in order to allay the widespread dissatisfaction caused by the defects complained of, and in view of the experience of the last four years, this Congress earnestly prays that:—

(1) There should be a non-official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council; (2) There should be a majority of elected members in all Provincial Councils; (3) The system of voting by delegates be done away with, where it still exists; (4) The franchise be broadened by simplifying the qualifications of electors, basing it on education, property or income; (5) The Government should not have the power arbitrarily to declare any person ineligible for election on the ground of his antecedents or reputation; (6) No person should be held

ineligible for election on the ground of dismissal from Government Service, or of conviction in a criminal court, or from whom security for keeping the peace has been taken, unless his conduct has involved moral turpitude; (7) No property or residential qualification should be required of a candidate, nor service as member of a Local Body; (8) a person ignorant of English should be held ineligible for membership; (9) It should be expressly laid down that officials should not be allowed to influence elections in any way; (10) Finance Committees of Provincial Councils should be more closely associated with Government in the preparation of the Annual Financial Statements; (11) There should be Finance Committee of the Imperial Legislative Council as in the case of Provincial Legislative Councils; (12) The right of putting supplementary questions should be extended to all members and not be restricted to the member putting the original question; (13) The strength of the Punjab Council be raised from 26 to 50, and more adequate representation be allowed to the Punjab in the Imperial Council.

And further, this Congress, while recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate representation in the Legislative Councils for the Muhammadans or the other communities where they are in a minority, disapproves of the present regulations to carry out this object by means of separate electorates. (Karachi, Twenty-ninth Session, 1913).

48. That in view of the profound and avowed loyalty that the people of India have manifested in the present crisis this Congress appeals to the Government to deepen and perpetuate it, and make it an enduring and valuable asset of the Empire, by removing all invidious distinctions here, and abroad, between His Majesty's Indian, and other subjects, by redeeming the pledges of Provincial Autonomy contained in the Despatch of the 25th August 1911, and by taking such measures as may be necessary for the recognition of India as a component part of a Federated Empire, in the full and the free enjoyment of the rights belonging to that status. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914).

49. This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of the House of Lords in rejecting the proposal for the establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and it strongly urges that the status of the United Provinces be raised to that of a Presidency under a Governor-in-Council with at least one Indian Member of the Council. (Bombay, Thirty-First Session, 1915).

50. That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived to introduce further and substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of Self-Government as defined in Article I of its Constitution, namely, reforming and liberalising the system of Government in this country, so as to secure to the people an effective control over it, amongst others, by

(a) The introduction of Provincial autonomy including financial independence ;

(b) Expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, so as to make them truly and adequately representative of all sections of the people, and to give them an effective control over the acts of the Executive Government ;

(c) The re-construction of the various existing Executive Councils, and the establishment of similar Executive Councils in Provinces, where they do not exist ;

(d) The reform or the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India ;

(e) Establishment of Legislative Councils in Provinces, where they do not now exist ;

(f) The re-adjustment of the relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India ; and

(g) A liberal measure of Local Self-Government.

This Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of reform, and a programme of continuous work, educative and propagandists, having regard to the principles embodied in this Resolution, and further authorises the said Committee to confer with the Committee that may be appointed by the All-India Moslem League for the same purpose, and to take such further measures, as may be necessary ; the said Committee to submit its report on or before the 1st of September 1916 to the General Secretaries, who shall circulate it to the different Provincial Congress Committees, as early as possible. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915).

51. This Congress cordially thanks His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike support of the Resolution passed in the Imperial Legislative Council demanding on behalf of India, the right to be represented in the Imperial Conference. The Congress expresses the hope that the demand made by the unanimous voice of the Imperial Legislative Council on behalf of the people of India will meet with adequate response from the Dominions and the Imperial Government and urges that the persons selected to take part in the Conference on behalf of India should be two members at least to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Council. (Lucknow, Thirty-first Session, 1915).

52. (a) That having regard to the fact that the great communities of India are the inheritors of ancient civilisations, and have shown great capacity for Government and administration, and to the progress in education and public spirit made by them during a century of British rule, and further having regard to the fact that the present system of Government does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and has become unsuited to the existing conditions and requirements, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when His Majesty the King-Emperor should be pleased to issue a pro-

clamation announcing that it is the aim and intention of British policy to confer self-government on India at an early date.

(b) That this Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards self-government by granting the reform contained in the Scheme, (vide Appendix B) prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Moslem League.

(c) That in the re-construction of the Empire, India shall be lifted from the position of a dependency to that of an equal partner in the Empire with the self-governing Dominions. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916).

53. (a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for renewing their recommendation to the Secretary of State, for the establishment of an Executive Council in the United Provinces, is of opinion that it should be presided over by a Governor chosen from the ranks of public men in England, and that half the members of the Council should be Indians.

(b) This Congress expresses the earnest hope that the introduction of this reform will not be delayed beyond the tenure of office of the present Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces. (Lucknow, Thirty-Second Session, 1916).

54. With regard to the proposal of the Secretary of State for India inviting two specially elected representatives from India to assist him in the forthcoming Special Conference to a series of special and continuous sittings of the War Cabinet in order to consider war questions and to prosecute the War vigorously, this Congress urges that at least two representatives of India to be elected by the elected members of the Imperial and various Provincial Councils should be allowed to represent India directly and not merely to assist the Secretary of State for India. (Lucknow, Thirty-Second Session, 1916).

This Congress expresses its grateful satisfaction over the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India on behalf of the Imperial Government that its object is the establishment of responsible government in India.

This Congress strongly urges the necessity for the immediate enactment of a Parliamentary statute providing for the establishment of responsible government in India, the full measure to be attained within a time-limit to be fixed in the statute itself at an early date.

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the Congress-League Scheme of reforms ought to be immediately introduced by the statute as the first step in the process. (Calcutta Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

55. (a) That this Congress urges the repeal of the Indian Arms Act and demands that no distinction be made between the Indian and the European subjects of His Majesty as regards the terms and conditions on which they be permitted to possess and use arms.

(b) That this Congress is strongly of opinion that Indians in the Crown Colonies and the Self-Governing Dominions should be placed on a footing of absolute equality with other subjects of His Majesty.

(c) That this Congress in reaffirming the resolution on Education passed by the Congresses of 1906 and 1916, strongly of opinion that the time has long since come for the education of India boys and girls to be under Indian control as well as essentially Indian in spirit, and urges the people of India actively to support all responsible movements which fulfil these conditions.

(d) That having regard to the havoc caused year after year by Malaria, Plague and other epidemics and pestilences, this Congress urges that questions of sanitation should receive a far larger measure of attention than they do at present and that adequate steps be taken for the sanitary improvements of the country.

(e) That this Congress calls upon the people of India to labour for the success of the Swadeshi movement by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and to give preference, even at a sacrifice, to Indian products over imported commodities.

(f) That this Congress advocates a wider application of the system of trial by jury and urges that in all trials by jury Indians should have the right to claim that not less than half the jurors should be their own countrymen.

(g) That Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial power entrusted to them and that the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917).

56. The following scheme of Reforms was formulated by the Special Congress in Bombay in 1918:—

1. The Government of India shall have undivided administrative authority on matters directly concerning peace, tranquillity and defence of the country subject to the following:

2. That the Statute to be passed by Parliament should include the Declaration of the Rights of the People of India as British Citizens:—

(a) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty and all the subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before the law, and there shall be no penal nor administrative law in force in the Dominion, whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.

(b) That no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or of association, free speech or in respect of writing, except under sentence by an ordinary Court of Justice, and as a result of a lawful and open trial.

(c) That every Indian subject shall be entitled to bear arms, subject to the purchase of a license, as in Great Britain, and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary Court of Justice.

(d) That the Press shall be free, and that no license, nor security shall be demanded on registration of a Press or a newspaper.

(e) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any Indian serving in His Majesty's Army or Navy, save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects. (Bombay Special Session, 1918, confirmed in Delhi 1918).

57. It is essential for the welfare of the Indian people that the Indian Legislature should have the same measure of fiscal autonomy, which the self-governing Dominions of the Empire possess. (Bombay Special Session, 1918).

58. That this Congress appreciates the earnest attempt on the part of the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State and H. E. the Viceroy to inaugurate a system of responsible government in India, and, while it recognises that some of the proposals constitute an advance on the present conditions in some directions, it is of opinion that the proposals are disappointing and unsatisfactory and suggests the following modifications as absolutely necessary to constitute a substantial step towards responsible government :—

A Government of India :—

(i) That a system of reserved and transferred subjects, similar to that proposed for the Provinces, shall be adopted for the Central Government.

(ii) That the reserved subjects shall be Foreign affairs (excepting relations with the Colonies and Dominions), Army, Navy and relations with Indian ruling Princes, and subject to the Declaration of Rights Contained in Resolution IV, matters directly affecting public peace, tranquility and defence of the country, and that all other subjects should be transferred subjects.

(iii) The allotments required for reserved subjects should be the first charge on the revenues.

(iv) The procedure for the adoption of the budget should be on the lines laid down for the Provinces.

(v) All legislations shall be by Bills introduced into that Legislative Assembly, provided that if in the case of reserved subjects the Legislative Council does not pass such measures as the Government may deem necessary, the Governor-General-in-Council may provide for the same by Regulations, such regulations to be in force for one year, but not to be renewed unless 40 per cent. of the members of the Assembly present and votings are in favour of them.

(vi) There shall be no Council of State, but, if the Council of State is to be constituted, at least half of its total strength shall consist of elected members, and the procedure by certification shall be confined to the reserved subjects.

(vii) At least half the number of Executive Councillors (if there be more than one) in charge of reserved subjects should be Indians.

(viii) The number of members of the Legislative Assembly should be raised to 150 and the proportion of the elected members should be four-fifths.

(ix) The President and the Vice-President of the Legislative Assembly should be elected by the Assembly.

(x) The Legislative Assembly should have power to make, or modify its own rules of business and they shall not require the sanction of the Governor-General.

(xi) There should be an obligation to convene meetings of the Council and Assembly at stated intervals or in the requisition of a certain proportion of members.

(xii) A statutory guarantee should be given that full responsible Government should be established in the whole of British India within a period not exceeding 15 years.

(xiii) That there should be no Privy Council for the present.

(B) The Provinces :—

(i) There should be no additional members of the Executive Government without portfolios.

(ii) From the commencement of the first Council the principle of responsibility of the ministers to the Legislature shall come into force.

(iii) The Status and salary of the ministers shall be the same as that of the members of the Executive Council.

(iv) At least half the number of Executive Councillors in charge of reserved subjects (if there be more than one) should be Indians.

(v) The Budget shall be under the control of the Legislature subject to the contribution to the Government of India, and during the life-time of the reformed Councils, to the allocation of a fixed sum for the reserved subjects; and should fresh taxation be necessary, it should be imposed by Provincial Governments, as a whole, for both transferred and reserved subjects.

(C) Legislature :—

(i) While holding that the people are ripe for the introduction of full Provincial Autonomy the Congress is yet prepared with a view to facilitating the passage of the Reforms, to leave the departments of Law, Police and Justice (prisons excepted) in the hands of the Executive Government in all Provinces for a period of 6 years. Executive and Judicial Departments must be separated at once.

(ii) The President and the Vice-President should be elected by the Council.

(iii) That the proposal to institute a Grand Committee shall be dropped. The Provincial Legislative Council shall legislate in respect of all matters within the jurisdiction of Provincial Government including Law, Justice, and Police, but where the Government is not satisfied with the decision of the Legislative Council in respect of matters relating to Law, Justice, and Police, it shall be open to the Government to refer the matter to the Government of India, and the Government of India may refer the matter to the Indian Legislature, and the ordinary procedure shall follow. But if Grand Committees are instituted, this Congress is of opinion that not less than one-half of the total strength shall be elected by the Legislative Assembly.

(iv) The proportion of elected members in the Legislative Council shall be four-fifths.

(D) Elections :—

Wherever the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State or the Legislative Council is dissolved, it shall be obligatory on the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to order the necessary elections, and to re-summon the body dissolved within a period of 3 months from the date of dissolution.

The Legislative Assembly should have power to make or modify, its own rules of business and they shall not require the sanction of the Governor-General.

There should be an obligation to convene meetings of the Council and Assembly at stated intervals, or on the requisition of a certain proportion of members of the Assembly.

No dissolution of the Legislature shall take place except by way of an appeal to the electorate and the reason shall be stated in writing counter-signed by the Ministers.

(D) Parliament and the India Office :—

(i) The control of Parliament and of the Secretary of State must only be modified as the responsibility of the Indian and Provincial Governments to the electorates is increased. No power over Provincial Governments now exercised by Parliament and by the Secretary of State must be transferred to the Government of India, save in matters of routine administration, until the latter is responsible to the electorates.

(ii) The Council of India shall be abolished and there shall be two Permanent Under-Secretaries to assist the Secretary of State for India, one of whom shall be an Indian.

(iii) All charges in respect to the India Office establishment shall be placed on the British Estimates.

(iv) No financial or administrative powers in regard to reserved subjects should be transferred to the Provincial Governments until such time as they are made responsible regarding them to electorates and until then the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State should continue.

(v) The Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India shall contain an adequate Indian element.

(F) Representation :—

The proportion of Muhammadans in the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly as laid down in the Congress-League-Scheme, must be maintained.

(G) Army :—

**** Steps should be immediately taken so as to enable the grant to Indians at an early date of at least 25 per cent. of the Commissions in the Army, the proportion to be gradually increased to 50 per cent. within a period of 10 years.

(H) Indian Civil Service :—

**** The proportion of annual recruitment to the Indian Civil Service to be made in England should be 50 per cent. to start with, such recruitment to be by open competition in India from persons already appointed to the Provincial Civil Service.

(I) Women Franchise :—

Women possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the Scheme shall not be disqualified on account of sex.

(J) Constitution of Council :—

That so far as the question of determining the franchise and the Constituencies and the composition of the Legislative Assemblies are concerned, this Congress is of opinion that instead of being left to be dealt with by committees, it should be decided by the House of Commons and be incorporated in the Statute to be framed for the constitution of the Indian Government.

That as regards the Committee to advise on the question of the Separation of Indian from Provincial functions and also with regard to the Committee, if any, for the consideration of reserved or unreserved departments, this Congress is of opinion that the principle set forth in the above resolution should apply *mutatis mutandis* to the formation of the said Committee.

Or

In the alternative, if a Committee is appointed for the purpose, the two non-official members of the Committee should be elected, one by the All-India Congress Committee, and the other by the Council of the Muslim League while the co-opted non-official members for each province should be elected by the Provincial Congress Committee of that Province. (Bombay, Special Session, 1918).

59. That this Congress also re-affirms the Resolution No. 5 relating to self-Government passed at the Special Session of the Congress, held in Bombay, subject to this: That in view of the expression of opinion in the country since the sitting of the said Special Session, the Congress is of opinion that

(a) So far as the Provinces are concerned, full Responsible Government should be granted at once, and that no part of British India should be excluded from the benefit of the proposed Constitutional Reforms, and that

(b) the non-official Europeans should not be allowed to form separate electorates on the ground that they represent the mining or the tea industries, and if they are allowed such representation, they should be limited to their proportion compared to the population of the Provinces concerned. (Delhi, Thirty-fourth Session, 1918).

60. That this Congress views with grave apprehension the attempt made in certain quarters to assign an inferior position to the Punjab in the Reform Scheme, and urges that, having regard to its political, military and historical importance, its wealth, education, social advancement and its magnificent services during the last War, the Punjab should be placed on a basis of equality with Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces. (Delhi, Thirty-fourth Session, 1918).

61. In view of the pronouncement of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and other British Statesmen, that to ensure the future peace of the world the principle of self-determination should be applied to all progressive Nations, be it restated that this Congress claims the recognition of India by the British Parliament and by the Peace-Conference as one of the Progressive Nations to whom the principle of Self-determination should be applied.

That in the practical application of the principle in India the first step should be

(i) the removal of all hindrances to free discussion and therefore, the immediate repeal of all laws, regulations and ordinances restricting the free discussion of political questions, whether in the press, private or public meetings or otherwise, so that the legitimate aspirations and opinions of all residents in India may be fearlessly expressed, and further the abolition of the laws, regulations and ordinances which confer on the Executive the power to arrest, detain, intern, exile, or imprison any British subject in India outside the process of the ordinary civil or criminal law and the assimilation of the law of sedition to that of England; and

(ii) the passing of an Act of Parliament which will establish at an early date complete Responsible Government in India, and when com-

plete Responsible Government shall be thus established, the final authority in all internal affairs shall be the Supreme Legislative Assembly, as voicing the will of the Indian Nation.

Resolved further that in the reconstruction of the Imperial policy, whether in matters affecting the inner relations of the Nations constituting it, in questions of foreign policy, or in the League of Nations, India shall be accorded the same position as the Self-governing Dominions. (Delhi, Thirty-fourth Session, 1918).

62. That this Congress urges that in justice to India it should be represented by an elected representatives or representatives to the same extent as the Self-governing Dominions at any Conference that may be held to deliberate on or settle the terms of Peace or Reconstruction ; in view of the shortness of time and in anticipation of the request made in the preceding part of the resolution being acceded to by His Majesty's Government, this Congress elects as its representatives Lok. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Syed Hassan Imam.

The Congress resolves that a Committee consisting of the Hon. Pandit Gokarnmath, Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Hon. Mr. G. S. Khaparde, Hon. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. C. R. Das, Hon. V. J. Patel, Mr. Barkat Ali and Lala Harkishen Lal and the President Ex-officio be appointed to elect the members of the deputation to proceed to England, to advocate and press the demands of the Congress as contained in the resolutions of this session and to co-operate with the Provincial Congress Committees in collecting the necessary funds with Mr. Kelkar as the convener.

That this Congress strongly recommends that Delhi should be constituted into a Regulated province, that it should have a Legislative Council to assist the Chief Commissioner, and that it should have at least two representatives in the Legislative Assembly.

That this Congress reaffirms the resolutions passed at previous sessions of the Congress on the subject of the status of British Indians in the Self-governing Dominions and Crown Colonies of the Empire and once again places on record its sense of resentment and ever-growing dissatisfaction at the actions of the Colonies, earnestly hoping that in view of the readjustment of the relations between the component parts of the empire the grievances of the Indian settlers should be removed. (Delhi, Thirty-fourth Session, 1918.)

63. In view of the fact that Lord Chelmsford has completely forfeited the confidence of the people of this country, this Congress humbly beseeches His Imperial Majesty to be gra-

ciously pleased immediately to recall His Excellency. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919).

* 64. That in view of the fact that neither the Hunter Committee nor the Congress Commission has finished its examination of witnesses and issued its report, this Congress, while expressing its horror and indignation at the revelations already made and condemnation of the atrocities admitted, refrains from urging any definite steps to be taken against the offenders ; yet having regard to the cold-blooded and calculated massacre of innocent men and children, an act without parallel in modern times, it urges upon the Government of India and the Secretary of State that as a preliminary to legal proceedings being taken against him General Dyer should be immediately relieved of his command. .

Resolved further that this Congress desires to place it on record that in its opinion the Government of India and the Punjab Government must in any event be held responsible for the inexcusable delay in placing an authoritative statement of the massacre of the Jallianwalabagh before the public and His Majesty's Government. (Amritsar, Thirtyfifth Session, 1919).

65. In view of the oppressive regime of Sir Michael O'Dowyer in the Punjab and the admitted fact brought out before the Hunter Committee that he approved of and endorsed General Dyer's massacre at the Jallianwala Bagh, this Congress calls upon His Majesty's Government to relieve Sir Michael O'Dowyer of his present duties in the country as a member of the Army Commission as a preliminary to necessary legal action being taken against him. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

66. This Congress is of opinion that it is impossible to have real peace in India until legislation popularly known as the Rowlatt Act which was passed in the face of unanimous opposition in the country is repealed and it therefore respectfully urges upon the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty to veto the same Act or otherwise to secure its repeal. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

67. This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Government of India in prematurely passing the Indemnity Bill even though the acts in respect of which indemnity was granted are the subjects of investigation by the official Inquiry Commission and inspite of the strong opposition of the press, numerous public bodies, and non-official members of the Imperial Legislative Council. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

68. *That this Congress reiterates its declaration of the last year that India is fit for full responsible Government and re-

pudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.

That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding the constitutional reforms and is of opinion that the Reform Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing.

That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of self-determination.

This Congress trusts that so far as may be possible they will work the reforms so as to secure an early establishment of full responsible Government and this Congress offers its thanks to the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. E. S. Montagu for his labour in connection with Reforms. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

69. This Congress is emphatically of opinion that in the immediate and imperative interest of this country as well as of the whole British Empire a statute should be forthwith passed by the Imperial Parliament to guarantee the civil rights of His Majesty's Indian subjects and embodying the following provisions :—(1) British India is one and indivisible and all political power is inherited in the people thereof to the same extent as in any other people or nation of the whole British Empire. (2) That all Indian subjects of His Majesty's and all subjects naturalised or resident in India are equal before law and there shall be no penal or administrative law in force in this country whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature. (3) That no subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property, or in respect of free speech or writing or right association except by a sentence by an ordinary court of justice and as a result of lawful or open trial. (4) That every Indian subject should be entitled to bear arms subject to the purchase of a licence as in Great Britain and that the right shall not be taken away save by a sentence of an ordinary court of justice. (5) That the press shall be free and that no licence or security shall be demanded on the registration of a press or newspaper. (6) That corporal punishment shall not be inflicted on any subject of His Majesty save under conditions applying equally to all other British subjects ; (7) That a militia of His Majesty's Indian subjects be established by law in the cities and towns and in rural parts divided into units for the purpose. No regular force shall be employed for suppression of internal disorders except when militia are found inadequate, and under an Act specially passed for the purpose. In suppressing disorders and restoring order, no armed force shall, unless it is attacked, interfere. They shall not interfere unless the crowd has been three times summoned in the name of the King-Emperor and of law to disperse and has not done so until

after a reasonable time. (8) That all laws, ordinance and regulations now or hereafter in existence that are anywise inconsistent with the provisions of this statute shall be void and of no validity whatever. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

70. This Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be Complete National Independence. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927.)

71. Having regard to the general desire of all political parties in the country to unite together in setting a Swaraj constitution and having considered the various drafts submitted to it and the various suggestions received in reply to the Working Committee's circular, this Congress authorises the Working Committee, which shall have power to co-opt to confer with similar committees to be appointed by other organisations political, labour, commercial and communal, in the country and to draft a Swaraj Constitution for India, on the basis of a declaration of rights and to place the same for consideration and approval before a special convention to be convened in Delhi not later than March consisting of the All-India Congress Committee and the leaders and representatives of the other organisations above mentioned and elected members of the Central and Provincial legislatures. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927.)

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

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

(iii) This Committee accepts the recommendations of the Nehru Committee as agreed to by the Lucknow All Parties Conference for the settlement of the communal difference. Delhi, A.I.C.C. Meeting, November 1928.)

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

This Congress further assures the people of the Indian States of its sympathy with and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible Government in the States. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928.)

This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what "Swaraj" as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The Congress therefore declares that any constitution which may be agreed to on its behalf should provide, or enable the Swaraj Government to provide, the following.

1. (i) Every citizen of India has the right of free expression of *opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully and without arms for purpose not opposed to law or morality.*

(ii) Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality.

(iii) The culture, language and script of the minorities and of the different linguistic areas shall be protected.

(iv) All citizens are equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex.

(v) No disability attaches to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste, creed or sex, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

(vi) All citizens have equal rights and duties in regard to wells, tanks, roads, schools and places of public resort, maintained out of State, or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of the general public.

(vii) Every citizen has the right to keep and bear arms, in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf.

(viii) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered, or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

(ix) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

(x) The Franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

(xi) The State shall provide for free and compulsory primary education.

(xii) The State shall confer no titles.

(xiii) There shall be no capital punishment.

(xiv) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle to any part thereof, to acquire property and to follow any trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of India.

2. (a) The organisation of economic life must conform to the principle of justice, to the end that it may secure a decent standard of living.

(b) The State shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them, by suitable legislation and in other ways, a living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, and protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.

3. Labour to be freed from serfdom and conditions bordering on serfdom.

4. Protection of women workers, and especially, adequate provision for leave during maternity period.

5. Children of school going age shall not be employed in mines and factories.

6. Peasants and workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

7 The system of land tenure and revenue and rent shall be reformed and an equitable adjustment made of the burden on agricultural land, immediately giving relief to the smaller peasantry, by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them, and in case of uneconomic holdings, exempting them from rent, so long as necessary, with such relief as may be just and necessary to holders of small estates affected by such exemption or reduction in rent, and to the same end, imposing a graded tax on net incomes from land above a reasonable minimum.

8 Death duties on a graduated scale shall be levied on property above a fixed minimum.

9. There shall be drastic reduction of military expenditure so as to bring it down to at least one half of the present scale.

10. Expenditure and salaries in civil departments shall be largely reduced. No servant of the State, other than specially employed experts and the like shall be paid above a certain fixed figure, which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.

11. No duty shall be levied on salt manufactured in India.

12. The State shall protect indigenous cloth; and for this purpose pursue the policy of exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country and adopt such other measures as may be found necessary. The State shall also protect other indigenous industries, when necessary, against foreign competition.

13. Intoxicating drinks and drugs shall be totally prohibited, except for medical purposes.

14. Currency and exchange shall be regulated in the national interests.

15. The State shall own or control key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport.

16. Relief of agricultural indebtedness and control of usury direct and indirect.

17. The State shall provide for the military training of citizens so as to organise a means of national defence apart from the regular military forces. (Bombay, A. I. C. C. Meeting, August, 1931)

73. (a) This Congress is emphatically of opinion that if the object of the settlement between the Government and the Congress is the promotion of goodwill between Great Britain and India and if the settlement is an earnest of Great Britain's determination to part with powers, the Government should release all political prisoners, detenus and undertrials not covered by the settlement, and remove all political disabilities imposed by the Government on Indians, whether in India or abroad, on account of their political opinions or acts. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

74. This Congress, having considered the provisional settlement between the Working Committee and the Government of India, endorses it, and desires to make it clear, that the Congress goal of Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence) remains intact. In the event of the way being otherwise open to

the Congress to be represented at any Conference with the representatives of the British Government, the Congress delegation will work for this object and, in particular, so as to give the nation control over the defence forces, external affairs, finance and fiscal and economic policy and to have a scrutiny, by an impartial tribunal, of the financial transactions of the British Government in India and to examine and assess the obligations to be undertaken by India or England, and the right to either party to end the partnership at will provided however that the Congress Delegation will be free to accept such adjustments as may be demonstrably necessary in the interests of India.

This Congress appoints and authorises Mahatma Gandhi to represent it at the Conference with the addition of such other delegates as the Working Committee may appoint to act under his leadership. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

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

The White paper in no way expresses the will of the people of India, has been more or less condemned by almost all the Indian political parties and falls far short of the Congress goal if it does not retard the progress towards it. The only satisfactory alternative to the White Paper is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible, with the power, if necessary, to the important minorities to have their representatives elected exclusively by the electors belonging to such minorities.

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

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

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

No solution that is not purely national can be propounded by the Congress. But the Congress is pledged to accept any

solution falling short of the national, which is agreed to by all the parties concerned and, conversely, to reject any solution which is not agreed to by any of the said parties.

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

It is, however, obvious that the only way to prevent untoward consequences of the Communal Award is to explore ways and means of arriving at an agreed solution and not by any appeal on the essentially domestic question to the British Government or any other outside authority. (Bombay, W.C. Meeting, June, 1934.)

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

But the Congress has also equally repeatedly declared that this political freedom must remain unattainable without attaining moral or internal freedom by carrying out the comprehensive internal and constructive programme laid down from time to time by the Working Committee. The Congress is nothing, if it does not progressively represent and serve the masses. Such service is impossible without following constructive programme of the Congress with meticulous care and devotion. (Wardha, W.C. Meeting, Sept. 1934.)

77. The policy of the Congress in the matter of the Communal Award is already recorded in a resolution passed at the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress. The fact that in some constituencies or in several constituencies in one province some Congressmen have chosen to differ from the Congress policy on this matter and have been elected, does not and cannot affect the Congress policy until the same is reconsidered and revised by the Congress, particularly when the said policy has been overwhelmingly endorsed in the country at large. Until then all Congressmen and Congress organizations are expected to abstain from working against the policy of the Congress as solemnly decided. (Patna, W.C. Meeting, December 1934.)

78. Questions have been raised regarding the attitude of the Congress towards the Indian States. The Congress attitude was defined at the Calcutta session in 1928. No occasion has arisen since then to make any pronouncement on the Congress attitude. Therefore the Calcutta resolution must be taken as the Congress policy. (Patna, W. C. Meeting, December, 1934.)

Whereas the Congress has after full and earnest consideration resolved that the scheme of future Government of India adumbrated in the White Paper be rejected and the only satisfactory alternative is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly ;

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

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

And whereas the Joint Parliamentary Committee scheme designed as it is to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of this country by an alien people under a costly mask is fraught with greater mischief and danger than even the present constitution, this Committee is of opinion that the said scheme should be rejected, well knowing that the rejection must involve the necessity of struggling under the present constitution, humiliating and intolerable as it is, until it is replaced by one framed by a Constituent Assembly in accordance with the Congress resolution on the subject.

This Committee requests the members of the Assembly to reject the scheme of Government sought to be thrust upon India in the name of reform and appeals to the nation to support

the Congress in every step that it may decide upon to secure the national objective of Purna Swaraj. (Patna, W. C. Meeting, December 1934.)

II. NON-CO-OPERATION AND SATYAGRAH

1. That having regard to the correspondences between the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and between Lord Hunter and the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, this Congress is of opinion that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's action in not permitting Martial Law prisoners even in the committee room, even as Prisoners under custody, to assist and instruct counsel in the same manner as Government counsel was instructed by officials whose conduct was under investigation of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, constitutes a serious injustice and that it left no other course open to the sub-committee of the Congress to take than the one taken by it, this Congress therefore, endorses and approves of the firm and dignified action taken by the sub-committee in appointing commissioners to make an investigation and submit report. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

2. This Congress, while fully recognizing the grave provocation that led to a sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regrets and condemns the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and Gujrat resulting in the loss of lives and injury to person and property during the month of April last. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

3. That this Congress respectfully protests against the hostile attitude of some of the British Ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat question as disclosed by their utterances and most earnestly appeals to and urges upon His Majesty's Government to settle Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Mussalmans and the solemn pledges of the Prime Minister without which there will be no content among the people of India. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

4. In view of the fact that on the Khilafat question both the Indian and Imperial Governments have signally failed in their duty towards the Mussalmans of India, and the Prime Minister has deliberately broken his pledged word given to them, and that it is the duty of every non-Moslem Indian in every legitimate manner to assist his Mussalman brother in his attempt to remove the religious calamity that has overtaken him ;

And in view of the fact that in the matter of the events of the April of 1919 both the said Governments have grossly

neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab, and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O'Dwyer who proved himself, directly or indirectly, responsible for most of the official crimes, and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Commons and specially in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India, and showed virtual support of the systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceregal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab ;

This Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya. This Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive, non-violent Non-Co-operation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya is established.

And in as much as a beginning should be made by the classes who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion, and in as much as Government consolidates its power through titles and honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it, its law courts, and its legislative councils, and in as much as it is desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum risk and to call for the least sacrifice, compatible with the attainment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises—

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in local bodies ;

(b) refusal to attend Government Levees, Durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour ;

(c) gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by Government, and in place of such schools and colleges, establishment of National schools and colleges in the various provinces ;

(d) gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants, and establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid, for the settlement of private disputes ;

(e) refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia ;

(f) withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the Congress advice, offer himself for election ;

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

And in as much as Non-co-operation has been conceived as a measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can make real progress, and in as much as an opportunity should be given in the very first stage of Non-co-operation to every man, women and child, for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises adoption of *Swadeshi* in piece-goods on a vast scale, and in as much as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the requirements of the Nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manufacture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in every home and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want of encouragement. (Calcutta Special Session 1920).

5. Whereas in the opinion of the Congress the existing Government of India has forfeited the confidence of the country;

Whereas the people of India are now determined to establish *Swaraj* and

Whereas all methods adopted by the people of India prior to the last Special Session of the Indian National Congress have failed to secure due recognition of their rights and liberties and redress of their many and grievous wrongs, more specially in reference to the *Khilafat* and the Punjab ;

Now this Congress while reaffirming the resolution on Non-violent Non-co-operation passed at the Special Session of the Congress at Calcutta declares that the entire or any part of the scheme of Non-violent Non-co-operation, with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end and the refusal to pay taxes at the other, should be put in force at a time to be determined by either the Indian National Congress or the All-India Congress Committee and that in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it, effective steps should continue to be taken in that behalf :—

(a) by calling upon the parents and guardians of school children (and not the children themselves) under the age of 16 years to make greater efforts for the purpose of withdrawing them from such schools as are owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government and concurrently to provide for their training in national schools or by such other means as may be within their power in the absence of such schools ;

(b) by calling upon students of the age of 16 and over to withdraw without delay, irrespective of consequences, from institutions owned, aided or in any way controlled by Government, if they feel that it is against their conscience to continue in institutions which are dominated by a system of government which the nation has solemnly resolved to bring to an end, and advising such students either to devote themselves to some special service in connection with the non-co-operation movement or to continue their education in national institutions ;

(c) by calling upon trustees, managers and teachers of Government, affiliated or aided schools and municipalities and local boards to help to nationalise them;

(d) by calling upon lawyers to make greater efforts to suspend their practice and to devote their attention to national service including boycott of law courts by litigants and fellow lawyers and the settlement of disputes by private arbitration;

(e) in order to make India economically independent and self-contained, by calling upon merchants and traders to carry out a gradual boycott of foreign trade relations, to encourage hand-spinning and hand-weaving, and, in that behalf, by having a scheme of economic boycott planned and formulated by a committee of experts to be nominated by the All-India Congress Committee;

(f) and inasmuch as self-sacrifice is essential to the success of non-co-operation, by calling upon every section and every man and woman in the country to make the utmost possible contribution of self sacrifice to the national movement;

(g) by organising Committees in each village or group of villages with a provincial central organisation in the principal cities of each province for the purpose of accelerating the progress of non-co-operation;

(h) by organising a band of national workers for a service to be called the Indian National Service; and

(i) by taking effective steps to raise a national fund to be called the All-India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund for the purpose of financing the foregoing National Service and the non-co-operation movement in general.

This Congress congratulates the nation upon the progress made so far in working the programme of non-co-operation, specially with regard to the boycott of Councils by the voters, and claims, in the circumstances in which they have been brought into existence, that the new Councils do not represent the country, and trusts that those, who have allowed themselves to be elected in spite of the deliberate abstention from the polls by an overwhelming majority of their constituents, will see their way to resign their seats in the Councils, and that if they retain their seats in spite of the declared wish of their respective constituencies in direct negation of the principle of democracy, the electors will studiously refrain from asking for any political service from such councillors.

This Congress recognises the growing friendliness between the Police and the soldiery and the people, and hopes that the former will refuse to subordinate their creed and country to the fulfilment of orders of their officers, and, by courteous and considerate behaviour towards the people, will remove the reproach hitherto levelled against them that they are devoid of any regard for the feelings and sentiments of their own people.

And this Congress appeals to all people in Government employment, pending the call of the nation for resignation of their service, to help the national cause by importing greater kindness and stricter honesty in their dealings with their people and fearlessly and openly to attend all popular gatherings whilst refraining from taking any active part therein and, more

specially, by openly rendering financial assistance to the national movement.

• This Congress desires to lay emphasis on Non-violence being the integral part of the Non-co-operation resolution and invites the attention of the people to the fact that Non-violence in word and deed is as essential between people themselves, as in respect of the Government, and this Congress is of opinion that the spirit of violence is not only contrary to the growth of a true spirit of democracy, but actually retards the enforcement (if necessary) of the other stages of Non-co-operation.

Finally, in order that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be redressed and Swarajya established within one year, this Congress urges upon all public bodies, whether affiliated to the Congress or otherwise, to devote their exclusive attention to the promotion of non-violence and non-co-operation with the Government and, inasmuch as the movement of non-co-operation can only succeed by complete co-operation amongst the people themselves, this Congress calls upon public associations to advance Hindu-Muslim unity and the Hindu delegates of this Congress call upon the leading Hindus to settle all disputes between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins, wherever they may be existing, and to make a special effort to rid Hinduism of the reproach of untouchability, and respectfully urges the religious heads to help the growing desire to reform Hinduism in the matter of its treatment of the suppressed classes. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

6. This Congress is of opinion that, in pursuance of the policy of non-co-operation, the people of India should refrain from taking any part in functions or festivities in honour of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught during his forthcoming visit to India. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

7. In the opinion of the All-India Congress Committee, all Congress organizations and workers should concentrate their attention chiefly upon

(1) bringing the All-India Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to one crore of rupees, and before the 30th June next, each Congress province to collect in the ratio of its population; (2) putting on the Congress register one crore of members, and before the 30th June next, each province to contribute the number of members in the ratio of its population; and (3) introducing timely into the villages and houses, 20 lakhs of *Charkhas* (spinning wheels) in good working order, and before the 30th June next, each province to introduce the number of *Charkhas* in the ratio of its population.

8. In view of the misunderstanding as to the interpretation and meaning of the Congress resolution regarding lawyers and law courts, the Working Committee resolves that non-co-operators should, in the event of prosecution or a civil suit being brought against them, not participate in the proceedings beyond,

making before the court a full statement of facts in order to establish their innocence before the public. The Working Committee is further of opinion that where security is demanded from non-co-operators under the provisions of the Cr. P. Code they shall refuse furnishing such security and offer to undergo imprisonment. (Bombay, Working Committee June, 1921.)

9. With reference to a question raised as to the propriety of Indians assisting the British Government in the event of its re-opening active hostilities against the Turkish Government at Angora, the Working Committee is of opinion that consistently with the non-co-operation resolution adopted by the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, it is the duty of every Indian to refrain from helping the British Government in the prosecution of such hostilities in direct defiance of Musalman opinion and it is therefore the duty of the Indian soldier class to decline to serve in connection therewith. (Bombay Working Committee Meeting June, 1921.)

10. In the event of the British Government persisting in bringing to India His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in spite of the growing unrest and discontent, by reason of the failure of Government to respond to the popular will, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that it is the duty of everyone, in terms and in virtue of the Non-Co-operation resolution, passed at the special Session of the Congress in September 1920 at Calcutta and reaffirmed at the ordinary session in December 1920 at Nagpur, to refrain from participating in or assisting in any welcome to His Royal Highness or any functions organised officially or otherwise in connection with his visit. (Bombay, A. I. C. C. Meeting July, 1921.)

11. The All-India Congress Committee has taken note of the reasonable desire of workers in the United Provinces and other parts to take up civil disobedience in answer to the repressive measures of Local Governments, and has also taken note of the fact that the administration in the North-West Frontier Province has even prohibited the entry into that province of the members of the Frontier Inquiry Committee, appointed by the Central Khilafat Committee, to enquire into the outrages alleged to have been committed by the local officials in Banoo; but with a view to ensure greater stability of non-violent atmosphere throughout India, and in order to test the measure of influence attained by the Congress over the people, and further in order to retain on the part of the nation an atmosphere free from ferment necessary for the proper and swift prosecution of *Swadeshi*, the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that civil disobedience should be postponed till after the completion of the programme referred to in the resolution *Swadeshi*, after which the committee will not hesitate, if

necessary, to recommend a course of civil disobedience even though it might have to be adopted by a special session of the Congress ; provided however that it is open to any province or place to adopt civil disobedience subject to the previous approval of the Working Committee obtained within the constitution through the provincial Congress Committee concerned. (Bombay A. I. C. C. Meeting July, 1921.)

12. Whereas there is not much over one month for the fulfilment of the national determination to establish Swaraj before the end of the year, and whereas the nation has demonstrated its capacity for exemplary self-restraint by observing perfect non-violence over the arrest and imprisonment of the Ali Brothers and the other leaders, and whereas it is desirable for the nation to demonstrate its capacity for further suffering and discipline sufficient for the attainment of Swaraj ;

The All India Congress Committee authorises every province, on its own responsibility, to undertake Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes, in the manner that may be considered the most suitable by the respective Provincial Congress Committees subject to the following conditions :—

(I) In the event of individual Civil Disobedience the individual must know hand-spinning and must have completely fulfilled that part of the programme which is applicable to him or her, e.g., he or she must have entirely discarded the use of foreign cloth and adopted only hand-spun and hand-woven garments, must be a believer in Hindu-Muslim unity and in unity amongst all the communities professing different religions in India as an article of faith, must believe in Non-Violence as absolutely essential for the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the attainment of Swaraj, and if a Hindu, must by his personal conduct show that he regards untouchability as a blot upon Nationalism ;

(II) In the event of mass Civil Disobedience a District or Tehsil should be treated as a unit, and therein a vast majority of the population must have adopted full *Swadeshi* and must be clothed out of cloth handspun and hand-woven in that District or Tehsil, and must believe in and practise all the other items of Non-co-operation ;

Provided that no civil resister should expect to be supported out of public funds, and members of the families of civil resisters undergoing sentence will be expected to support themselves by carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving or any other means ;

Provided further that upon application by any Provincial Congress Committee it is open to the Working Committee to relax the conditions of Civil Disobedience, if it is satisfied that any condition should be waived. (Delhi, A. I. C. C. Meeting November, 1921.)

13. This Committee deplores the tragic occurrences during the past few days in Bombay resulting in racial strife and ending in loss of life and property. In the opinion of this Committee occurrences such as these cannot but retard the progress of the country towards its triple goal, and the Committee wishes in

this connection to emphasise the fact that a non-violent atmosphere is essential for the attainment of the country's goal.

Whilst by reason of these tragic occurrences this Committee recognises the necessity of caution it sees no cause for discouragement, but is of opinion that the after-events give the greatest cause for satisfaction and congratulation, in that Co-operators, Non-Co-operators, Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians without being demoralised by them, set about regaining control over the turbulent elements and were successful in bringing about peace without resort to any Government assistance whatsoever.

This Committee notes, in the quick and voluntary restoration of peace, the great advance the nation has made in the practice of non-violence and responding to its natural leaders. This Committee invites Congress workers to use the occurrences as an indication of the weak spot in the national organisation, and urges upon all Congress and Khilafat organisations the necessity of obtaining control over all turbulent elements in society.

This Committee congratulates the citizens of Bombay upon their having regained the confidence and control of the population and also congratulates the nation upon the bravery of the volunteers and other Non-Co-operators who lost their lives or were injured whilst trying to prevent collision between rival factions.

This Committee tenders its sympathy to the bereaved and the injured and ventures to ask them to regard their sorrows as the common lot of nations striving for self-realisation.

This Committee is further of opinion that all volunteer organisations should be so formed as to become responsible for the retention of a peaceful atmosphere within their respective jurisdictions and that only such volunteers should be enlisted and retained as are known to be pledged to the strictest observance of non-violence.

This Committee desires to warn all Provincial Congress Committees against embarking upon mass civil disobedience without first making certain of a peaceful atmosphere being retained throughout the province concerned, it being in the opinion of the Committee essential for the successful working of civil disobedience that whilst it is in action in one part of India the rest responds by remaining non-violent. (Bombay Working Committee Meeting, November, 1921).

14. Whereas since the holding of the last National Congress the people of India have found from actual experience that by reason of the adoption of non-violent non-co-operation the country has made great advance in fearlessness, self-sacrifice and

self-respect, and whereas the movement has greatly damaged the prestige of the Government, and whereas on the whole the country is rapidly progressing towards Swaraj, this Congress confirms the resolution adopted at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta and re-affirmed at Nagpur, and places on record the fixed determination of the Congress to continue the programme of non-violent non-co-operation with greater vigour than hitherto in such manner as each province may determine, till the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed and Swaraj is established and the control of the Government of India passes into the hands of the people from that of an irresponsible corporation. (Ahmedabad, Thirty-seventh Congress, 1921).

15. Notwithstanding the proclamations prohibiting public meetings, and inasmuch as even committee meetings have been attempted to be construed as public meetings, this Congress advises the holding of committee meetings, and of public meetings, the latter in enclosed places and by tickets and by previous announcements at which, as far as possible, only speakers previously announced shall deliver written speeches, care being taken in every case to avoid risk of provocation and possible violence by the public in consequence. (Ahmedabad, 1921.)

16. This Congress is further of opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an armed rebellion whenever every other remedy for preventing arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of an authority by individuals or corporations has been tried, and therefore advises all Congress workers and others who believe in peaceful methods and are convinced that there is no remedy save some kind of sacrifice, to dislodge the existing government from its position of perfect irresponsibility to the people of India, to organise individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience when the mass of people have been sufficiently trained in the methods of non-violence and otherwise in terms of the resolution thereon of the last meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Delhi.

This Congress is of opinion that in order to concentrate attention upon civil disobedience, whether mass or individual, whether of an offensive or defensive character, under proper safeguards and under instructions to be issued from time to time by the Working Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, all other Congress activities should be suspended whenever and wherever, and to the extent to which, it may be found necessary.

This Congress calls upon all students of the age of 18 and over, particularly those studying in the national institutions and

the staff thereof immediately to sign the foregoing pledge and become members of National Volunteer Corps.

17. In view of the impending arrest of a large number of Congress workers, this Congress whilst requiring the ordinary machinery to remain intact and to be utilised in the ordinary manner whenever feasible, hereby appoints, until further instructions, Mahatma Gandhi as the sole executive authority of the Congress and invests him with the full powers of the All-India Congress Committee including the power to convene a special session of the Congress or of the All-India Congress Committee or the Working Committee, such powers to be exercised between any two sessions of the All-India Congress Committee, and also with the power to appoint a successor in emergency.

This Congress hereby confers upon the said successor and all subsequent successors appointed in turn by their predecessors all his aforesaid powers.

Provided that nothing in this resolution shall be deemed to authorise Mahatma Gandhi or any of the aforesaid successors to conclude any terms of peace with the Government of India or the British Government without the previous sanction of the All-India Congress Committee to be finally ratified by the Congress specially convened for the purpose, and provided also that the first article of the Congress constitution shall in no case be altered by Mahatma Gandhi or his successors except with the leave of the Congress first obtained. (Ahmedabad, Thirty-seventh Session, 1921).

18. The Working Committee deplores the inhuman conduct of the mob at Chauri Chaura in having brutally murdered constables and wantonly burned the police thana and tenders, its sympathy to the families of the bereaved.

In view of Nature's repeated warnings, every time mass civil disobedience has been imminent some popular violent outburst has taken place indicating that the atmosphere in the country is not non-violent enough for mass civil disobedience, the latest instance being the tragic and terrible events at Chauri Chaura near Gorakhpur, the Working Committee of the Congress resolves that mass civil disobedience contemplated at Bardoli and elsewhere be suspended and instructs the local Congress Committees forthwith to advise the cultivators to pay the land revenue and other taxes due to the Government and whose payment might have been suspended in anticipation of mass civil disobedience, and instructs them to suspend every other preparatory activity of an offensive nature.

The suspension of mass civil disobedience shall be continued till the atmosphere is so non-violent as to ensure the non-

repetition of popular atrocities such as at Gorakhpur or hoodliganism such as at Bombay and Madras respectively on the 17th November 1921 and 13th January last.

In order to promote a peaceful atmosphere, the Working Committee advises, till further instructions, all Congress organisations to stop activities specially designed to court arrest and imprisonment, save normal Congress activities including voluntary *hartal*s, wherever an absolutely peaceful atmosphere can be assured, and for that end all picketing shall be stopped save for the bona-fide and peaceful purpose of warning the visitors to liquor-shops against the evils of drinking, such picketing to be controlled by persons of known good character and specially selected by the Congress Committees concerned.

The Working Committee advises till further instructions the stoppage of all volunteer processions and public meetings merely for the purpose of defiance of the notification regarding such meetings; this, however, shall not interfere with the private meetings of Congress and other committees or public meetings which are required for the conduct of the normal activities of the Congress.

Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that ryots are not paying rents to the zemindars, the Working Committee advises Congress workers and organisations to inform the ryots that such withholding of rents is contrary to the resolutions of the Congress and that it is injurious to the best interests of the country.

The Working Committee assures the zemindars that the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights and that even where the ryots have grievances the Committee's desire is that redress should be sought by mutual consultations and by the usual recourse to arbitrations.

Complaints having been brought to the notice of the Working Committee that in the formation of Volunteer Corps great laxity prevails in the selection and, that insistence is not laid on the full use of handspun and handwoven khaddar, and on the full observance by Hindus of the rule as to the removal of untouchability, nor is care being taken to ascertain that the candidates believe fully in the observance of non-violence in intent, word and deed in terms of the Congress resolution, the Working Committee calls upon all Congress organisations to revise their lists and remove from them the names of all such volunteers as do not strictly conform to the requirements of the pledge.

The Working Committee is of opinion that unless Congressmen carry out to the full the Congress constitution and the resolutions from time to time issued by the Working Com-

mittee, it is not possible to achieve its objects expeditiously or at all.

The foregoing resolution will have effect only pending the meeting to be specially convened of the All-India Congress Committee and thereafter subject to confirmation by it, the secretary to call such meeting as early as possible after consultation with Hakim Ajmal Khan. (Bardoli Working Committee Meeting, February, 1922.)

19. Whereas the Gorakhpur tragedy is a powerful proof of the fact that the mass mind has not yet fully realised the necessity of non-violence as an integral, active and chief part of mass civil disobedience and whereas the reported indiscriminate acceptance of persons as volunteers in contravention of the Congress instructions betrays want of appreciation of the vital part of Satyagraha, and whereas in the opinion of the Working Committee the delay in the attainment of the national aim is solely due to the weak and incomplete execution in practice of the constitution of the Congress and with a view of perfecting the internal organisation

The Working Committee advises all Congress organisations to be engaged in the following activities :—

(1) To enlist at least one crore of members of the Congress.

*Note (i) :—*Since peace (non-violence) and legitimacy (truth) are the essence of the Congress creed, no person should be enlisted who does not believe in non-violence and truth as indispensable for the attainment of Swaraj. The creed of the Congress must therefore be carefully explained to each person who is appealed to, to join the Congress.

*Note (ii) :—*The workers should note that no one who does not pay the annual subscription can be regarded as a qualified Congress man, all the old members are therefore to be advised to register their names.

(2) To popularise the spinning wheel and to organise the manufacture of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

*Note (i) :—*To this end all workers and office-bearers should be dressed in khaddar and it is recommended that, with a view to encourage others, they should themselves learn handspinning.

(3) To organise national schools.

*Note :—*No picketing of the Government schools should be resorted to, but reliance should be placed upon the superiority of national schools in all vital matters to command attendance.

(4) To organise the Depressed Classes for a better life, to improve their social, mental and moral condition, to induce them to send their children to national schools and to provide for them the ordinary facilities which the other citizens enjoy.

*Note :—*Whilst therefore where the prejudice against the untouchables is still strong in those places, separate schools and separate wells must be maintained out of Congress funds, every effort should be made to draw such children to national schools and to persuade the people to allow the untouchables to use the common wells.

(5) To organise the temperance campaign amongst the people addicted to the drink habit by house to house visits and to rely more upon appeal to the drinker in his home than upon picketing.

(6) To organise village and town *panchayats* for the private settlement of all disputes, reliance being placed solely upon force of public opinion and the truthfulness of *panchayat* decisions to ensure obedience to them.

Note :—In order to avoid even the appearance of coercion no social boycott should be resorted to against those who will not obey the *panchayat* decisions.

(7) In order to promote and emphasise unity among all classes and races and mutual goodwill, the establishment of which is the aim of the movement of non-co-operation, to organise a social service department that will render help to all, irrespective of differences, in times of illness or accident.

Note :—A Non-co-operator, whilst firmly adhering to his creed, will deem it a privilege to render personal service in case of illness or accident to every person whether English or Indian.

(8) To continue the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund collections and call upon every Congress man or Congress sympathiser to pay at least one-hundredth part of his annual income for 1921. Every province to send every month twenty five per cent. of its income from the Tilak Memorial Swaraj Fund to the All-India Congress Committee.

The above resolution shall be brought before the forthcoming session of the All-India Congress Committee for revision if necessary. (Bardoli Working Committee, February, 1922).

20. This Committee records its satisfaction that although, in spite of the suspension of all aggressive activities by the Congress Committees repression in most severe form has been resorted to by the Government in several parts of the country, the spirit of the Congress workers has not been daunted and the constructive programme laid down by the Committee is being loyally carried out at great sacrifice in every province.

The Committee has taken note of the wide-spread feeling that in view of the extremely unfair manner in which the policy of repression is being carried out by the Government the country should be advised to resort to some form of civil disobedience to compel the Government to abandon their present policy and to agree to concede the triple demand of the Congress. But the Committee is of opinion that the carrying out of the constructive programme will be the best preparation for even mass civil disobedience while it will also be the most effective means of furthering the objects of the Congress. The Committee therefore earnestly appeals to the country to concentrate all its efforts upon carrying out the constructive programme to the fullest extent and to endeavour to complete it within the shortest period possible.

That the further consideration of the question whether civil disobedience in some form or some other measure of a similar character should be adopted, should be taken up at the next meeting of the Committee to be held at Calcutta on the 15th of August next.

That in the meantime the President be requested to nominate and authorise a few gentlemen to tour round the country and report on the situation to the next meeting.

Note :—This resolution does not in any way affect the resolution passed at Delhi on the 25th February last.

The President, Hakim Ajmal Khan, in consultation with the members of the Working Committee, nominated himself and the following gentlemen on the Committee to tour round the country and report on the situation :—

Pandit Motilal Nehru.
Dr. M. A. Ansari.
Syt. V. J. Patel.
Seth. Jammalal Bajaj
Syt. C. Rajagopalachari.
Seth. M. H. J. M. Chhotani.

Hakim Ajmal Khan being the Acting President of the Congress was the exofficio chairman of the Committee.

Seth. Jammalal could not accept the offer owing to his preoccupation with the all India khaddar work scheme. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was asked to take his place but owing to ill-health she was prevented from doing so. The Chairman then invited Syt. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar who kindly agreed and joined the Committee at Jubbulpore. Seth. Chhotani was unable to join in the tour or take part in the meetings of the Committee. (Lucknow A.I.C.C. meeting June, 1922).

21. This Congress declares that non-co-operators are free to exercise the right of private defence within the limits defined by law except when carrying on Congress work or on occasions directly arising therefrom, subject always to the condition that it is not likely to lead to a general outburst of violence.

Note :—Using force in private defence in gross cases, e.g., insults to religion, outrages on the modesty of women or indecent assaults on boys and men is not prohibited under any circumstances. (Gaya, Thirty-eighth Session,, 1922).

22. Whereas the boycott of Councils carried out during the elections held in 1920 has destroyed the moral strength of the institutions through which Government sought to consolidate its power and carry on its irresponsible rule :

And whereas it is necessary again for the people of India to withhold participation in the elections of the next year as an essential programme of non-violent non-co-operation :

This Congress resolves to advise that all voters shall abstain from standing as candidates for any of the Councils and from voting for any candidate offering himself as such in disregard of this advice, and to signify the abstention in such manner as the All-India Congress Committee may instruct in that behalf. (Gaya, Thirty-eighth Session, 1922).

23. This Congress re-affirms its opinion that civil disobedience is the only civilized and effective substitute for an

armed rebellion when every other remedy for preventing the arbitrary, tyrannical and emasculating use of authority has been tried.

And in view of the wide-spread awakening of the people to a sense of the urgent need for Swarajya and the general demand and necessity for civil disobedience in order that the national goal may be speedily attained, and in view of the fact that the necessary atmosphere of non-violence has been preserved in spite of all provocations :

This Congress calls upon all Congress workers to complete the preparations for offering civil disobedience by strengthening and expanding the National Organisation and to take immediate steps for the collection of at least Rs. 25 lakhs for the Tilak Swarajya Fund and the enrolment of at least 50,000 volunteers satisfying the conditions of the Ahmedabad pledge by a date to be fixed by the All-India Congress Committee at Gaya ; and empowers the Committee to issue necessary instructions for carrying this resolution into practical effect.

*Note :—*The powers of the Provincial Committees under the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee passed at Calcutta on the 20th November, 1922, shall not be affected by this resolution. (Gaya, Thirty-eighth Session, 1922)

24. Resolved that the following terms of compromise be confirmed and given effect to :—

(a) Suspension of Council propaganda on both sides till the 30th April.

(b) Both parties to be at liberty to work the remaining items of their respective programmes in the interval without interference with each other.

(c) The majority party will be at liberty to carry on their propaganda in accordance with the Gaya programme about money and volunteers.

(d) The minority party will co-operate with the majority party in appealing for and raising such funds and enlisting such workers as may be necessary for the constructive programme and also in working the constructive programme and other common matters.

(e) Each party to adopt such course after the 30th April as it may be advised

(f) The above arrangement is subject to the condition that there is no dissolution of the existing councils in any province before the expiry of the full term for which they have been constituted. (Allahabad A. I. C. C. Meeting, Feb., 1923).

25. In view of the fact that there is a strong body of opinion within the Congress in favour of contesting elections

to official councils and that the existing division amongst congressmen has already led to a lessening of the influence of the Congress, this committee deems it absolutely necessary that congressmen should close up their ranks and present a united front, and it therefore directs that no propaganda be carried on amongst voters in furtherance of resolution 6 of the Gaya Congress relating to the boycott of councils.

The Committee re-assembled after an adjournment, Mr. Das being in the chair as before. The President read out the following letter of resignation signed by 6 members of the Working Committee :—

TO THE CHAIRMAN,

All-India Congress Committee meeting.

Dear Sir,

In view of the decision of the All-India Congress Committee adopting a resolution of vital importance on which we hold a contrary opinion and which runs counter to the resolution of the Congress we consider it our duty to resign our seats on the Working Committee and such offices as we hold therein which we humbly do.

We remain,
Yours faithfully,
C. Rajagopalachari,
Vallabhbhai J. Patel, (Secretary).
Rajendra Prasad, (Secretary).
Braja Kishore Prasad.
G. B. Deshpande
Jammalal Bajaj, (Treasurer).

BOMBAY,
26th May, 1923.

The President asked them to reconsider their resignation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved the following resolution which being duly seconded and supported was carried after some discussion :—

The committee does not accept the resignations offered by Messrs. C. Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Braja Kishore Prasad, G. B. Deshpande and Jammalal Bajaj. The committee expresses its confidence in them and requests them to reconsider their resignation.

The Committee reassembled after an adjournment. Mr. Moazzam Ali, who had been absent the day before also tendered his resignation. The reply of the members who had tendered their resignations in writing was then read out. It was as follows :—

"We thank you and the members of the All-India Congress Committee for asking us to withdraw our resignations but after giving very great consideration to the question again, we regret we still feel that we can not serve on the Working Committee."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and some other members again urged upon the members to reconsider their resignation. Several members favoured the acceptance of the resignation. The resignations however were not withdrawn. Accordingly the following resolution was adopted :—

Resolved that the resignations tendered, including the resignation of the President, be accepted. (Bombay A. I. C. C. Meeting, May, 1923).

26. • In view of the fact that there is a strong desire in some provinces for holding a special session of the Congress to consider the question of the boycott of the Councils, and also having regard to the political situation created in the country by the present division in the Congress ranks, this committee resolves that a special session of the Congress be convened at Bombay about the middle of August next.

This Committee empowers the Working Committee to take all necessary action in this behalf.

*Note :—*This Committee also decides that in case a special session is convened, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad be proposed for the presidency. (Nagpur, Working Committee meeting, July, 1923).

27. While re-affirming its adherence to the principle of non-violent non-co-operation, this Congress declares that such congressmen as have no religious or other conscientious objections against entering the legislatures are at liberty to stand as candidates and to exercise their right of voting at the forthcoming elections; and this Congress therefore suspends all propaganda against entering the councils.

This Congress at the same time calls upon all congressmen to redouble their efforts to carry out the constructive programme of their great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, by united endeavour to achieve Swaraj at the earliest possible moment. (Delhi Special Session, 1923).

28. This Congress resolves that the following committee be formed forthwith to organise an effective campaign of civil disobedience and to advise and regulate the action of provinces organising similar provincial or local campaigns for the speedy attainment of Swaraj, which alone can guarantee the restoration of Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners to liberty, as well as the freedom of the Jazirut-ul-Arab and a satisfactory settlement of the Punjab wrong :—

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| 1. Dr. Kitchlew. | 5. Sardar Mangal Singh. |
| 2. Maulana Muhammad Ali. | 6. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. |
| 3. Deshbandhu Das. | 7. Babu Rajendra Prasad. |
| 4. Syt. Vallabhabhai Patel. | 8. Syt. Vithalbhai Patel. |
| Dr. Kitchlew to be Convener. (Delhi, Special Session, 1923.) | |

29. (a) This Congress reiterates its conviction that the wide-spread production and use of khaddar, that is, hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, is essential for the economic betterment of India, and therefore calls upon the people of India to redouble their efforts to make spinning and the use of khaddar universal throughout the country, and thus bring about a complete boycott of all foreign cloth.

(b) In addition to cloth, the Congress further calls upon the people to encourage home manufactures by purchasing Indian made goods only and, wherever possible, avoiding the purchase and use of foreign goods.

(c) In view of the fact that India is at present carrying on a struggle for freedom and England is thwarting her and putting every impediment in her way, and Indians are insulted and treated as helots in British colonies and dominions, this Congress calls upon the people specially to avoid purchase of goods produced in Great Britain, her colonies and dominions, and thus to bring about a complete boycott of such British goods as may be recommended by the committee appointed in clause (d).

(d) In order to give effect to clause (b) and (c) of this resolution, and to determine the most feasible method of encouraging Indian manufactures and the boycott of British goods in particular, this Congress appoints the following committee and empowers it to issue the necessary directions in this behalf :—

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| 1. Pandit Motilal Nehru. | 6. Syt. Sulhas Chandra Bose. |
| 2. Maulana Muhammad Ali. | 7. Dr. Kitchlew |
| 3. Syt. Vithalbhai Patel. | 8. Syt. N. C. Kelkar. |
| 4. Syt. J. K. Mehta. | 9. Syt. D. Gopala Krishnayya. |
| 5. Sethi Umar Sobhani. | —(Delhi, Special Session, 1923). |

30. This Congress reaffirms the Non-co-operation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya and Delhi.

Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-co-operation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the triple boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that boycott remain unaltered.

This Congress further declares that the said principle and policy form the foundation of constructive work, and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepare for the adoption of civil disobedience. This Congress calls upon every Provincial Congress Committee to take immediate steps in this behalf with a view to the speedy attainment of our goal. (Cocanada, Thirty-ninth Session, 1923.)

31. The Congress hereby endorses the following agreement entered into between Mahatma Gandhi on the one hand and Deshbandhu C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru, acting on behalf of the Swaraj Party, on the other :—

Whereas although Swaraj is the goal of all the parties in India the country is divided into different groups seemingly working in opposite directions, and whereas such antagonistic activity retards the progress of the nation towards Swaraj, and whereas it is desirable to bring so far as possible all such parties within the Congress and on a common platform, and whereas the Congress itself is divided into two opposing sections resulting in harm to the country's cause, and whereas it is desirable to re-unite these parties for the purpose of furthering the

common cause, and whereas a policy of repression has been commenced in Bengal by the Local Government with the sanction of the Governor-General, and whereas in the opinion of the undersigned this repression is aimed in reality not at any party of violence but at the Swaraj Party in Bengal and, therefore, at constitutional and orderly activity, and whereas, therefore, it has become a matter of immediate necessity to invite and secure the co-operation of all parties for putting forth the united strength of the nation against the policy of repression, we the undersigned strongly recommend the following for the adoption by all parties and eventually by the Congress at Belgaum :—

(i) "The Congress should suspend the programme of non-co-operation as the national programme except in so far as it relates to the refusal to use and wear cloth made out of India.

"The Congress should further resolve that different classes of work may be done, as may be found necessary, by different sections within the Congress and should resolve that the spread of hand-spinning and hand-weaving and all the antecedent processes and the spread of hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar, and the promotion of unity between different communities, specially between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and the removal of untouchability by the Hindus from amongst them, should be carried on by all sections within the Congress, and the work in connection with the Central and Provincial Legislatures should be carried on by the Swaraj Party on behalf of the Congress and as an integral part of the Congress organisation, and for such work the Swaraj Party should make its own rules and administer its own funds

"Inasmuch as experience has shown that without universal spinning India cannot become self-supporting regarding her clothing requirements, and inasmuch as hand-spinning is the best and the most tangible method of establishing a visible and substantial bond between the masses and Congressmen and women, and in order to popularise hand-spinning and its products, the Congress should repeal Article VII of the Congress Constitution and should substitute the following therefor :—

"No one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who is not of the age of 18 and who does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar at political and Congress functions, or while engaged in Congress business, and does not make a contribution of 2,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per month of his or her spinning or, in case of illness, unwillingness, or any such cause, a like quantity of yarn spun by any other person."

(ii) The Congress hopes that the agreement will result in true unity between the two wings of the Congress and will also enable persons belonging to other political organisations to join the Congress. The Congress congratulates the Swarajists and others arrested under the new Ordinance or Regulation 3 of 1818 and is of opinion that such arrests are inevitable so long as the people of India have not the capacity for vindicating their status and liberty, and is further of opinion that such capacity can in the present circumstances of the country be developed by achieving the long-deferred exclusion of foreign cloth; and therefore as a token of the earnestness and determination of the people to achieve this national purpose, welcomes the introduction of handspinning in the franchise and appeals to every person to avail himself or herself of it and join the Congress.

(iii) In view of the foregoing the Congress expects every Indian man and woman to discard all foreign cloth and to use and wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of other cloth. With a view to accomplish the said purpose without delay the Congress expects

all Congress members to help the said hand-spinning and the antecedent processes and the manufacture and sale of Khaddar.

(iv) The Congress appeals to the Princes and the wealthy classes and the members of political and other organisations not represented on the Congress, and municipalities, local boards, panchayats and such other institutions, to extend their help to the spread of hand-spinning and Khaddar by personal use and otherwise, and specially by giving liberal patronage to the class of artists, still surviving, who are capable of working artistic designs in fine khaddar.

(v) The Congress appeals to the merchants engaged in the foreign cloth and yarn trade to appreciate the interest of the nation, and discontinue further importation of foreign cloth and help the national cottage industry by dealing in khaddar.

(vi) It having come to the notice of the Congress that varieties of cloth are manufactured in mills and on hand-loom out of mill yarn and sold in the Indian market as khaddar, the Congress appeals to the mill-owners and other manufacturers concerned, to discontinue this undesirable practice and further appeals to them to encourage the revival of the ancient cottage industry of India by restricting their operations among those parts of the country that have not yet come under the Congress influence and appeals to them to discontinue the importation of foreign cloth.

(vii) The Congress appeals to the heads and leaders of all the religious denominations, whether Hindu, Muslim or any other, to preach to their congregations the message of khaddar and advise them to discontinue the use of foreign cloth.

B. The present Article VII of the Constitution to be repealed and the following to be substituted therefor:—

(i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no one shall be a member of any Congress Committee or organisation who does not wear handspun and handwoven *khaddar* at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business, and does not make a contribution of 24,000 yards of evenly spun yarn per year of his or her own spinning, or in case of illness, unwillingness or any such cause, the same quantity of yarn spun by any other person; provided also that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

(ii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from 1st January to 31st December. The said subscription shall be payable in advance and may be paid in instalments of 2,000 yards per month payable in advance. Members joining in the middle of the year shall contribute the full quantity due from the beginning of the year.

Transitory Provision:—During 1925 the subscription shall be 20,000 yards only and shall be payable on or before 1st March or in instalments as aforesaid.

(iii) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates, or any Committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or any Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not contributed the yarn subscription of the instalments due. Any member who has made default in the payment of the yarn subscription may have his or her rights restored by paying the subscription in respect of which the default has occurred and the instalment for the month then current.

(v) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the General Secretary, All-India Congress Committee from month to month returns of membership and of the yarn received by it in virtue of this Article. The Provincial Congress Committee shall contribute 10 per cent. of the yarn subscription or their value to the All-India Congress Committee.

(v) Delete Article VI (e) and the Article IX (b) of the Constitution. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924).

32. This Congress confirms Part "B" of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee, at the meeting held at Patna, on the 22nd and 23rd September last, and resolves that the Congress do now take up, and carry on, such political work as is necessary in the interests of the country and, for this purpose, do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the Congress, save and except such funds and assets as, under that resolution have been declared to belong to the All-India Spinners' Association, and such funds and assets as may be earmarked.

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

(i) The work in the country shall be directed to the education of the people in their political rights and training them to acquire the necessary strength and power of resistance to win those rights by carrying out the constructive programme of the Congress, with special reference to popularising the spinning-wheel and *Khaddar*, promoting inter-communal unity, removal of untouchability, ameliorating the conditions of the suppressed classes and removal of the drink and drug evils; and shall include the organisation of villages, capture of local bodies and the promotion of education on national lines and the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural, the adjustment of relations between employers and labour, and between landlords and tenants, and the general advancement of the national, economical, industrial and commercial interests of Indians both in India and Overseas (Re-affirmed in Gauhati, 1926).

(ii) The work outside the country shall be directed to the dissemination of accurate information.

(iii) This Congress adopts the terms of settlement offered by the Independent and the Swarajya Parties of the Assembly on the 18th February, 1924, and incorporated in its resolution of the same date, as terms on behalf of the country, and, having regard to the fact that the Government have so far not made any response even to the said offer, the following further action shall be taken:—

(a) The Swarajya Party in the Assembly shall, at the earliest opportunity, invite the Government to give their final decision on the said demand, and in case no decision is announced before the end of February, or the decision announced is held not to be satisfactory by a Special

Committee consisting of the Working Committee of the Congress and the members named below, the Party shall by adopting the proper procedure, intimate to the Government on the floor of the House, that the Party will no longer continue to remain and work in the present legislatures as heretofore, but will go into the country to work among the people. The Swarajist Members of the Assembly and the Council of State will vote for the rejection of the Finance Bill, and immediately after, leave their seats. The Swarajist Members of such Provincial Councils as may be in session at the time shall also leave their seats and report themselves to the Special Committee aforesaid, for further instructions. Swarajist Members of such Councils as are not in session, at the time, shall not attend future meetings of the said Councils, and shall, likewise, report themselves to the Special Committee

(b) No Member of the Swaraj Party in the Council of State, Legislative Assembly or any of the Provincial Councils shall thereafter attend any meeting of any of the said legislatures or any of their Committees, except for the purpose of preventing his seat from being declared vacant, provided that it shall be open to the Special Committee to allow the Swarajist Members of any legislatures to attend the said legislatures when such attendance is, in its opinion, essential for some special or unforeseen purpose, and provided also that, prior to their being called upon to leave their seats, it shall be open to the Swarajist members of the various legislatures, to engage themselves in such activities in their respective legislatures as permissible to them under the existing rules of the Party.

(c) The Special Committee shall immediately on receipt of the reports mentioned in sub-clause (a), call a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee to frame a programme of work, which shall be carried out by the Congress and the Swaraj Party organisation in co-operation with each other throughout the country;

(d) The said programme of work shall include selected heads of general work mentioned in Clauses (i) and (ii) above, as also the education of the electorates in the policy herein laid down, and shall indicate the lines on which the next general elections is to be run by and in the name of the Congress and state clearly the issues on which Congressmen shall seek election;

The Congress hereby authorises the Provincial Congress Committees to select candidates for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Indian Legislative Assembly in their provincial areas for the general election next year, as early as possible, provided that the policy of non-acceptance of offices in the gift of the Government shall continue to be followed until a response to the terms of settlement aforesaid is made by the Government.

(e) In the event of the final decision of the Government, on the terms of settlement of the Assembly, being found satisfactory and acceptable by the aforesaid Special Committee, a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee shall forthwith be held to determine the future course of action.

(f) Until the Swarajists leave the legislatures, as herein provided, the constitution of the Swaraj Party and the rules made thereunder shall be followed in the legislatures, subject to such changes as may be made by the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee, from time to time;

(g) For the purpose of starting the work under sub-clauses (c) & (d) the All-India Congress Committee shall allot such funds as it may consider sufficient for the initial expenses of necessary propaganda in that behalf; but any further funds required for the said purpose shall be

raised by the Working Committee, or, under its directions by contributions from the public. (Cawnpur, Forty-first Session, 1925).

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

- (i) refuse to accept ministership or other office in the gift of the Government and oppose the formation of a ministry by other parties until in the opinion of the Congress or the All India Congress Committee a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the National Demand;
- (ii) subject to clause (iv) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government or unless otherwise directed by the All-India Congress Committee;
- (iii) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;
- (iv) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country, and for the protection of the freedom of person, speech, association and of the press, and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy.
- (v) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure ~~fixity~~ of tenure and other advantages with a view to ensure a speedy amelioration of the condition of the tenants; and
- (vi) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust on an equitable basis the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926.)

34. Whereas the British Government have appointed the Statutory Commission in utter disregard of India's right of self-determination, this Congress resolves that the only self-respecting course for India to adopt is to boycott the Commission at every form. In particular (a) this Congress calls upon the people of India and all Congress organisations in the country (i) to organise mass demonstration on the day of the arrival of the Commission in India, and similar demonstrations in the various cities of India which the Commission may visit; (ii) to organise public opinion by vigorous propaganda so as to persuade Indians of all shades of political opinion effectively to boycott the Commission. (b) The Congress calls upon non-official members of the Indian Legislatures and leaders of political parties and communities of India and all others not to give evidence before the Commission nor co-operate with it in manner, public or private, nor attend or participate in any social functions given to them. (c) This Congress calls upon

the non-official members of the Indian Legislatures, (i) neither to vote for nor serve on Select Committees that may be set up in connection with this Commission; (ii) to throw out every other proposal, motion or demand for grant that may be moved in connection with the work of the Commission. (d) This Congress also calls upon the non-official members of the Legislatures not to attend meetings of the legislatures except for the purpose of preventing their seats being declared vacant or for the purpose of making the boycott effective and successful or for the purpose of throwing out a ministry or of opposing any measure which in the opinion of the Working Committee of the Congress, is detrimental to the interests of India. (e) This Congress authorises the Working Committee to confer with and secure the co-operation, wherever possible, of other organisations and parties with a view to make the boycott effective and complete. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927).

35. This Congress while re-affirming the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the boycott of British goods, resolves that, with a view to make such boycott effective, Provincial Congress Committees be called upon to organise boycott of selected British goods having regard to the conditions of each province. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927).

36. This Congress congratulates Sri Vallabhvaï Patel and the people of Bardoli on the great success achieved by them in their campaign of non-violent resistance to the unjust enhancement of land revenue by Government. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928).

37. This Congress, having considered the constitution recommended by the All-Parties' Committee Report, (vide Appendix C) welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems, and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations and, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to Complete Independence passed at the Madras Congress approves of the constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, especially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, this Congress will adopt the constitution in its entirety, if it is accepted by the British Parliament on or before December 31, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, Congress will organise a non-violent non-co-operation by advising the country to refuse taxation in such other manner as may be decided upon. Consistently with the above, nothing in this resolution shall interfere with the carrying on, in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for

Complete Independence. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In order to finance the activities mentioned in the foregoing programme the Congress expects every Congressman to contribute to the Congress coffer certain percentage of his or her income according to his or her ability. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928.)

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

This Congress has noted however that some people have deliberately violated the nation's resolve to boycott the Commission, and have in defiance of the nation's will co-operated with the Simon Commission and taken a leading part in welcoming it. In view of this unnational conduct of some people and in view of the part taken by some officials, British and Indian, in the brutal assault by the police on national workers, this Congress advises the people to refrain from having any social dealings with any such persons, who assault national

workers or who take a leading part in co-operating' with the Commission. In particular, the Congress advises that such persons should not be invited to social functions and no social functions given by them or in their honour should be attended.

This Congress appeals to the people to make the boycott complete and effective in the provinces in which the Commission may visit hereafter by organising amongst other things, hartals and other mass demonstrations and advises the people to disobey all orders of the Government prohibiting such activities. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928).

40. The Congress endorses the action of the Working Committee in connection with the manifesto signed by party leaders, including Congressmen, on the Viceregal pronouncement of 31st October relating to Dominion Status and appreciates the efforts of the Viceroy towards the settlement of the national movement for Swaraj. The Congress, however, having considered all that has since happened and the result of the meeting between Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Motilal Nehru and other leaders and the Viceroy, is of opinion that nothing is to be gained in the existing circumstances by the Congress being represented at the proposed Round Table Conference. This Congress therefore in pursuance of the resolution passed at its session at Calcutta last year declares that the word "Swaraj" in Article I of the Congress Constitution shall mean Complete Independence and further declares the entire scheme of the Nehru Committee's report to have lapsed and hopes that all Congressmen will henceforth devote their exclusive attention to the attainment of Complete Independence for India. As a preliminary step towards organising a campaign for Independence and in order to make the Congress policy as consistent as possible with the change of creed, this Congress resolves upon complete boycott of the Central and Provincial Legislatures and Committees constituted by the Government and calls upon the Congressmen and others taking part in the national movement to abstain from participating, directly or indirectly, in future elections, and directs the present Congress members of the Legislatures and Committees to resign their seats. This Congress appeals to the nation zealously to prosecute the constructive programme of the Congress, and authorises the All-India Congress Committee, wherever it deems fit, to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary. (Lahore, Forty-fifth Session, 1929).

41. This Congress congratulates all those who underwent great sufferings during the Civil Disobedience campaign whether through imprisonment, shooting, bayonet or lathi charges,

emigration from their homes and loss of property by confiscation, looting, burning or otherwise as a result of repression. The Congress more specially congratulates the women of India who rose in their thousands and assisted the nation in its struggle for freedom, and respectfully assures them that no constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that discriminates against the sex in the matter of franchise. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931).

42. This Congress notes with satisfaction the visible progress of the nation towards total prohibition during the past twelve months and calls upon all Congress organisations to continue the anti-drink and drugs campaign with renovated vigour, and hopes that the women of the country will redouble their efforts in weaning the drunkard and drug addict from a habit that ruins both body and soul and desolates happy homes. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931).

43. This Congress notes with gratification the great success that has so far attended the boycott of foreign cloth and the sales of intoxicating drugs and drink, and calls upon the Congress organisations not to relax their efforts in the matter of peaceful picketing, provided that the picketing shall be in strict accord with terms of the Settlement in this behalf between the Government and Congress. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931).

44. This Congress congratulates the nation on ~~the heroic~~ sacrifices made and the sufferings undergone by thousands of civil resisters—men and women, young and old, drawn from cities as well as the villages in the different provinces—and places on record its conviction that without non-violent non-co-operation and civil resistance there would never have been the phenomenal mass awakening that has taken place throughout the country. Whilst recognising the desirability and necessity of the suspension of the civil resistance campaign except with reference to Gandhiji, the Congress reiterates its undying faith in non-violent non-co-operation and civil resistance as a better means of achieving Swaraj than methods of violence which, as experience has abundantly shown, result in terrorism both by the oppressed and the oppressors. (Bombay, Forty-ninth Session, 1934).

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

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

This Congress accepts the said recommendation and resolves that the existing Parliamentary Board shall be dissolved on 1st

May 1935 and a new Board of 25 shall be elected by the A. I. C. C. on or before the aforesaid date.

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

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

The elected Board shall possess the same powers as are possessed by the existing Board. (Bombay, Forty-ninth Session, 1934).

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

III. REPRESSIVE POLICY

1. That this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magistrates, by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act V of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary, dangerous, and unprecedented character. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894.)

2. That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations, as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and care, and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

(a) This Congress therefore urges that none of these Regulations should be put into force except after notification by the Local Government concerned that the circumstances contemplated by the preamble of the Regulations exist in its Province or in some definite area within the Province, and that it intends, if necessary, to exercise the powers vested in it; and further that in no case should such powers extend to keeping a person arrested under them in custody for a period longer than three months without his being brought to trial before a Court of Justice.

(b) That this Congress, while feeling that the Government of Bombay, must have acted under a sense of responsibility in arresting the Sardars Nattu under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, is yet of opinion, that, five months having now elapsed from such arrest, it is the duty

of the Government, in the interests of Justice, and also to allay the disquiet and uneasiness, which has been created in the minds of the people at large by the arrest, to bring them—the Saidars Natu—to trial without delay, or, if the Government have no sufficient evidence against them to place before a Court of Justice, to release them. (Amraoti Thirteenth Session, 1897).

3. That this Congress views with alarm and anxiety the changes proposed in the existing law of sedition as defined in Section 124-A, and of circulating false reports as defined in Section 505 of the Indian Penal Code, and is of opinion that Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code requires amendment, not in the direction of greater stringency but in that of greater freedom, and if the law of sedition in India is to be made the same, as it is in England, the administration of it ought to be safe-guarded substantially in the same way as it is there, namely, that the trial of accused persons must always be by Jury, at least one-half of whom should be persons of the same nationality as the accused, and that their verdict should be unanimous. And this Congress strongly protests against cases of sedition being made triable by Magistrates, and not by Courts of Sessions and High Courts exclusively, as heretofore, and against the proposed to invest District Magistrates with the power of calling upon persons who, in their opinion, disseminate disaffection, to find sureties of good behaviour for twelve months. This Congress is further of opinion that the changes in the law, now proposed, will be altogether at variance with the pledges given by Sir James Fitz-James Stephen, when passing Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code through the Council, and will deal an irreparable blow to liberty of speech and freedom of the Press, thus retarding the progress of the country and creating terror instead of confidence in the minds of the people.

That a copy of this Resolution be submitted to the Legislative Council by the President. (Amraoti, Thirteenth Session, 1897).

4. That this Congress desires to record its protests against the Criminal Procedure Bill of 1897, now pending before the Imperial Legislative Council, as being a retrograde and reactionary measure, which will add to the already large powers of the Police, invest Magistrates with a discretionary authority which they do not now possess, and curtail the powers of the High Courts, all to the extreme prejudice of accused persons. (Amraoti, Thirteenth Session, 1897.)

5. That this Congress regrets, that, in spite of its protest at its last sitting and the protest of many public bodies and eminent men, English and Indian, the amendments proposed in the Indian Penal Code, and the Criminal Procedure Code, which are calculated to unduly enlarge the powers of the Police and of the Magistracy, to fetter the freedom of the Press and to restrict liberty of speech, have been carried through the Im-

perial Legislative Council, and urges their repeal. "(Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

6. That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the establishment of Secret Press Committees in certain parts of India is highly objectionable and inconsistent with the spirit of British administration. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

7. That this Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the necessity of repealing Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, inasmuch as the principle and provisions thereof are contrary to the traditions and sense of justice of the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and indeed of all civilized Governments, and inasmuch as they are a standing menace to the liberty of the subject. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

8. That this Congress views with entire disapproval the Official Secrets Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council inasmuch as it is uncalled for, against the interests of the public, dangerous to individual liberty and retrograde in policy, and prays that the Government of India may be pleased to confine its scope to the disclosure of Naval and Military secrets. (Madras Nineteenth Session 1903.)

9. That this Congress records its earnest and emphatic protest against the repressive measures, which have been adopted by the authorities in Bengal after the people there had been compelled to resort to the boycott of foreign goods as a last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left to them of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of the universal prayers and protests of the people. (Benares, Twenty-first Session, 1905.)

10. This Congress places on record its emphatic and unqualified condemnation of the detestable outrages and deeds of violence, which have been committed recently in some parts of the country, and which are abhorrent to the loyal, humane and peace-loving nature of His Majesty's Indian subjects of every denomination. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908.)

11. Having regard to the recent deportations, and the grave risk of injustice involved in Government action based upon, ex-parte and untested information, and having regard to the penal laws of the country, this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the repeal of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and similar Regulations in other Provinces of India; and it respectfully prays that the persons recently deported in Bengal be given an opportunity of exculpating themselves or for meeting any charges that may be against them, or be set at liberty. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908.)

12. This Congress deplores the circumstances that have led to the passing of Act VII of 1908 and Act of XIV of 1908, but having regard to their drastic character, and to the fact that a sudden emergency can alone afford any justification for such exceptional legislation, this Congress expresses its earnest hope that these enactments will have only a temporary existence in the Indian Statute Book. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908.)

13. That, having regard to the grave risk of injustice in Government action based upon ex-parte and untested information, and to the sufficiency for reasonably preventive and punitive purposes of other provisions on the Statute Book of the country, this Congress urges upon the Government the repeal of the old Regulations relating to deportation, and prays that the persons who were last year deported from Bengal be set at liberty without further detention, or be given an opportunity to meet the charges, if any, that may be against them, and for which they have been condemned unheard. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909.)

14. That having regard to the state of the country since the passing of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Press Act, this Congress earnestly prays that the former be not re-enacted at the expiry of its term, and that the latter be removed from the Statute Book without delay. (Allahabad, Twenty-sixth Session, 1910.)

15. That having regard to the great improvement which has taken place in the general situation of the country, as recognised by the late Viceroy and other high authorities, this Congress respectfully appeals to His Excellency Lord Hardinge to signalise the commencement of a new administration by an act of clemency to those who are undergoing imprisonment for purely political offences. In the opinion of this Congress, such an act of clemency will have the undoubted effect of facilitating the return of the country to normal conditions, and will lead to a further improvement in the relations between the Government and the people. (Allahabad, Twenty-sixth Session, 1910.)

16. This Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urges that the same be repealed. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

17. This Congress places on record its strong conviction that the Press Act of 1910 has proved a menace to the liberty of the Indian Press and has hampered the legitimate expression of healthy public opinion which is so essential to good administration, and in view of the wide and arbitrary powers conferred by the Act upon the Executive this Congress strongly urges the Government to repeal it. (Lucknow, Thirty-second, Session, 1916.)

18. (a) That this Congress views with alarm the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Bengal Regulation III of 1818, and urges that in the application of the Defence of India Act, which is an emergency measure, the same principle should be followed as under the Defence of the Realm Act of the United Kingdom, and the same procedure adopted in dealing with persons sought to be proceeded against under the Act ;that after arrest, a statement in writing of the charges on which the arrest is made, or an order of internment is intended to be passed, should be handed over to the person arrested ; that a statement by way of explanation should be taken from arrested person in writing, if he so desires, but that statements in the nature of a confession shall not be taken except under the safeguards provided in the case of accused persons under the Code of the Criminal Procedure ; that, as soon as possible, and before an order for internment is made after arrest, all papers and statements in connection with the case should be laid before a Committee consisting of a lawyer-Judge of the High Court, a non-official practising lawyer and a Judge belonging to the Indian Civil Service for consideration ; and that proper facilities for legal assistance be afforded to persons arrested under the Defence of India Act.

(b) That in case of proceedings under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and similar Regulations in other Provinces the same ~~proceedings~~ may be followed so far as practicable.

(c) That this Congress strongly protests against the unjust orders passed by the Governments of Bombay and the Central Provinces and Berar, prohibiting Mrs. Besant from entering the said Provinces and earnestly urges the Government of India to allay public feeling by advising the Governments concerned to cancel the orders in question. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

19. That a request be made to Parliament, through the Secretary of State for India, to appoint a Parliamentary Commission to enquire into the working of the special coercive legislation passed by the Governor in Council and the Supreme Legislative Council and Local Government restricting freedom of speech, writing, association and meetings, and the use of the Defence of India Act for similar purposes, together with the varied working of the laws in different provinces, causing uncertainty and distrust. That the President submit the above to the Secretary of State through H. E. the Viceroy. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

20. That this Congress urges on the Government the immediate release of Messrs. Mahommed Ali and Shaukat Ali who have remained incarcerated since October, 1914, and are now kept interned because of religious scruple which they

hold in common with the whole of Islam in India and elsewhere and which are not incompatible with loyalty to the King Emperor. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

21. That this Congress places on record its strong conviction that by reason of the wide and arbitrary powers conferred by the Press Act of 1910 upon the Executive and the way in which it has been used, the Act has proved a menace to the liberty of the Indian Press and tended to demoralise public life ; and the Congress strongly urges the Government to repeal it. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

22. (a) That this Congress condemns the appointment of the Committee announced on the 10th of December last in as much as the avowed object of the appointment is not to give relief but to introduce fresh legislation arming the Executive with additional powers to deal with the alleged revolutionary conspiracy in Bengal.

(b) That this Congress views with alarm the extensive use made of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818 (Bengal) and urges that the principle followed and the procedure adopted in the application of the Defence of India Act should be the same as under the Defence of the Realm Act of England.

(c) That in view of the grave and widespread discontent which has been caused by the harsh and indiscriminate operation of the Defence of India Act this Congress urges that the Government should forthwith abandon the un-British policy of punishing people without trial and to grant a general amnesty to all political prisoners so as to bring about the calm atmosphere which is necessary for the constitutional growth of India as well as for the successful prosecution of the war in which the Empire is at present engaged.

(d) That the Congress urges that the non-official members of any province in which the detenus are being held should elect a visiting committee who shall visit all detenus in their province and report to the Government all cases of sickness and harsh or unfair treatment. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

23. That this Congress, being informed by the President, as a matter of urgency, of the case of Arjunlal Sethi, a Jain prisoner now in Vellore gaol, in imminent danger of death by starvation on account of his religious principles, appeals to the Government of India to intervene at once and save his life. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

24. That this Congress views with alarm the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee which, if given effect to, will interfere with the fundamental rights of the Indian people, impede the healthy growth of public opinion and would also

prejudicially affect the successful working of the Constitutional Reforms. (Delhi, Thirty-fourth Session, 1918.)

25. This Congress urges on the Government to remove from the Statute Book immediately the Defence of India Act, the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, the Bombay and Madras Regulation of 1819 and 1827, respectively, the Press Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and other similar repressive measures curtailing the liberty of the subject. This Congress further urges upon the Government that all detainees interned or externed under the Defence of India Act or the aforementioned Regulations, and all political prisoners should at once be set at liberty as an act of amnesty in view of the victorious termination of the War, as also to ensure the success of the new regime under the new Scheme. (Delhi, Thirty-fourth Session, 1918.)

26. That this Congress records its grateful appreciation of the action taken by Sir Sankaran Nair in resigning his office as member, Executive Council, of the Governor-General of India, as a protest against the policy pursued by the Government of India and the Government of the Punjab in maintaining Martial law administration in the Punjab in supersession of ordinary courts of justice in the province. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

27. (a) This Congress offers its respectful condolence to the relatives of those persons, whether English or Indian who were killed, and sympathy to those wounded or incapacitated during April disturbances. (b) This Congress further resolves that the site known as Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar be acquired for the nation and be registered in the names of Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru as trustees and that it be used as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of those who were killed or wounded on the 13th day of April last during the massacre by General Dyer and in order to give effect to the intention of the Congress the following are appointed a committee :—

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Swami Srāddhanand, Dr. Kitchlew and Lala Harkishan Lall : with power to devise the best method of perpetuating the memory of the dead, to have a proper scheme of trust prepared and to collect subscriptions for the purpose and otherwise to carry out the object of the trust. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919).

28. In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the Gracious Proclamation of His Majesty the King Emperor and that persons in the Punjab tried by martial law commissioners, summary courts, area officers and Tribunals constituted under the Defence of

India Act, and detenus, deportees, and all political prisoners in Bengal and other parts of India including the Andamans have not been released, this Congress expresses its earnest hope and trust that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal Command. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

29. (a) That the thanks of this Congress be conveyed to the members of the Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee and the Commissioners appointed by them for the great industry and judicial care with which they have collected the evidence and written their report, which is supported not only by the evidence recorded by them, but also by the evidence given before the Hunter Committee; and the Congress expresses its concurrence with the findings of fact arrived at by the said Commissioners.

(b) This Congress expresses its deep and bitter disappointment at the drift, tone and tendency of the majority-report of the Hunter Committee in as much as,

(i) The report submitted by the majority of the Hunter Committee is tainted by bias and race prejudice, based on insufficient consideration of evidence, and characterised by a too obvious desire to slur over the proved and manifest inequities of the Government officials concerned, and to whitewash the conduct of the Punjab Government and the Government of India;

(ii) The said report is unacceptable and unreliable as it is based upon evidence which is incomplete, one-sided and biased by self-interest;

(iii) The findings arrived at in the majority report are not justified even upon the evidence actually on record, and in any case, their recommendations fall far short of the minimum legitimate requirements of the case.

(c) That, with reference to the Government of India's review of the two reports of the Hunter Committee the Congress records its deliberate opinion,

(i) That the said review accepts the findings of the majority without sifting or discrimination;

(ii) That it pays scant and inadequate consideration to the arguments and findings of the minority report, although such arguments and findings are amply borne out by the evidence on record;

(iii) That the whole drift and tendency of the said review is not to arrive at a just and impartial finding on fact, but to hush up the whole affair, and to throw a veil upon the misdeeds of the officials concerned;

(iv) That the action proposed to be taken in the review with reference to the conduct of guilty officials is grossly and utterly inadequate to the gravity of the state of things disclosed, and has dispelled all illusions about the fairness of British justice.

30. This Congress places on record its sincere sympathy with those political workers who have been arrested and imprisoned with or without regular specification of charge and open trial, and who are still detained in prison, or whose freedom of movement and association are still restricted by executive order,

and this Congress expresses the hope that their devotion to their country and the hope of the early attainment of Swaraj, which will render these acts of injustice impossible, will sustain them in their present trial. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

31. This Congress notes the resumption, in spite of declarations of the Government of India to the contrary, of repression in the Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere, and invites those concerned to bear their sufferings with fortitude and, whilst respecting all lawful orders, to prosecute Non-violent Non-co-operation with redoubled vigour. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

32. Whilst the All-India Congress Committee is of opinion that the orders of officials in the various provinces against non-co-operators, in pursuit of the policy of repression inaugurated by the Government, are totally unwarranted by the situation in the country and are, in most cases, pronounced by highest legal opinion to be illegal, and whilst the All-India Congress Committee believes the country has responded in a wonderful manner, and in the face of grave provocation by the authorities, to the principle of non-violence enjoined by the Congress in the country's pursuit after Swaraj and redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, this Committee is of opinion that, apart from the fact that Civil Disobedience is not expressly comprised in the Congress resolution in relation to non-co-operation, the country is not yet sufficiently disciplined, organized and ripe for the immediate taking up of Civil Disobedience, and this Committee by way of preparation, therefore, advises all those upon whom orders may be served voluntarily to conform to them, and trusts that new workers will take the place of those who may be disabled by the Government, and that the people at large, instead of being disheartened or frightened by such orders, will continue their work of quiet organization and construction sketched by the Congress resolution. (Bezwada, A. I. C. C. Meeting March, 1921.)

33. The All-India Congress Committee expresses its sense of horror over the Nankana massacre and tenders its respectful condolence to the families of the victims of the tragedy, and assures the Sikhs of its sympathy with them in the heavy losses suffered by them. (Bezwada, A. I. C. C. Meeting, March, 1921.)

34. This meeting of the All-India Congress Committee congratulates the Burmese nation in their great struggle for freedom, and sympathizes with them and U. Ottama in their trouble created by repressive measures adopted by the Government. Bezwada A. I. C. C. Meeting, March, 1921.)

35. The All-India Congress Committee notes with deep satisfaction the growth of public opinion and the campaign against the use and sale of intoxicating liquor or drugs, by means of peaceful picketing shops licensed for the purpose of selling such liquors or drugs, and notes with concern the undue and improper interference commenced by the Government in various parts of the country with the recognised right of the public to wean weak members from temptations to visit such shops, and desires it to be understood that, in the event of such interference with the peaceful exercise of the said right being persisted in, the Committee will be prepared to commend the continuance of picketing in disregard of such interference, and advises the Working Committee to investigate cases of interference and authorised disregard thereof, whenever and wherever it may be considered desirable and in the interests of the movement. (Bombay A. I. C. C. Meeting, July, 1921.)

36. This Congress records with pride and admiration its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Akali martyrs and the great and noble example of non-violence set by them for the benefit of the whole nation. (Gaya, Thirty-eight Session, 1922.)

37. This Congress declares that the attack made by the Government on the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee and the Akali Dal is a direct challenge to the right of free association of all Indians for non-violent action, and being convinced that the blow is aimed at all movements for freedom, resolves to stand by the Sikhs and calls upon Hindus, Musalmans, Christians, Parsees and all people of India to render all possible assistance to the Sikhs in the present struggle, including assistance with men and money. (Cocanada, Thirty-ninth Session, 1923.)

38. The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the people of Burma in their troubles and trusts that they will not be awed or cowed down by the repression now going on in their midst. The Congress notes with regret the tendency among the Indian settlers in Burma to claim communal representation and strongly advises them not to make any such claim as such separatist tendency is bad in principle. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924.)

39. This Congress strongly condemns the abuse of Regulation III of 1818, and the autocratic enactment of the Bengal Ordinance Act and the arrest and detention without definite charges and open trial of a large number of patriotic youngmen of Bengal under the said Regulation and the Act, and further condemns their continued incarceration, maltreatment and deportation outside Bengal notwithstanding the clearly and

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repeatedly expressed opinion of the people both inside and outside the legislatures. (Cawnpur, Forty-first Session, 1925.)

40. This Congress deeply regrets that the Punjab Government has not yet released the Gurdwara prisoners inspite of the settlement brought about by the Gurdwara Act, merely on the technical ground that the Gurdwara prisoners would not give an undertaking, which high-souled prisoners declared to be derogatory to their self-respect. This Congress is of opinion that there will be no proper settlement of the Gurdwara question until the Gurdwara prisoners are unconditionally released. (Cawnpur, Forty-first Session, 1925.)

41. This Congress regards the expulsion of Non-Burman Offenders' Bill and the Tax on Sea Passengers' Bill of Burma to be an attack on the liberty of citizens and in the opinion of the Congress the first Bill imperils the vast interests of Indians resident in Burma, inasmuch as it exposes innocent men to the mercy of the Executive, and is of opinion that the Bills should not receive Viceregal sanction. (Cawnpur, Forty-first Session, 1925.)

42. The Congress is emphatically of opinion that the Government had no justification whatsoever for the application of emergency legislation, like Regulation III of 1818, which has been the subject repeatedly of condemnation by the Congress and other public bodies and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925 (which latter was passed into law as a result of arbitrary exercise of autocratic power against the expressed wishes of the elected members of the legislature), under which a large number of peaceful public workers of Bengal were arrested and imprisoned without the formulation of definite charges and without open trial and still remain without any knowledge of the charges against them and any trial. This Congress strongly condemns their continued incarceration and deportation outside Bengal notwithstanding the clearly expressed opinion of the elected members of the Legislatures and the country. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926.)

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

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

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

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

(iii) the outstanding grievances of the Sikhs are removed. •

(c) This Congress further assures the Sikh community that in its struggle with the Government, it not only has the entire sympathy of the Congress, but the Congress also wholeheartedly supports the Sikhs in whatever legitimate and non-violent action they may take to vindicate their rights. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926.)

44. This Congress strongly condemns the policy of the Indian Government and the Bengal Government of imprisoning, interning and externing innocent citizens and Congress workers without trial for indefinite periods under the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation III of 1818, and the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925 and sends fraternal greetings to all those who have suffered and are suffering for the cause of their motherland, owing to the above repressive policy of the Government.

(i) This Congress demands the immediate release of all detenus who have been put under restraint without trial and of all political prisoners who have been convicted by Special Tribunals constituted under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1925.

(ii) This Congress also strongly condemns the arrest and imprisonment of Sardar Santa Singh under the Bengal State Prisoners' Regulation III of 1818. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927.)

45. (a) The A. I. C. C. places on record its ~~deep~~ admiration for the great courage and steadfastness underlying the sacrifices of the Late Jotindra Nath Das and Rev. Wizaya in having given up lives for ideals dearly cherished by them. (Lucknow, A. I. C. C. Meeting, September 1929.)

46. This Congress, while dissociating itself from and disapproving of political violence in any shape or form, places on record its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of the late Sardar Bhagat Singh and his comrades Sjts. Sukhdev and Rajguru, and mourns with the bereaved families the loss of these lives. This Congress is of opinion that Government have lost the golden opportunity of promoting good-will between the two nations, admittedly held to be essential at this juncture, and of winning over to the method of peace the party which, being driven to despair, resorts to political violence. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

47. The Working Committee having considered the report of the non-official Committee of Enquiry on the happenings in the town and district of Chittagong on August 31 last and the three subsequent days, records its severe condemnation of the local police and magistracy who, with the assistance of certain non-official Europeans and hooligans, inflicted terrible losses

and indignities on innocent people in pursuance of a policy of terrorisation.

The Committee notes with satisfaction that there was in reality no communal strife in Chittagong in spite of deliberate efforts to create one by the employment of hooligans whose activities were intended to give the occurrences a communal colour.

The Committee is of opinion that the least that the Government of Bengal should do is to compensate those who have suffered, and to punish all those whose responsibility for the incidents is established. (Delhi, W. C. Meeting, October, 1931.)

48. The Working Committee records its deep sorrow at the tragedy of the Hijli Detention Camp for detenus, resulting in the death of two and injury to 20 detenus. The Committee, while awaiting the report of the Commission of enquiry appointed by Government before expressing its final opinion on these tragic occurrences, feels that the Government is specially responsible for the lives and well-being of unarmed men detained in custody by Government without trial, against whose detention the nation has for long protested; and callous disregard of this fundamental duty of Government must be met with punishment of those who are guilty. (Delhi, W. C. Meeting, October, 1931.)

49. The Working Committee having now considered the report of the official Inquiry Committee into the Hijli Detention Camp ~~unably~~ find that the charges made against the Government of Bengal and the officials of the Camp have been in the main substantiated; that the administration of the Camp was incompetent and careless of precious human lives, and the responsibility for the tragedy must largely rest with the high officials whose gross mismanagement was responsible for the Camp staff acting in a spirit of vindictiveness; that the Government of Bengal showed callous disregard of the truth and deliberately published communiques, which have been shown to be false. The Committee trust that those who have been found guilty will be adequately dealt with and full compensation will be given to the sufferers.

The Committee are of opinion that the Hijli and Chittagong occurrences have demonstrated the incompetence and inhumanity of Government officials. Instead of rooting out the causes of discontent and releasing the detenus and following a policy in consonance with the Delhi Truce and with the attempts being made to bring about peace between India and England, the Government have pursued a terrorist policy in Bengal and have now added a new Ordinance to their armoury of repression which gives free scope to the police to arrest and detain without trial anyone they choose. The Committee realise that these,

powers of arrest are being grossly abused and no one in Bengal is free from their application.

- The Committee realise that these occurrences have deeply moved the people of India, and particularly of Bengal, and have given them great provocation. But the Committee wish to warn all concerned not to be led away from the path of non-violence in spite of any provocation that might be offered. The Committee greatly regret and condemn the recent violent attempts made on the lives of Messrs. Durno and Villiers and wish to emphasise that public violence on the part of the people can only hinder the nation in its march to freedom.

The Committee fully appreciate the gravity of the situation in Bengal, and earnestly appeal that the people of that province and of India will not allow themselves to be deflected from the right path, but will organise themselves and keep ready for united and effective action. (Bombay, W. C. Meeting, November 1931.)

CHAPTER II.

ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

The growing poverty of the country and the heavy toll in human lives due to the frequent calamitous visitations of Plague and Famines in India, naturally directed the attention of all right-thinking persons, among other things, to the unsatisfactory nature of the administration of Indian finance and fiscal policy. The Congress began by making a grievance against the excessive cost of administration and the heavy incidence of taxation. In all temporary settled areas the periodic land assessments, in particular, proved a source of general discontent. There was the demand for the introduction of the Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue, as in Bengal. The system was looked upon, not without reason, as a great boon by the agricultural interests. In 1857 the Government also admitted the proprietary right of the cultivator and under Lord Ripon's administration, a virtual pledge was given against any enhanced assessment, except on ground of rise in prices. Nevertheless, enhancements soon came to be made on ground of reclassification of soils.

This naturally caused widespread resentment ; and equally galling was the duty on Salt. Much to the chagrin of the people Income Tax began to be levied since 1886 on as small incomes as Rs. 500. The Congress in its protest against such a measure, only voiced the popular feelings against the same. The taxable minimum in this connection was, however, raised to Rs. 1000 by the Income Tax Act of 1903.

The Congress also carried on systematic agitation against the heavy drain on the Indian exchequer, due to expensive wars beyond Indian Frontiers, the payment of Home Charges and Exchange Compensation Allowance to the British element in the Civil Service, and to the piling up of huge debts. The management of the Indian Currency after the closing of the less a person than Mr. Gladstone, than whom there was no more public discontent. The measure was roundly condemned generally on the grounds of depreciating the value of silver savings of the masses, adversely affecting India's export trade and virtually granting a premium to foreign imports in Indian markets over indigenous products. The later 16d vs. 18d controversy is all but recent. But what surpassed everything in this connection was India's loss of Rs. 23½ crores, as shown in the Budget of 1920-1921, due to the manipulation of the

Exchange by the sale of the Reverse Council Bills by the Government.

• Equally ruinous has been the Indian tariff policy. It is but well-known how the Indian tariff policy continued pretty long to be shaped to suit the interests of the British trade. The consequence became so disastrous to the country that no less a person than Mr. Gladstone, than whom there was no more ardent champion of Free Trade, scathingly denounced the repeal of cotton Import Duty in India under Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty. This is what Mr. Gladstone observed in Parliament in this regard :

"What an invidious, almost odious, picture of inequality to the millions of India. The Free Trade doctrines that we hold so dear, that we apply them against the feelings of the Indian people in their utmost rigour and without a grain of mercy, disappear in a moment when it is a question of dealing with those whose interests and opinions we cannot lightly tamper with, namely the free colonists of the empire."

It is an incontrovertible fact that the operation of Free Trade involving Indian manufactures in competition with foreign products on an altogether unequal plane, has spelled ruin to Indian arts and industries to the impoverishment of the children of the soil.

The following are the Resolutions the congress adopted in its different Sessions in this connection :—

(A) FINANCIAL AND FISCAL POLICY

1. That in the opinion of this Congress, the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and regard being had to the revenues of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive. (Bombay, First Session, 1885.)

2. That in the opinion of the Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met firstly, by the re-imposition of the Custom duties ; and secondly, by the extension of the license tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And, further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian Debt. (Bombay, First Session, 1885.)

3. That as the administration of the Income Tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, the loss of Revenue thus involved being made good, and further financial

difficulties, if any, met by reductions in the existing public expenditure, or should this prove impossible, by the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton goods. (Madras, Third Session, 1887 ; re-affirmed at Allahabad 1888 ; Nagpur 1891.)

4. That having regard to the fact that a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants has taken place under the system of *Abkari* and Excise now prevailing in India, the Government be respectfully urged to adopt some such improved system as shall tend to discourage insobriety. (Allahabad, Fourth Session, 1888 ; Re-affirmed in Lucknow 1899.)

5. That the question of the introduction of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue Demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other Provinces be referred to the several Standing Congress Committees, with instruction to report upon the same, in so far as it affects their respective circles, to the Congress of 1889. (Allahabad, Fourth Session, 1888.)

6. That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax, as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the Empire. (Allahabad, Fourth Session, 1888 ; Re-affirmed in Ahmedabad, 1902.)

7. That the Government be urged to take the subject of Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay at any rate in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country. (Poona, Fifth Session, 1889.)

8. That in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes ; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers,) but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution. (Poona, Fifth Session 1889.)

9. That while recognising the action taken in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed

malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the out-still system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial Administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in paras, 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the Gazette of India of 1st March 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of para, 103, *viz.*

"That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local Public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained." (Calcutta, Sixth Session, 1890).

10. That the conditions of finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special Memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in council. (Calcutta, Sixth Session, 1890; re-affirmed in Nagpur 1891; Poona 1895; Calcutta 1896.)

11. That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporary settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions having long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, more than a quarter of a century ago. (Calcutta, Sixth Session, 1890; re-affirmed in Nagpur 1891; Madras 1894 & 1903.)

12. That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency question, and the importance of the question itself this Congress desires to express its earnest hope that unless its hands are forced by the action of any foreign power, necessitating a change in the currency or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labours of the Brussels Conference have been completed; and, further, that the Government will lay before the

Public for discussion the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend before definite action, if any, is resolved upon. (Allahabad, Eighth Session, 1892.)

13. That this Congress emphatically re-affirms Resolution III of the Congress of 1891, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public Service, should be greatly reduced, and that measures should at once be taken to give as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years—is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this Congress again most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory administration, but to insist and that speedily, on the reforms then and now so earnestly advocated. (Allahabad, Eighth Session, 1892; re-affirmed in Lahore 1893; Calcutta 1896; Calcutta 1901.)

14. That this Congress having on many previous occasions urged on the Government of India, the necessity for giving, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand wherever this has not already been conceded, desires now to reiterate emphatically this recommendation and to call attention to the profound alarm, which has been created by the action of the Government in interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of the survey and other cesses) and with the terms of the sanads of the permanently settled estates in Madras, and deeming such tampering with solemn pledges, no matter under what pretence, a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose, in all possible legitimate ways, any and all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders. (Lahore, Ninth Session 1893; re-affirmed in Madras 1894.)

15. That this Congress regrets extremely that the Government of India have not only failed to carry out the pledges for a permanent settlement in the Provinces in which it does not exist (given by the Secretary of State in his despatches of 1862 and 1865) but have also failed to give effect to the policy

of granting a modified fixity of tenure and immunity from enhancements, laid down in 1882 and 1884 by the Government of India, and approved by the Secretary of State. (Lahore, Ninth Session 1893; re-affirmed in Amraoti 1897; Madras 1898.)

16. That this Congress places on record its deep regret at the recent hasty legislation of the Government of India closing the Indian Mints against the private coinage of silver, whereby the people of this country have been subjected to further indirect taxation of a burdensome and indefinite character, and some of the most important trades and industries, notably the mill industry, have been seriously disorganised and injured. (Lahore, Ninth Session, 1893.)

17. That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Exchange Compensation Allowance granted to the undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of the Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees, and to the Banks, to the extent of £138,000, at a time when the financial situation is far from satisfactory and the country is threatened with additional taxation. (Lahore, Ninth Session 1893; re-affirmed in Poona 1895.)

18. That this Congress tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claims to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and respectfully entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at some equitable settlement of the matter. (Lahore, Ninth Session, 1893.)

19. That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of members of Parliament to inquire into the financial expenditure of India, regard an enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit, it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burdens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894; re-affirmed in Poona 1895.)

20. That having regard to the fact that the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country has been giving cause for grave anxiety for some years past, this Congress records its firm conviction that the only remedy for this present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other Military expenditure, Home Charges, and the cost of Civil Administration, and in view of the proposed appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to investigate the subject, this Congress strongly recommends that the Stand-

ing Congress Committees of the several Presidencies and Provinces should, so far as practicable, make arrangements to send to England at least one well-qualified delegate from each Presidency or Province to urge such reduction before the Committee. (Madras, Tenth Session 1894 ; re-affirmed in Poona 1895.)

21. That this Congress records its deepfelt gratitude to the Government of India for its circular Resolution No. 22-F, published in the Supplement to the *Gazette of India*, dated 20th October, 1894, and its high appreciation of the generous principle, which it enunciates, of subordinating fiscal interests to the needs and agricultural interests of the ryot population in the management of forests. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894.)

22. That this Congress views with apprehension the arbitrary policy of the Government of India with regard to the imposition of water cess, introducing as it does a disturbing element in taxation, and suggests that the imposition of the said cess be regulated by certain defined principles affording security to the rights of land-owners and of persons investing money in land. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894.)

23. Considering that the local Governments are entrusted with all branches of administration, excepting Army expenditure, superior supervision and control here and in England, and the payment of interest on Debt, this Congress is of opinion that the allotments made to the Provincial Governments on what is called the provincial adjustments are inadequate, and that in view of the revision of the Quinquennial Provincial Contract which is to take place in 1897, the time has arrived when a further step should be taken in the matter of financial decentralisation, by leaving the responsibility of the financial administration of the different provinces principally to the Local Governments ; the Supreme Government receiving from each Local Government only a fixed contribution levied in accordance with some definite and equitable principle, which should not be liable to any disturbance during the currency of the period of contract, so as to secure to Local Governments that fiscal certainty, and that advantage arising from the normal expansion of the revenues which are so essential to all real progress in the development of the resources and the satisfactory administration of the different provinces. (Calcutta, Twelfth Session, 1896.)

24. That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the policy of Government, in provinces where the Settlement of Land Revenue is periodical, to reduce the duration of the settlement to shorter periods than had been the case till now, and prays that the settlement should be guaranteed for long

periods, at least for sixty years. (Calcutta, Twelfth Session, 1896.)

25. That this Congress rejoices that the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure was pleased to decide to admit the public to its proceedings, and further desires to express its grateful acknowledgments for the opportunity afforded by the Honourable Commission to representative Indian witnesses to state fully the case on behalf of India. With regard to the three divisions of the reference the Congress desires most respectfully to submit the following prayers for the favourable consideration of the Honourable Commission :—

- (a) As regards the Machinery to control Indian Expenditure, it is prayed—(i) that the non-official Members of the Viceroy's Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people, and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget, (ii) that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected Members of the Viceroy's and Local Legislative Councils; and (iii) that each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to enquire into and report upon the financial condition of India;
- (b) As regards the progress of Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and the progress of the people, and that a large saving and a more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of Public service; and
- (c) As regards apportionment of charges, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the empire are involved and specially that the expenses of the present war beyond the Frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Lastly, that it be an instruction to the President to submit a copy of this Resolution under his own signature to the Chairman of the Royal Commission with the least practicable delay. (Amraoti, Thirteenth Session, 1897)

26. (a) That, having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by exchange is the steady growth in the demands on India for expenditure in England, this Congress is of opinion that any artificial device for meeting that loss either by changing the currency at a heavy cost or contracting the internal currency must add to the pressure on India's monetary resources and to her trading disadvantage.

(b) That the only real relief lies in carrying out practically the principle, affirmed by competent authorities, of England bearing an equitable share of that expenditure.

(c) That the Congress regrets that, save Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Mr. Merwanji Rastamji, competent and

qualified Indian representatives have not yet been invited as witnesses to represent the Indian view of matters on the subject which now engages the attention of the Currency Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President.

(d) That the President be authorised to request Sir William Wedderburn, Chairman of the British Congress Committee, to communicate this Resolution to Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman of the Currency Committee in London. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

27. 'That the adoption of measures against the Plague being a matter of Imperial concern and recognised as such, this Congress is of opinion that the expenditure incurred in connection thereof should be borne by the Government and not charged to the funds of the local bodies. (Madras Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

28. That this Congress, while expressing its grateful acknowledgments for the annual contribution of £2,57,000 promised to be made from the British to the Indian Exchequer in accordance with the recommendations of the majority of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, respectfully desires to point out that for doing adequate justice to the claims of India so far as admitted by that Commission it is necessary that she should be granted the arrears payable on this account for the past many years, and prays that the British Parliament will be pleased to make this grant. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900.)

29. That this Congress views with grave alarm and deep regret the rapid increase in the consumption of intoxicants, specially liquor, in this country, and the Congress is of opinion that the cheap supply of liquor, &c., is alone responsible for this. The Congress, therefore, fervently appeals to the Government of India to pass measures like the Maine Liquor Law of America, and introduce Bills like Sir Wilfred Lawson's Permissive Bill or the Local Option Act, and impose an additional tax upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicine. The Congress records its firm conviction that if the Government do not take these practical steps immediately, the moral, material and physical deterioration of those classes, among whom liquor, &c., have obtained a firm hold, would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian arts and industries would bear no fruit. The Congress gives great importance to this question, which, it strongly believes, is intimately connected with the material progress of the country, and emphatically protests against the cheap supply of liquor, &c. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900.)

30. That this Congress re-affirms its protest against the Currency Legislation of 1893 which has artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by over 30 per cent, which indirectly enhances all taxation to the extent, and which, whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year owing to this heavy indirect taxation,—and that too in times of unexampled distress brought about by famines,—affects most detrimentally the wealth-producing institutions of the country, *viz.*, agriculture, plantation, and manufacture. That it is further of opinion that the above mentioned legislation has alarmingly diminished the power of the peasantry to withstand the attacks of natural calamities and that the most deplorable consequences may be anticipated to follow from it in course of time. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901.)

31. That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the relief granted to the poorer classes of the country by the reduction of the salt tax and by raising the assessable minimum for income tax and prays that the Government of India be pleased to make a further reduction in the salt tax. (Madras, Nineteenth Session, 1903.)

32. (a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the large and recurring surpluses of last six years—amounting in all to about twenty millions sterling—so far from being the result of any increased prosperity of the people, are only an indication of the fact that the level of taxation in the country is maintained much higher than is necessary, inasmuch as these surpluses have been rendered possible mainly, if not exclusively, by the artificial appreciation of the rupee and the consequent saving of between three and four millions a year on the Home remittances of the Government of India.

(b) That both for the sake of giving relief to the classes which have suffered most from the currency policy of the Government and to remove from the path of Government a direct temptation to increase expenditure, which the existence of large surpluses year after year undoubtedly constitutes, this Congress strongly urges (1) a further reduction in the salt duty (2) a reduction in the land revenue demand of the State in those provinces where the agriculturists have had a series of calamitous years, and (3) the abolition of the excise duties on cotton goods.

(c) That till such reduction is effected, the Congress urges that part of the surpluses be devoted to purposes which would directly benefit the people such as the promotion of scientific, agricultural, industrial education, and increased facilities of Medical relief, and that the rest be employed in assisting Local and Municipal Boards, whose resources have been seriously crippled by famine and by the annual recurrence of plague, to

undertake urgently-needed measures of sanitary reform and the improvement of means of communication in the interior. (Bombay, Twentieth Session, 1904.)

33. (a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the Excise Administration in the several provinces of the country, regrets that its composition is exclusively official and that, therefore, it cannot inspire full public confidence.

(b) This Congress, concurring with the opinion of previous Congresses, expresses its deliberate conviction that the recognition of the principle of local opinion in practical administration and a large reduction in the number of existing liquor-shops are conditions precedent to any satisfactory reform in Excise Administration.

(c) This Congress respectfully urges on the Government of India the desirability of speedily carrying out the principal proposals contained in Sir Frederick Lely's memorandum of last year on Excise Administration.

(d) That the Congress begs to protest against the virtual shelving by the Government of India in its executive capacity, of the Bengal Excise Bill, which has been welcomed as a sound and progressive piece of temperance legislation. (Benares, Twenty-first Session, 1905.)

34. That this Congress, while appreciating the action of the Government of India in applying a portion of its surplus revenues last March to some of the purposes recommended by the Congress is of opinion that the financial relief given by it to the taxpayers of this country during the last three years has been most inadequate, and the Congress regrets that advantage has been taken of recent surpluses to increase largely the Military expenditure of the country, raise the salaries of European officials in several departments and create a number of new posts for them. The Congress urges that any surpluses that may arise in the future should, in the first place, be utilised for purposes of remission of taxation, and, secondly, be devoted to subjects directly benefiting the people such as imparting scientific, industrial and agricultural education, providing increased facilities of medical relief, and assisting Municipal and Local Boards with grants to undertake urgently needed measures of sanitary reform and the improvement of means of communication in the interior. (Benares Twenty-first Session, 1905.)

35. That having regard to the grave dissatisfaction caused by the operation of the Land Alienation and allied Acts among large sections of the community in the Punjab and elsewhere, this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived for insti-

tuting a through and detailed enquiry into the policy and working of the laws restricting alienation of land in Provinces where such laws are in operation; and urges Government to appoint a mixed Commission of officials and representative non-official Indians to institute an enquiry, in order, to ascertain whether the legislation has really benefited the interests of agriculture and of the class intended to be benefited by it, and whether it has given rise in actual operation to anomalies, hardships and disabilities, calculated to injure the growth and prospects of the agricultural industry, and cause discontent among any particular class or section of the community. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909.)

36. That this Congress concurring with previous Congresses, urges:—

(a) A reasonable and definite limitation to the State demand on Land, and the introduction of a Permanent Settlement, or a Settlement for a period of not less than sixty years in those Provinces where short periodical Settlement revisions prevail, as, in the opinion of this Congress, that is the only means of ameliorating the present unsatisfactory economic condition of the agricultural population; and

(b) A reduction of the annually growing military expenditure which now absorbs nearly one-third of the Empire's revenue, leaving an inadequate portion only of the balance available for the many objects of popular utility, specially Education and Sanitation, which are yet greatly starved. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

37. That having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that a mixed Commission of enquiry composed of officials and non-officials, be appointed to enquire into the causes which have led to this increase and to suggest remedies. (Allahabad, Twenty-sixth Session, 1910.)

38. That having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that early steps be taken towards effective retrenchment in all the spending departments for the Imperial and the Provincial Governments and specially the Military Department. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911; reaffirmed in Bankipur, 1912).

39. That the Congress is of opinion that in the best interests of the people of India it is necessary that complete fiscal freedom in special reference to import, export and excise duties should now be conceded to the Government of India. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

40. This Congress is strongly of opinion that reasonable and definite limit should be put to the demand of the State on land and that the Permanent Settlement should be introduced in all areas, Ryotwari or Zemindary, where that settlement is not in force creating fixity of tenure for occupants, wherever

possible, and that if the Government does not see its way to the introduction of such Settlement, a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years should be introduced.

That Congress is further of opinion that effect should be given to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralization, that the general principles of land revenue assessment should be embodied in provincial legislation and that such legislation should state specifically the limit of enhancement of assessment, if any. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

41. Whereas His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, by bringing about an unprecedented rise in Indian Sterling Exchange, and issuing Reserve Councils, in wanton disregard of Indian opinion, as expressed in the Minority Report of the Currency Committee, to the enormous and serious loss to the Indian export trade, have pursued a ruinous policy conceived in the interests of British manufactures, with the result that Indian trade and commerce have been entirely unsettled and dislocated, while the British Treasury has been relieved of a substantial part of its indebtedness to India, and the British capitalists and manufacturers have been given enormous opportunities for dumping into this country goods which could not find their old markets in Germany and other countries, this Congress calls upon the British Treasury to make good this loss and further declares that importers, merchants and dealers of British goods will be entirely justified in refusing to complete their contracts at the present rates of exchange.

Further, this Congress appoints a Committee to be named by the All-India Congress Committee to take steps to deal effectively with the situation. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

42. This Congress condemns the Government of its callous disregard of the immediate needs of the Indian people in reference to its policy as regards the exportation of food-stuffs in spite of famine conditions prevailing; in order to mitigate the disastrous consequences thereof this Congress advises the traders not to export food-stuffs (particularly wheat and rice), and further advises producers and the public not to sell such food-stuffs to exporting traders and agencies or help in any way the export of these stuffs. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

43. This Congress invites the attention of the public to the policy pursued by the Government in the different provinces of India, of forcibly acquiring lands on a large scale in the interest of capitalists, and especially foreign capitalists, by the reckless and unjustifiable use of the Land Acquisition Act,

and thus destroying the hearths and homes and the settled occupations of the poor classes and landholders, and is of opinion that it affords further grounds for non-co-operation against the Government.

This Congress further appeals to the Indian capitalists concerned and calls upon them to avert the impending ruin of the poor peasants. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

44. Whereas by reason of unjustifiable military expenditure and other extravagance, the Government has brought the national indebtedness to a limit beyond recovery ; and whereas the Government still pursues the same policy of extravagance under cover of the authority of the so-called representative assemblies constituted without the suffrage of a majority or any substantial fraction of the voters and despite their declared repudiation of the authority of such assemblies to represent the people :

And whereas if the Government is permitted to continue this policy, it will become impossible for the people of India ever to carry on their own affairs with due regard to the honour and happiness of the people and it has therefore become necessary to stop the career of irresponsibility :

This Congress hereby repudiates the authority of the legislatures that have been or may be formed by the Government in spite of the national boycott of the said institutions in future to raise any loans or to incur any liabilities on behalf of the nation, and notifies to the world that on the attainment of Swarajya the people of India though holding themselves liable for all debts and liabilities rightly or wrongly incurred hitherto by the Government will not hold themselves bound to repay any loans or discharge any liabilities incurred on and after this date on the authority or sanction of the so-called legislatures brought into existence in spite of the national boycott. (Gaya, Thirty-eighth Session, 1922.)

45. This Congress is of opinion that the financial burdens directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration are such as a free India cannot bear and cannot be expected to bear. This Congress, while re-affirming the resolution passed at the Gaya Congress in 1922, records its opinion for the information of all concerned that every obligation and concession to be inherited by independent India will be strictly subject to investigation by an independent tribunal and every obligation and every concession, no matter how incurred or given, will be repudiated if it is not found by such a tribunal to be just and justifiable. (Lahore, Forty-fifth Session, 1929).

46. The Working Committee calls attention to the resolutions of the Indian National Congress passed at Gaya in 1922

and at Lahore in 1929 whereby the Congress repudiated the financial burdens and obligations directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration except such burdens and obligations as are adjudged to be just by an independent tribunal and advises the Indian public not to buy or accept any fresh Bonds of the Government of India whether as new investment or in conversion of their existing holdings of the similar Bonds. (Allahabad, Working Committee meeting, 1930).

47. Whereas the present legal tender value in exchange of the silver rupee to India has been fixed arbitrarily by the British Government in the teeth of strong public opposition, while the intrinsic value of the rupee is not even a third of the legal tender value so fixed, and whereas there is imminent likelihood of further depreciation of the value of the rupee, the Working Committee strongly advises the people of India not to accept rupees or currency notes in payment of any claims against the Government but to insist on payment in gold wherever possible. The Committee further advises the people to take the earliest opportunity to convert all their currency holdings of rupees or notes into gold and particularly to insist on all payments for their exports to be made in gold only. (Allahabad, Working Committee meeting, 1930).

48. Whereas Coal Mining is of great importance as a basic industry, essential for the development of the industrial life of the country, in all directions, the Committee is of opinion that all possible encouragement should be extended to Indian enterprise in this field. The Committee, therefore, recommends to all industrial concerns in this country, particularly the Textile Mills, to confine their purchase of coal as far as possible to the produce of the Indian owned and managed collieries.

Resolved further that an authorised list of Indian owned and managed collieries, subscribing to the Congress conditions be prepared. (Ahmedabad, W. C. Meeting, October, 1931).

49. The Working Committee is of opinion that the financial policy proposed by the Government of India in balancing its budget by imposing fresh and heavy taxes during a time of great economic depression, instead of taking adequate measures to bring about a drastic reduction of expenditure long over-due, is a further proof of the urgent necessity for the immediate transference of the government to the Indian people themselves.

This Committee strongly protests in particular against the proposal to impose an additional duty on salt, as a breach of faith by the Government of India in regard to the implications in the Delhi Settlement, of a complete and early relief of the burden on the poor in this respect. (Delhi, W. C. Meeting, Oct., 1931).

50. The Working Committee is of the opinion, that the currency and exchange policy recently adopted by the Government of India in complete disregard of Indian opinion and at the behest of the British Government, linking the rupee to the pound sterling, instead of leaving it to find its own level in terms of gold, is conceived solely in the interests of Britain so as to provide, *inter alia*, a back door preference for British imports into India, and is calculated to work against the interests of the masses of India, inasmuch as it depletes the already too slender gold resources of this country and is bound to embarrass India both in regard to the early establishment of Reserve Bank and the due settlement of her foreign obligations.

The Working Committee warns the British Government that the responsibility for pursuing such a selfish policy should rest entirely on its own shoulders and that the injurious results accruing to India therefrom would be duly taken into account in the settlement of financial obligations between India and England. (Delhi, W. C. Meeting, October, 1931.)

II. PEASANTS AND LABOUR.

1. That having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufacturing, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general system of technical education with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed Commission to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country. (Allahabad, Fourth Session, 1888).

2. (a) That this Congress respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the injustice and impolicy of imposing excise duty on cottons manufactured in British India, as such excise is calculated to cripple seriously the infant mill industry of this country.

(b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise, the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State.

(c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes law this Congress earnestly prays that the Government of India will, without delay, seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Government to exempt all cottons from 'twenties' to 'twenty-fours' from the operation of the Act.

(d) That the President be authorised to telegraph the above resolution to the Government of India and the Secretary of State. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894).

3. That, in the opinion of the Congress, any proposal to restrict the right of private alienation of lands by legislation as a remedy for the relief of agricultural indebtedness will be a most retrograde measure, and will, in its distant consequences, not only check improvement but reduce the agricultural population to a condition of still greater helplessness. The indebtedness of the agriculturist classes arises partly from their ignorance and partly from the application of a too rigid system of fixed revenue assessments which takes little account of the fluctuating conditions of agriculture in many parts of India; and the true remedy must be sought in the spread of general education and a relaxation of the rigidity of the present system of revenue collections in those parts of the country where the permanent settlement does not obtain. (Poona, Eleventh Session, 1895).

4. That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for recognising the grievances of third class Railway Passengers, from whom the largest portion of Railway revenue is derived, in their recent Resolution on the subject, desires to express its hope that Government will take effective steps to bring about an early redress of those grievances. (Poona, Eleventh Session, 1895.)

5. That this Congress is of opinion that the objection taken by Lancashire manufacturers to the exemption of Indian yarns below 20s. from excise duty is not well-founded, and trusts that the Government of India will stand firm in its policy of levying import duties for revenue purposes, as such levy does not conflict in any way with principles of free-trade. (Poona, Eleventh Session, 1895).

6. That this Congress deplors the out-break of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India and holds that this and other famines which have occurred in recent years are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment, consequent on a policy of extravagance, followed by the Government both in the civil and the Military departments, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries. (Re-affirmed in Calcutta 1901; Ahmedabad 1902.)

In the meantime the Congress would remind the Government of its solemn duty to save human life and mitigate human suffering, (the provisions of the existing Famine Code being in the opinion of the Congress inadequate as regards wages and rations, and oppressive as regards task work), and would appeal to the Government to redeem its pledges by restoring the Famine Insurance Fund (keeping a separate account of it) to its original footing and to apply it more largely to its original purpose, *viz.* the immediate relief of the famine-stricken people.

That in view of the fact that private charity in England is ready to flow freely into this country at this awful juncture, and considering that large classes of sufferers can only be reached by private charity, this Congress desires to enter its most emphatic protest against the manner in which the Government of India is at present blocking the way, and this Congress humbly ventures to express the hope that the disastrous mistake committed by Lord Lytton's Government in the matter will not be repeated on this occasion. (Calcutta, Twelfth Session, 1896.)

7. That this Congress is glad to note that the Government of India has appointed Famine Commission and hopes that the Commission will institute a searching enquiry into the matter. (Rest of the Resolution same as the first para of the above Resolution. (Amraoti, Thirteenth Session, 1897.) •

8. That this Congress expresses its heartfelt gratitude to the British public and to the peoples of the British Colonies, the United States of America and other foreign countries for the generous aid afforded by them to the starving millions of this country during the late dreadful visitation of famine, and also wishes to place on record its high appreciation of the services which many men and women—English and Indian—residing in this country rendered, and the pecuniary help they gave for the relief of those afflicted by that calamity.

And that it be an instruction to the various Congress Committees to raise a sum of a thousand pounds, to be sent to the Lord Mayor of London on behalf of the Congress, in order that he might be pleased to put some memorial in some conspicuous part of London expressing the gratitude of the people of India for the help rendered to them during the time of the last famine. (Amraoti, Thirteenth Session, 1897.)

9. That this Congress prays that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the cause of periodical famines and the remedies for the prevention of the same. (Amraoti, Thirteenth Session, 1897.)

10. That this Congress, while gratefully recognising the endeavours made by the Indian Provincial Governments to save human life and relieve distress at the present famine, urges the adoption of the true remedy—to improve the condition of the cultivating classes and prevent the occurrence of famine. This Congress recommends the curtailment of public expenditure, the development of local and indigenous industries, and the moderating of land assessment. (Lucknow Fifteenth Session, 1898.)

11. (a) That this Congress regrets the introduction into the Supreme Legislative Council of a Bill to amend the Law relating to agricultural land in the Punjab, with a view to restrict alienation of land as proposed in the Bill by sale or mortgage, which is calculated (i) to decrease the credit of the agriculturists and land-holders, (ii) to make them more resourceless on account of their inability to meet the over-increasing State demands upon their land; and this Congress is of opinion that the provision to give retrospective effect to the Bill is inequitable and unfair.

(b) That this Congress recommends that real relief be afforded to the cultivating classes in the following way: that where the Government is the rent-receiver, the rule proposed in 1882, prohibiting any enhancement except on the ground of rise in prices, be enforced, and that where private landlords are the rent-receivers, some provision to prohibit undue enhancement of rent be made.

(c) This Congress further resolves that a Committee consisting of the President, Mr. Jaishi Ram, Mr. N. Gupta, Mr. Wacha, Munshi Madho Lal, Mr. Mudholkar and Mr. Ikbal Shankar be appointed and empowered to submit a representation to the Government, pointing out the unsuitable nature of many of the provisions of the Bill. (Lucknow, Fifteenth Session, 1899.)

12. (a) That having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by Exchange is the steady growth of the demand on the Indian Exchequer for expenditure in England, this Congress regrets the introduction of a gold standard in India on the recommendation of the Currency Committee for the purpose of preventing loss by exchange, and is of opinion that the new measure is calculated to increase the gold obligations of India.

(b) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government will in effect add to the indebtedness of the poorer classes in India, depreciate the value of their savings in the shape of silver ornaments, and virtually add to their rents and taxes.

(c) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government is likely to be prejudicial to the indigenous manufactures of the country. (Lucknow, Fifteenth Session, 1899.)

13. That, having regard to the oft-recurring famines in India, and the manifestly decreasing power of resistance on the part of its population in the face of a single failure of harvest, leading, as it frequently does, to human suffering, loss of life, destruction of live-stock, disorganisation of rural operations, and interference with the legitimate work of the administrative machinery, the Congress hereby earnestly prays that the Government of India may be pleased to institute at an early date a full and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India with a view to the ascertainment and adoption of practical remedies. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900).

14. That while thanking the Government of India for its intention to investigate the question of the incidents and pressure of the land assessment as affecting the well-being and resources of the agricultural population the Congress respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of including within the scope of the contemplated investigation the question of periodical settlement of assessments and the necessity repeatedly pointed out by the Congress of making it permanent. This Congress further prays that the Government of India may be pleased to publish the opinions invited from local Governments and Administrations, on the subject referred to in para 4 of the Resolution of the Government of India (Revenue and Agricultural Department) published in the Gazette of India dated 22nd December, 1900, and allow the public an opportunity to make their representations thereon before the Government decides whether further investigation is necessary or not in the terms of the said Resolution. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900).

15. That the Congress respectfully submits that the provisions of the Indian Mines Bill, so far as they impose restriction on the employment of labour, be omitted, and that the penal provisions thereof may not be put in force for a period of 5 years, and that in the meantime, mining schools be opened in suitable centres where youngmen may qualify themselves for employment under the Act. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900).

16. That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its benevolent intentions, regards that immediate effect has not been given to the proposal made by the Government itself to enhance the coolies' wages in Assam, although

such a course was strongly insisted on by the Chief Commissioner and was imperatively demanded by the plainest considerations of justice to the coolies ; and this Congress is further of opinion that the time has come when the Government should redeem its pledge to do away with all penal legislation for labour in Assam. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901).

17. (a) That in view of the fact that it is agriculture alone that enables the vast masses of people in the various provinces of India to maintain themselves and in view of the excessive cost of British rule, this Congress is of opinion that the Government should be pleased to bestow its first and undivided attention upon the department of agriculture and adopt all those measures for its improvement and development which have made America, Russia, Holland, Belgium and several other countries so successful in that direction.

(b) That this Congress begs to draw the special attention of the Government to the recommendations of Dr. Voelcker who was sent out to India in 1889 to inquire into the condition of Indian agriculture and prays that early effect be given to the same.

(c) That this Congress further prays that the Government would be pleased to establish a large number of experimental farms all over the country as well as scholarships to enable Indian students to proceed to foreign countries for the purpose of learning the methods of improving and developing agricultural resources which are in vogue in those countries. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901).

18. That the following gentlemen do form a Committee to report to the Congress next year whether it is desirable to adopt the following Resolutions, with or without amendments and alterations :—

Messrs. B. G. Tilak, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Bhupendra Nath Basu, J. Choudhury, B. Patilak, Rauade, Ganga Prosad Varma, Umar Bksh, Harkissenlal.

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress much of the present state of economic depression of the country is owing to want of knowledge of the methods of production and distribution which prevail in foreign countries, and that it behoves our countrymen to adopt means to bring advanced knowledge and exact information within the reach of the people.

(b) That one of the most important economic questions that require solution at our hands is the organisation of Capital and Credit, in villages, towns, provinces and the country. This Congress invites attention of their countrymen to make sustained and extensive efforts to organise Capital and remove one of the many difficulties in the way of improvement of our economic condition. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901).

19. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the rapid progress of the mining industry of India and in consideration of the fact that the mineral resources of this country are vast and the facilities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of mining engineering in this country are almost nothing and in view of the fact that the tendency of recent legislation on mining, namely Act VII of 1901, is that all Indian mines must be kept under the supervision of mining experts, this Congress is of opinion that a Government College of mining engineering be established in some suitable place in India after the model of the Royal School of Mines of England and the Mining Colleges of Japan and the Continent. (Calcutta Seventeenth Session, 1901).

20. That this Congress rejoices that a Famine Union has been formed in London with a branch at Liverpool consisting of distinguished men from all parties, and this Congress desires to place on record its deep gratitude to the members of the Union for their sympathy with the famine-stricken sufferers and the earnest and eminently practical way in which they have set themselves to their task (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901).

21. That this Congress desires to place on record its grateful appreciation of the efforts which the Famine Union in England is making to secure a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a number of typical villages in India. In the opinion of this Congress such an inquiry will in no way prove inquisitorial as apprehended, but will be of the highest value for a proper understanding of the true condition of the Indian rayat and will clear many of the misapprehensions which prevail at present on the subject and which interfere with the adoption of the right remedial measures. That the Congress is of opinion that such an inquiry following the two severe famines is highly expedient inasmuch as it will enable the Government to be placed in possession of economic data of great utility for purposes of comparison. And the Congress hopes that the Secretary of State for India will be pleased to reconsider his decision in the matter.

In this connection the Congress would respectfully urge that the Government of India should be pleased to publish the results of the official inquiries which have been held in the past on this subject, notably the enquiry instituted during the time of Lord Dufferin extracts from which alone have been published. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

22. That in view of the alarming indebtedness of the peasantry of the country and of the fact that large numbers of them are forced to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, this Congress again earnestly endorses

the suggestion put forward by the Famine Union in London that a careful inquiry be directed by Government into the condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India. (Bombay, Twentieth Session, 1904 ; re-affirmed in Benarès, 1905).

The Congress recommends the following amongst other remedial measures (against the outbreak of Famine) :—

(1) That practical steps in the shape of State encouragement be taken for the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures and for the introduction of new industries.

(2) That Government be pleased to establish technical schools and colleges at important centres throughout the country.

(3) That the permanent settlement be extended to such parts of the country, as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down by the Secretary of State for India in Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that reduction of and judicial restrictions on over-assessments be imposed in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the permanent settlement.

(4) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped at least in part by a much wider employment of the children of the soil in the higher Branches of the Public Service.

(5) That Agricultural Banks be established for the better organisation of rural credit and for enabling solvent agriculturists to obtain loans on comparatively easy terms. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

23. That, having regard to the fact that while the cloth manufactured by means of power-looms in this country in no way competes with the piece-goods imported from Lancashire, the imposition of the excise duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., thereon, apart from its tendency to arrest the free growth of the weaving industry, continues to operate as a great injustice to the manufacturers, and imposes serious hardship on the masses of the people who consume the coarser indigenous products. This Congress earnestly prays that the Government will be pleased to take the matter into its favourable consideration and repeal the duty at an early date. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902.)

24. That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the introduction of the Co-operative Credit Societies' Bill into the Viceregal Legislative Council and trusts that the measure may be so enacted as to achieve the objects the Government has in view. (Madras, Nineteenth Session, 1903).

25. This Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State demand on land, such as was proposed by Lord Cauning in 1862 or by Lord Ripon in 1882 and it regrets that Lord Curzon in his land Resolution of 1902 failed to recognize any such limitation and declined to accept the

suggestions of the Right Hon'ble Sir Richard Garth and other memorialists in the matter. The Congress holds that a reasonable and definite limitation in the State-demand, and not the restriction of tenants' rights, such as has found favour, in recent years, is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population. (Benares Twenty-first Session, 1905.)

25 (a). This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice. (Calcutta Twenty-second Session 1906.)

26. This Congress is of opinion that the prosperity of an agricultural country like India cannot be secured without a definite limitation of the State-demand on land, such as was proposed by Lord Canning in 1862, or by Lord Ripon in 1882; and it regrets that Lord Curzon, in his Land Resolution of 1902, failed to recognise the necessity of any such limitation and declined to accept the suggestions of Sir Richard Garth, and other memorialists in the matter. The Congress holds that a reasonable and definite limitation of the State-demand is the true remedy for the growing impoverishment of the agricultural population. This Congress respectfully protests against the view that the Land Revenue in India is not a tax, but is in the nature of rent. (Calcutta, Twenty-second Session, 1906.)

27. This Congress is of opinion that having regard to the high prices of food stuffs for the past several years and the hardships to which the middle and poorer classes are put thereby, an enquiry should be instituted by Government into the causes of such high prices with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedies such causes could be removed. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908).

28. That this Congress is of opinion that the counter-vailing Excise Duties on Indian Cottons are handicapping the growth and expansion of the Indian manufacturing industry, and earnestly prays to the Government of India that they may be abolished at an early date. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911.)

29. That a reasonable and definite limitation to the demand of the State on Land and the introduction of a Permanent Settlement directly between the Government and holders of land in ryotwari areas, or a settlement for a period of not less than 60 years in those Provinces where short periodical settlements or revisions prevail, will, in the opinion of this Congress, substantially help in ameliorating the present unsatisfactory condition of the agricultural population. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911, reaffirmed in Madras, 1914.)

30. That this Congress, while thanking the Government for having initiated a system of Scientific Enquiry into the circumstances affecting the origin and progress of plague, malaria and other diseases, urges the necessity of immediately taking in hand such practical measures as the opening of congested areas, the reclamation of silted rivers, the clearing of jungles, the draining of water-logged areas, and better provision for the supply of pure drinking water throughout the country. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911; re-affirmed in Bankipur, 1912.)

31. This Congress exhorts Local Bodies and Public Associations to systematically educate public opinion in matters relating to sanitation and hygiene, and facilitate the working of those measures that are inaugurated with a view to check the spread of disease and the increase of mortality and to secure better health and sanitation of urban and rural area. (Bankipur, Twenty-eighth Session, 1912.)

32. That in view of the present exceptional circumstances and in order to promote the material prosperity of the country, this Congress urges that immediate measures be taken by Government to organise and develop Indian industries. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

33. This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of India to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries by giving preference, wherever practicable, to Indian products over imported commodities even at a sacrifice. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915; re-affirmed in Lucknow, 1916.)

34. This Congress, while expressing its appreciation of the action taken by Government for the industrial development of the country, is of opinion that the measures adopted hitherto are inadequate to meet the requirements of the situation and expresses its conviction that for removing the industrial backwardness of India it is necessary:

(a) that far greater provision than exists at present should be made for industrial and technical education by the establishment of a Technological Faculty at the principal Indian Universities, by establishing institutes of research and attaching fellowships thereto, by the development of existing technical institutions and the opening of new ones and the gradual introduction of elementary technical instruction in primary and secondary schools;

(b) that fiscal autonomy should be granted to India in regard to the levying of duties both on imports and exports;

(c) that industrial Advisory Committees should be appointed for each province to co-operate with the Department of Industry in that province, one of whose functions should be to direct the pioneering of new industries;

(d) that artificial and unjust barriers like Excise duties on cotton goods and the differential rates for Railway consignment, which favour the foreign manufacturer at the expense of the indigenous manufacturer, should be removed. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915).

35. This Congress most respectfully urges upon the Government the desirability of appointing a mixed Committee of Indians and Europeans to enquire into the causes of aggrarian trouble and the strained relations between the Indian ryot and the European planter in North Bihar and to suggest remedies therefor. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916).

36. While generally welcoming the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and the policy that in the future the Government must play an active part in promoting the Industrial development of the country, the Congress hopes that in the practical application of this principle, the object kept in view will be the encouragement of Indian capital and enterprise and exploitation with the sole aim of making India industrially and economically self-contained and self-dependant.

This Congress places on record its regret at the exclusion of the tariff question from the scope of the Commission's inquiries and reiterates its opinion that the industrial development of the country is impossible without fiscal autonomy being granted to her.

This Congress agrees with the Commission that industry should have a separate representation in the Executive Council of the Government of India, but it is of opinion that an Imperial Industrial Executive Board is not necessary.

This Congress welcomes the recommendations of the Commission that Provincial Departments of Industries should be constituted at an early date and urges the same in the Government of India.

This Congress urges that the Imperial and Provincial Advisory Boards should be constituted for the purpose of promoting industrial developments and that they should consist of Indians elected by Indian Industrial and Trade Associations and by the Chambers of Commerce.

This Congress is of opinion that the proposed Imperial Industrial and Chemical Services should be constituted on a scale of service and with the object of having them manned fully by Indians, but the Europeans, who are experts in each line, should be engaged on short term agreements till they can be replaced by duly qualified Indians. This Congress is of opinion that the Government should invite the Universities to establish Commercial Colleges and should help them to do so by substantial grants.

This Congress regrets the absence in the Report of the recommendations for an adequate organisation for financing the industries and urges upon the Government the urgent necessity of starting Industrial Banks on a scale commensurate with the vast and costly educative machinery recommended in the report. That the Congress offers to the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya the profound gratitude of the country for his able, closely reasoned and comprehensive minute attached to the Report which puts the case for the Indian industrial development in an unanswerable form (Delhi, Thirty-fourth Session, 1918).

37. "This Congress expresses its fullest sympathy with the workers of India in their struggle for securing their legitimate

rights through the organisation of Trades Unions, and places on record its condemnation of the brutal policy of treating the lives of Indian workers as of no account under the false pretext of preserving law and order. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

38. This Congress is of opinion that Indian Labour should be organized with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights, and also to prevent the exploitation (1) of Indian labour (2) of Indian resources by foreign agencies ; and that the All-India Congress Committee should appoint a committee to take effective steps in that behalf. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

39. This Congress recognises the great economic necessity for the protection of cattle and urges upon the people of India to do their best to achieve this object, particularly by refusing to sell cattle or hides for export trade. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

40. That the following Khaddar Scheme be adopted by the Working Committee :—

The Working Committee resolves that in pursuance of the constructive programme now before the country, special efforts should be made by every province to stimulate the production and consumption of hand-spun and hand-woven *khaddar* on a sound organized basis.

With a view to help the provinces by way of loans and technical advice and to make available to each province the experience of other parts and to collect and disseminate useful information, the Working Committee resolves to entrust Seth Jamnadal Bajaj with the organization of a special department for which the Committee sanctions Rs. 17 lakhs.

The department shall consist of three divisions :—

1. Technical instruction.
2. Production.
3. Sale.

Technical instruction will be provided for at the Sabarmati Ashram under the direction of Mr. Mahatma Gandhi. Every province will be invited to send two or three students each to this institute for a six months' course, to be trained in all the process of khadi production. Students trained in this institute will be engaged for the organization of khadi centres or similar training institutes in their respective provinces.

The Department of Production will aim at the co-ordination of inter-provincial work and the standardization of yarn or cloth. The department will not ordinarily interfere with the administration of local organizations. Mr. Lakhmidas Purshottam will direct the department with the help of a staff of travelling inspectors.

The Sales department will open Khadi Stores in some select places where Provincial Congress Committees are unable to provide adequate facilities for consumers. Mr. Vithaldas Jaraiani will be in charge of this department.

Seth Jamnadal Bajaj will be responsible for the co-ordination of the departments and general propaganda work. He will be solely responsible for the administration of finances.

All applications for loans shall be forwarded by the provinces to Seth Jammalal who will submit them to the Working Committee for disposal with his own recommendations, provided that in case of emergency Seth Jammalal may grant loans not exceeding Rs. 5,000 in anticipation of the Working Committee's sanction.

In deciding applications for loans the Working Committee shall keep in view both the requirements of Provinces and the extent of their investments in khadi in order to stimulate local effort and help deserving cases.

BUDGET.

Rs.

Technical Instruction	...	...	25,000
Sales Department	...	...	2,00,000
Production Department Office	...	...	20,000
Propaganda, Information Bureau	...	...	1,00,000
Loans to Provinces	...	...	13,55,000
(Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, May, 1922).			

41. Whereas this Congress is of opinion that Indian labour should be organised with a view to improve and promote their well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation of Indian labour and of Indian resources, it is resolved that this Congress, while welcoming the move made by the All India Trade Union Congress and various Kisan Sabhas in organising the workers of India, hereby appoints the following Committee with power to co-opt, to assist the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress for the organisation of Indian labour, both agricultural and industrial :—

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. C. F. Andrews. | 4. Swami Dinanath. |
| 2. J. M. Sen Gupta. | 5. Dr. D. D. Sathaye. |
| 3. S. N. Halder. | 6. M. Singaravelu Chettier. |

(Gaya, Thirty-eighth Session, 1922).

42. Experience, gained during the past ten years through work in hundreds of villages, has made it abundantly clear that the deepening poverty of the masses is due, among other things, to forced unemployment for want of a supplementary industry during leisure hours, and that only the spinning wheels supply that want on a universal scale. It has been further observed that the people having given up the wheel, and consequently *khaddar*, buy foreign cloth or cloth made in indigenous mills, thus causing a double drain from the villages—the drain in the shape of loss of fruits of labour and price of cloth. This double drain can be avoided only by the exculsion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn and substitution thereof by *khaddar*, the indigenous mills supplementing *khaddar* only as far as it may be necessary. This Congress therefore appeals to the public to refrain from the purchase of foreign cloth and to the dealers in foreign cloth and yarn to give up a trade that seriously injures the interests of the millions of villagers.

This Congress further calls upon all Congress organisations and allied bodies to intensify the foreign cloth boycott by increasing khadi propaganda.

This Congress appeals to the States to associate themselves with this constructive effort and prevent the entry of foreign cloth and foreign yarn into their territories.

This Congress also appeals to the owners of indigenous mills to assist the great constructive and economic movement by,

(1) giving their moral support to the supplementary village industry of hand-spinning by themselves using handspun;

(2) by ceasing to manufacture cloth that may in any way compete with *khaddar* and to that end co-operating with the effort of the All India Spinners' Association;

(3) by keeping down the prices of their manufactures to the lowest possible limit;

(4) by refraining from using foreign yarn, silk or artificial silk in their manufacture;

(5) by exchanging the existing stock of the foreign piecegoods merchants for swadeshi cloth and thus helping them to convert their business into swadeshi and by re-exporting the former; and

(6) by raising the status of the mill-workers and making them feel that they are co-sharers with them as well in prosperity as in adversity.

This Congress suggests to the great foreign houses that they will help international brotherhood and revolutionise commercial ethics if they will take the first step by recognising the soundness and necessity of the economic boycott by India of foreign cloth, and denying themselves a foreign trade that has admittedly hurt the economic well-being of India's masses, and diverting their attention to enterprises more in keeping with the wants of the nations other than their own. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

43. Whilst the Working Committee welcomes the formation of groups representing different schools of thought, it is necessary, in view of loose talk about confiscation of private property and necessity of class war, to remind Congressmen that the Karachi resolution (*vide* Appendix IV) as finally settled by the A. I. C. C. at Bombay, in August 1931, which always lays down certain principles, neither contemplates confiscation, nor advocacy of class war. The Working Committee is further of opinion that confiscation and class war are contrary to the Congress creed of non-violence. At the same time the Working Committee is of opinion that the Congress does contemplate wiser and juster use of private property so as to prevent the exploitation of the landless poor, and also contemplates a healthier relationship between capital and labour. (Bombay, W. C. Meeting, June 1934; Benares Working Committee Meeting in September,

1934, opined that the above Resolution was not intended to criticise any Party in particular or its Programme.)

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

This formula must not be interpreted to mean any modification of the unbroken policy of the Congress to promote the Swadeshi spirit in the country and to encourage the personal use of only Swadeshi articles. The formula is a recognition of the fact that the large and organised industries which can or do command State-aid are in no need of the services of Congress organisations or any Congress effort in their behalf. (Benares, W. C. Meeting, July 1934.)

45. Whereas organisations claiming to advance Swadeshi have sprung up all over the country with and without the assistance of Congressmen and whereas much confusion has arisen in the public mind as to the true nature of Swadeshi and whereas the aim of the Congress has been from its inception progressive identification with the masses and whereas village re-organisation and reconstruction is one of the items in the constructive programme of the Congress and whereas such reconstruction necessarily implies revival and encouragement of dead or dying village industries besides the central industry of hand-spinning and whereas this work, like the re-organisation of hand-spinning, is possible only through the concentrated and special effort unaffected by and independent of the political activities of the Congress, Shri J. C. Kumarappa is hereby authorised to form, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, an association called the All-India Village Industries Association as part of the activities of the Congress. The said Association shall work for the revival and encouragement of the said industries and for the moral and physical advancement of the villages, and shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and to perform such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects. (Bombay, Forty-ninth Session, 1934.)

CHAPTER III.

MILITARY POLICY AND ARMS ACT.

As in the civil administration, with regard to the Army organisation, as well, there has been the long-persisting popular demand for its Indianization by throwing open the ranks of King's Commission to qualified Indians. Even as early as 1887 the Congress urged the establishment of a Military College in India. It was, however, not before 1918 that people of this country were deemed eligible for training at Sandhurst Military College for King's Commission; and in 1922 the Dehra Dun College was opened for preparatory training. As a move towards Indianization, the 'eight units scheme' was experimented upon by the C.-in-C., Lord Rawlinson. The Skcen Committee (1925) further advocated the doubling of reserved seats for the Indians at Sandhurst, establishment of a Military College in India, parallel to the Sandhurst, and the abandonment of the 'eight unit scheme'. But most of the proposals were turned down by the Government.

In 1931, however, the Indian Military College Committee was appointed and according to their recommendations, the Indian Military Academy has been opened at Dehra Dun, on the lines of the Sandhurst. Even as a belated move, it was hardly sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. Because according to the Defence Sub-Committee of the R. T. C. in future "the defence of India must be to an increasing extent the concern of the Indian people, and not of the British Government alone."

The Army administration in India was further open to the charge of being excessively costly and of saddling Indian revenues with Imperialist burdens, particularly in relation to English wars of aggression in the East. Truth of this is borne out by the following observations of Lord Curzon:

"The Indian Army in fact has always possessed * * * a triple function; the preservation of internal peace in India itself; the defence, of the Indian frontiers; and preparedness to embark at a moment's notice for imperial service in other parts of the globe. In this third aspect India has for long been one of the most important units in the scheme of British Imperial defence, providing the British Government with a striking force always ready, of admirable efficiency and assured valour."

There had been, therefore, a growing demand in India for the British Exchequer to bear some of the costs of Indian defence. A Capitation Tribunal was ultimately set up for an inquiry into the mutual financial obligations of both the

countries relating to the Indian Army. As decided by the Tribunal, England is to make an annual contribution to India's Defence expenditure, which approximately amounts to a saving of two crores in the Indian budget. India's defence expenditure, however, assumed large proportions, particularly, during the War. It rose to 60 crores in 1922-23, as against the pre-war level of 29 crores. Although the Inchcape Committee has brought it down to below 50 crores, still the Army budget swallows up nearly half the annual revenues of the Central Government.

In this connection one cannot help referring to the agitation against the Arms Act, in as much as it is also as old as the Congress itself. The compulsory disarmament under the operation of this Act is looked upon as a move towards emasculation of the race. It has remained a sore point with the people. As a reactionary measure, it had no justification whatsoever for its enactment, there being no ban against the use and carrying of arms even during the troublous days of the Mutiny.

The following are the Resolutions the Congress adopted in this connection :—

1. That in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorise (under such rules and restrictions as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government effectively in any crisis. (Calcutta, Second Session, 1886 ; re-affirmed in Madras, 1887.)

2. That in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to ; that the Military Service in its higher grades should be practically open to the natives of this country ; and that the Government of India should establish Military Colleges in this Country, where the natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army. (Madras, Third Session, 1887.)

3. That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships which the present Arms Act (XI of 1878) causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, the Government be moved so to modify the provisions of Chapter IV, and if necessary, other portions of the said Act, as to enable all persons to possess and wear arms, unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals or members of

particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India (or any local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf) for reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published. (Madras, Third Session, 1887 ; re-affirmed in Allahabad, 1888.)

4. That * * * the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act (XI of 1878) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules, shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewal. (Poona, Fifth Session, 1889 ; re-affirmed in Nagpur, 1891.)

5. That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual military expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of the country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion that in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden. (Allahabad, Eighth Session, 1892.)

6. That in view of the great extensions of the British power on the North-west and North-east of the proper frontiers of India into regions not contemplated by the Parliament when it passed the Section 56 of the Government of India Act, the Congress is of opinion that over and above the sanction of Parliament necessary before the revenue and forces of India are employed outside the frontiers of India, the interests of India absolutely demand that the expenses of all such expeditions should be shared between England and India. Without some such additional guarantee, the forward Military policy will involve India in hopeless financial confusion. (Poona, Eleventh Session, 1895).

7. That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the present Frontier policy of the Government of India is injurious to the best interests of the British Empire in general, and this country, in particular, as it involves frequent Military expeditions beyond present limits of the British Indian Empire and causes great loss of valuable lives and public money ; and therefore, entreats the British Nation to put a stop to this aggressive policy and to lay down that if such expedi-

tions are found necessary they being for Imperial purposes, the major portion of their expenses should be defrayed by the British Exchequer.

8. That in view of the fact that the calamities of famine and plague have dislocated the already seriously embarrassed finances of this country and crippled its limited resources, and that the Military operations carried on beyond the North-west Frontier are for the protection of Imperial interests, this Congress prays that the British Parliament will pending the settlement of the principle on which the Military charges are to be apportioned between Great Britain and India, be pleased to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the present war. Amraoti, Thirteenth Session, 1897).

9. * * * That as long as the policy (Frontier policy) is not radically reversed, and a return made to the older and the only safe policy of keeping within the statutory limits of the country, all declarations, no matter however confidently made, about the cessation of Frontier troubles and the friendly attitude of the Frontier tribes, are entitled to little weight as evidenced by the occurrences of the last few weeks in the Swat Valley which necessitated the holding in readiness of a considerable body of troops imposing fresh burdens on the Exchequer; and that of all the expenditure which these Military expeditions may involve, an adequate share should be borne by the British Exchequer. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898).

10. That whereas it is considered safe and prudent to withdraw large bodies of British troops for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the Indian tax-payer should be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India so large a force of European soldiers. This Congress sees no objection to the location of British troops in India as a Reserve Force for the whole of the British Empire, but is of opinion that the time has come for the transfer of the costs of 20,000 British Troops from the Indian to the British Exchequer. (Lucknow, Fifteenth Session, 1899; confirmed in Calcutta 1901; Bombay 1904).

11. That having regard to the devoted and loyal services rendered by Indian soldiers in the service of the Empire, the Congress again urges on the Government (a) the desirability of throwing open to them the higher grades of Military Services and (b) the establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or Non-commissioned Officers, according to capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900).

12. That this Congress desires to express its appreciation of the action of the Government in forming a Cadet Corps consisting of the representatives of Indian Princes and Noblemen and regards it as the first instalment of a policy which will culminate in the establishment of Military Colleges (as recommended by the Duke of Connaught) at which natives of India may be educated and trained for a Military career as Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers in the Indian Army. (Calcutta Seventeenth Session, 1901).

13. That this Congress enters its most emphatic protest against the fresh permanent burden of £7,86,000 per annum, which the increase, made during the course of the year in the pay of the British soldier, would impose on the revenues of India, and views with alarm the recent announcement of the Secretary of State for India hinting at a possible increase in the near future of the strength of the British troops in the country. In view of the fact that during the last three years large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety been withdrawn for service in South Africa and China, the proposal to increase the strength of the existing British Garrison manifestly involves a grievous injustice to the Indian tax-payer, and the Congress earnestly trusts that the proposal will either be abandoned or else be carried out at the cost of the British Exchequer, which, in fairness, should bear not only the cost of any additional British troops that may be employed but also a reasonable proportion of the existing Garrison. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

14. That while thanking the Government of Lord Curzon for opening a Military career to a few scions of noble families by the creation of the Cadet Corps, this Congress urges that in view of the loyalty and splendid services rendered by the Indian troops to the British Empire in the late Chinese wars and in other wars, Government will be pleased to throw open to the natives of India higher posts in the Military Services and to establish Military Colleges at which Indians may be trained for a Military career as Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officers in the Indian Army. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

15. (a) That this Congress reiterates its opinion that the scope of the measures, which have been undertaken from time to time for increasing the Army in India, not against domestic enemies, or against the incursions of warlike peoples of adjoining countries but to maintain the supremacy of British Power in the East, and on which millions of Indian money have been spent, reached far beyond the Indian limits, in that the policy that has dictated these measures is an Imperial policy ; and that, therefore, the Indian Army Charges which not only include the

cost of the Native Army but also that of the British forces, amounting to about one-third of the whole British Army, which forms the Imperial Garrison in India, are excessive and unjust especially having regard to the fact that the Colonies which are equally dependent upon and indebted to the mother-country for their protection contribute little or nothing towards the Imperial expenditure.

(b) That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion, that the Indian tax-payers should be granted substantial relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European Army.

(c) That this Congress protests most emphatically against the manner in which the Indian revenues have been charged with £786,000 per annum for the increased cost of the recruitment of the British Army, in spite of the Viceroy of India and his Council having strongly condemned such a charge as being injurious to Indian interests and as calculated to retard many urgent measures of domestic reform now under contemplation or in course of initiation.

(d) That this Congress reiterates its conviction that inasmuch as the Army amalgamation of 1859 has all along been the cause of a considerable portion of the unjust and excessive burden of Indian Military expenditure, the time has come when steps should be taken to have that system wholly abolished. (Madras, Nineteenth Session, 1903).

16. That this Congress expresses its profound regret that in the case of the recent Tibetan Expedition the object of the Act of 1858 in providing that India's revenues shall not be spent outside the Statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression, without the previous sanction of Parliament, was frustrated in practice by the Government continuing to describe the Expedition as a "Political Mission," till it was no longer possible for Parliament to withhold its sanction to the required expenditure, and that Indian revenues were thus unjustifiably deprived of the protection constitutionally secured to them. This Congress further places on record its regret that the House of Commons refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of that Expedition, when it was in furtherance of Imperial policy that the Expedition had been undertaken.

The Congress protests strongly against this injustice and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan expedition was but part of a general forward policy, which with the Missions to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India

in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country. (Bombay Twentieth Session 1904).

17. (a) That this Congress, while recording its emphatic protest against any charge which weakens the supremacy of the Civil control over the Military authorities, is of opinion that the necessary Civil control cannot be adequately exercised until and unless the representatives of the tax-payers are placed in a position to influence such control.

(b) That this Congress earnestly repeats its protest against the continued increase in the Military expenditure, which is unnecessary, unjust and beyond the capacity of the Indian people.

(c) That this Congress is distinctly of opinion that, as the Military expenditure of this country is determined not by its own Military needs and requirements alone but also by the exigencies of British supremacy and British policy in the East, it is only fair that a proportionate share of such expenditure should be met out of the British Exchequer and shared by the Empire at large instead of the whole of such expenditure falling on a part of the Empire which is the poorest and the least able to bear it.

(d) That, in view of the changed position of affairs in Asia due to the recent war between Russia and Japan and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, this Congress earnestly urges that the large expenditure of ten millions sterling sanctioned last year for the re-organisation scheme be not now incurred, and the money be devoted to an extension of education in all branches and reduction of the ryots burdens (Benares, Twenty-first Session, 1905).

18. This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the fresh burden of £300,000 which the British War Office has imposed on the Indian Exchequer for military charges on the recommendation of the Romer Committee, the proceedings of which, the Under-Secretary of State for India has refused to lay on the table of the House of Commons, in contravention of previous practice in such matters

The Congress views with the deepest regret the repeated imposition of military charges by the British War Office on the Indian Tax-payer from the date of the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, in regard to which imposition the Government of India has repeatedly remonstrated.

The Congress respectfully urges upon the attention of His Majesty's Government the necessity of revising the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 in the light of the experience

of the last fifty years and the desirability of laying down a fair and reasonable principle which shall free the Indian Exchequer from unjust exactions of this character. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908)

19. This Congress prays that the high recognition of the valour and fidelity of the Indian troops by His Majesty the King Emperor in his message to the Princes and Peoples of India should include the throwing open to Indians of higher career in the Army from which, as this Congress has repeatedly pointed out, they have been hitherto excluded. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908).

20. That this Congress protests against the continued exclusion of the children of the soil from higher military careers, and in urging that such careers be thrown open to them, suggests the establishment of military College, at which Indians may receive the training necessary to qualify them for His Majesty's Commission in the Army. (Lahore, Twenty-fourth Session, 1909.)

21. That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the injustice of keeping the higher ranks of the Army closed against the people of this country should remain no longer unredressed, and this Congress expresses its earnest hope that the general expectation in the country that, before His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor leaves the shores of India, a more liberal policy under which Commissions in the Army will be granted to selected Indians will be announced, will not be disappointed. (Calcutta, Twenty-sixth Session, 1911.)

22. That this Congress notes with gratitude and satisfaction the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the theatre of war, and begs to offer to H. E. the Viceroy its most heart-felt thanks for affording to the people of India an opportunity of showing that, as equal subjects of His Majesty, they are prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of other parts of the Empire in defence of rights and justice, and the cause of the Empire. (Madras, Twenty-ninth Session, 1914.)

23. That this Congress urges on the Government the necessity, wisdom, and justice, of throwing open the higher offices in the Army to Indians, and of establishing in the country Military Schools and Colleges where they may be trained for a military career as officers in the Indian Army. In recognition of the equal rights of citizenship of the people of India with the rest of the Empire, and in view of their proved loyalty so unmistakably and spontaneously manifested, and the strongly expressed desire of all classes and grades to bear arms in the service of the Crown and of the Empire, this Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of re-organising the present system of volunteering, so as to enable

the people of this country, without distinction of race or class, to enlist themselves as citizen-soldiers of the Empire. (Madras, Twenty-ninth Session, 1914.)

24. That in view of the hardship entailed by the Arms Act (XI of 1878) as at present administered, and the unremitted slur which it casts upon the people of this country, this Congress is of opinion that the said Act and the rules made thereunder should be so modified that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that all licences issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate within the provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, shall be revocable only on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals. (Madras, Twenty-ninth Session, 1914.)

25. That this Congress rejoices to place on record its deep sense of gratification and pride at the heroic conduct of the Indian Troops, whose deeds of valour and conspicuous humanity and chivalry in the Great War, are winning the respect of civilised mankind for the mother country and resolves to send a message of hearty and affectionate greetings to them and their comrades in arms, with fervent prayers for their well-being and success.

The President be requested to cable the above Resolution to the Indian Troops, through the proper channels. (Madras, Twenty-ninth Session, 1914.)

26. This Congress, while re-affirming its previous Resolutions on the subjects of Military training and Volunteering, urges on the Government:

(a) the justice and expediency of admitting Indians to Commissions in the Army and Navy and of throwing open to them the existing Military and Naval Schools and Colleges and of opening fresh ones in the country so that they may be trained for Military and Naval careers; and

(b) the necessity of re-organizing the present system of volunteering with due regard to the right of the people of this country to enlist themselves as citizen soldiers of the Empire without distinction of race, class or creed. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915).

27. This Congress places on record its abiding sense of the righteousness of the cause espoused by Great Britain and her Allies in support of the principles of liberty, justice and humanity, and while expressing its qualification and pride at the splendid achievements of the British Navy in consonance with its glorious traditions and at the heroism displayed by the British Indian and Colonial soldiers, earnestly prays that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

28. In view of the hardship entailed by the Arms Act (XI of 1878) as at present administered and the rules made

thereunder and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, this Congress is of opinion that the said Act and the rules made thereunder should be so modified that any restrictions which may be considered necessary as to the possession and bearing and use of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India, and that all licenses shall be liberally issued, shall not require renewal, shall operate within the whole of the province concerned and shall be revocable only on proof of misuse. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

29. That in the opinion of this Congress, the Indian Arms Act should be repealed and Indians should be entitled to possess and use arms on conditions similar to those which prevail in England, power being reserved to local Governments to impose such restrictions as they may, from time to time, deem fit in the case of particular areas or tribes. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

30. (a) In view of the baneful effect on the martial spirit of the whole race and of the military policy of the Government of India, which is based on distrust, and having regard to the natural rights of Indians to be allowed to train themselves to defend their hearths and homes in times of danger and their intense desire to serve the Empire in a military capacity, in the opinion of this Congress, justice as well as statesmanship demands that Government should allow Indians to enlist themselves as volunteers.

(b) On grounds of justice and expediency and in view of the military capacity of Indians as shown on the battlefields of Europe, Africa and Asia, this Congress earnestly appeals to the Government to throw open the Commissioned ranks in the Army to Indians and to provide adequate facilities in India for training Indians as officers for the Army. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

31. (a) That this Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the sentiments conveyed in the message of the Prime Minister to the Princes and people of India and fully shares in the determination of the British people to bring the War to a triumphant issue.

(b) That this Congress regrets that larger use has not been made of the man-power of India and urges that an army may be raised immediately in India from the civil population under Indian Commissioned Officers for that purpose.

(c) That the President be authorized to submit the above resolution to the Prime Minister by wire through the proper channel. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

32. This Congress recommends the formation of Indian Boy Scouts' Associations in every province, under Indian control. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

33. (a) That this Congress urges that adequate provision be made under the Indian Defence Force Act for giving military training to as large a portion of His Majesty's Indian subjects as may offer themselves for such training and in particular, the Congress urges that Cadet Corps consisting of youngmen from 16 to 18 years of age be organized in each province.

(b) That this Congress notes with satisfaction the removal of the racial bar against the admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the army and the appointment of nine Indians to such ranks, and express the hope that the rules to be framed to regulate future appointments, will provide for the appointments of Indians to a large proportion of commissioned posts, for the opening of colleges in India for the training of officers and for their examination in this country. The Congress further hopes that the rules will be published for general information before they are passed.

(c) That this Congress strongly urges that the pay, prospects and equipment of Indian soldiers and non-commissioned officers should be improved. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

34. That this Congress desires to place on record its profound appreciation of the brilliant gallantry of the Allied forces and particularly of the heroic achievement of the Indian Troops in the cause of Freedom, Justice and Self-determination.

That the foregoing resolution be communicated to the Governments of the Allied Nations and the United States of America through His Majesty's Secretary of State for India and to His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief of India. (Delhi, Thirty-third Session, 1918).

35. This Congress having considered the composition and procedure of the Fisher Committee and its report which, if carried out, is calculated to increase the sub-servience and impotence of India, is of opinion that the report furnishes strong additional ground for Non-Co-operation, and for showing how dangerous it is to postpone the immediate establishment of Swaraj. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

36. This Committee advises Provincial Congress Committees to organise, for their respective provinces, the Indian National Service contemplated in the Non-Co-operation resolution and, in so doing, to ensure the fulfilment of the following minimum requirements:—

(1) Candidates should possess a competent knowledge of the vernacular of their province and hand-spinning, and an elementary knowledge of the economic, social and political condition of this country

to the satisfaction of the Board to be appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee and approved by the All-India Congress Committee, and consisting of at least one doctor, one educationist and one businessman.

(2) Candidates should be free from any incurable disease or habit that would interfere with the due discharge of their duties.

(3) Candidates should produce to the satisfaction of the said Board a certificate of character signed by at least two respectable men of their districts.

(4) Candidates should promise to devote their whole time and attention to the service entrusted to them from time to time.

(5) A candidate should be liable to instant dismissal for neglect of duty, breach of discipline, dishonesty or non-compliance with the requirements of the Non-co-operation resolution applicable to him or her.

(6) Contracts should be for the current year.

(7) Candidates should receive no more than what is required for the maintenance of their dependents and themselves and, in no case, more than Rs. 50 per month.

(8) No candidate should be approved who is found to be heavily in debt or who has a family that cannot be reasonably supported by a monthly honorarium of Rs. 50.

(9) No candidate shall be appointed who does not comply or has not complied with the requirements of the Non-co-operation resolution especially applicable to him or her.

(10) Candidates should not be under the age of 18.

(11) All candidates approved by the said Board shall sign the contracts in triplicate, one copy to be filed at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee, one to be filed with the All-India Congress Committee not later than eight days after the signing of the contract, and one to be retained by the approved candidate.

(12) Each candidate shall receive a letter of appointment and instructions to be signed by the Chairman of the Provincial Congress Committee, which shall include specific directions for the strictest observance of non-violence in word and deed and the details of service to be performed by the candidates selected. (Nagpur, Working Committee Meeting, January, 1921).

37. And whereas by reason of the threat uttered by His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speeches, and the consequent repression started by the Government of India in the various provinces by way of disbandment of Volunteer Corps, and forcible prohibition of public and even committee meetings in an illegal and high-handed manner, and by the arrest of many Congress workers in several provinces, and whereas this repression is manifestly intended to stifle all Congress and Khilafat activities and deprive the public of their assistance, this Congress resolves that all activities of the Congress be suspended as far as necessary and appeals to all, quietly and without any demonstration to offer themselves for arrest by belonging to the volunteer organisations to be formed throughout the country in terms of the resolution of the Working

Committee arrived at in Bombay on the 23rd day of November last, provided that no one shall be accepted as volunteer who does not sign the following pledge:—

THE PLEDGE.

With God as witness I solemnly declare that,

- (1) I wish to be a member of the National Volunteer Corps.
- (2) So long as I remain a member of the Corps I shall remain non-violent in word and deed and shall earnestly endeavour to be non-violent in intent since I believe that as India is circumstanced non-violence alone can help the Khilafat and the Punjab and result in the attainment of Swaraj and consolidation of unity among all the races and communities of India whether Hindu, Musalman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian or Jew.
- (3) I believe in and shall endeavour always to promote such unity.
- (4) I believe in Swadeshi as essential for India's economic, political and moral salvation, and shall use hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar to the exclusion of every other cloth.
- (5) As a Hindu I believe in the justice and necessity of removing the evil of untouchability and shall on all possible occasions seek personal contact with an endeavour to render service to the submerged classes.
- (6) I shall carry out the instructions of any superior officers, and all the regulations, not inconsistent with the spirit of this pledge prescribed by the Volunteer Board or the Working Committee or any other agency established by the Congress.
- (7) I am prepared to suffer imprisonment, assault, or even death for the sake of my religion and my country without resentment.
- (8) In the event of my imprisonment I shall not claim from the Congress any support for my family or dependents.

This Congress trusts that every person of the age of 18 and over will immediately join the volunteer organisations. (Ahmedabad, Thirty-seventh Session, 1921.)

38. This Congress is of opinion that in order to train the people of India and make them effective instruments for the carrying out of the national work on the lines laid down by the Congress, it is necessary to have a trained and disciplined body of workers. This Congress, therefore, welcomes the movement for the formation of an All-India volunteer organisation and calls on the Working Committee to take all necessary steps to form such a body of trained volunteers in co-operation with the organisers of the movement and keep control and supervision over it, while giving it freedom of internal management and administration. (Cocanada, Thirty-ninth Session, 1923.)

39. The Committee calls Provincial Congress Committees immediately to recognise district and taluqa committees wherever necessary and to concentrate on the enrolment of members and volunteers till the 15th April. The Committee recommends that wherever possible branches of the Hindustani Seva Dal should be started and in addition lists should be prepared of

volunteers who desire to help in the campaign for the boycott of foreign cloth.

*Provincial Congress Committees are requested to send fortnightly reports of the progress made to the office of the All-India Congress Committee.

The following members of the Working Committee are put in charge of the province or provinces mentioned and are requested to report to the All-India Congress Committee office from time to time :

Assam and Bengal	...	...	Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose
Behar and Utkal	...	...	„ Rajendra Prasad
United Province	...	...	„ Shivaprasad Gupta.
Punjab and N. W. F. Province	...	...	Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Sardul Singh Cavceshar.
Andhra	...	...	Mr. B. Sambamurti.
Tamil Nad.	...	...	„ S. Srinivasa Iyengar.
C. P. Hindi & C. P. Marathi	...	...	„ Jumnalal Bajaj
Delhi and Ajmer	...	...	Dr. Ansari.

The President and General Secretaries are authorised to arrange in regard to other provinces. (Calcutta, Working Committee Meeting, 1929.)

40. In view of misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the relation of the Hindustani Seva Dal with the Congress and in view of the fact that unauthorised volunteer organisations are working in various parts of the country in the name of the Congress, the Working Committee resolves that

1. The Hindustani Seva Dal is hereby recognised as the Central Volunteer Organization of the Congress, working directly under the authority of the Working Committee or such person or persons as it may appoint in this behalf and with the following functions.

(a) It shall act as a duly authorised institution for the training of officers and instructors.

(b) It shall enrol and train recruits in Karnatak, or such other place as may be determined by the Working Committee from time to time, and they will form a permanent Central Corps for officers' training and will be liable to serve wherever necessary. It may also have training centres and camps for officers and instructors in other suitable places.

(c) It shall lend the services of officers and instructors for provinces at the latter's expense.

(d) It shall have power to form volunteer corps in provinces wherever so required by Provincial Congress Committees.

2. All Provincial Congress Committees are hereby authorised and required to form duly recognised volunteer corps.

3. No such corps shall be recognised unless all the members are members of the Congress and conform to the Congress creed and whose officers are holders of certificates from the Hindustani Seva Dal.

4. No volunteer board or corps not previously recognised by the Working Committee shall work in any Congress province in the name of or on behalf of the Congress (Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, 1931.)

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNAL PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION.

The Congress movement from its beginning has been faced with the difficulty that persistent attempts have been made to keep the Mussalmans, as a class, away from it. Though these attempts have not fully succeeded it is, nevertheless, a fact that in most of the provinces the majority of the Mussalmans have not joined the Congress. There was a departure in 1921 when Congress took up the Khilafat cause, so much so, that even the abolition of the Muslim League, which is the special organisation of the Mussalman Indians, was once seriously proposed. But with the solution of the Khilafat question the old policy of aloofness was revived, though not to the same extent as before.

In spite of this attitude on the part of the Mussalmans, the Congress, as the only representative body of the Indians, has to take into consideration their needs and special interests also. It becomes incumbent mainly for (1) bringing about an understanding and rapprochement between the Indian communities, (2) facilitating a joint national struggle for freedom and (3) framing a suitable constitution for self-governing India to the satisfaction of all communities concerned. Resolutions of the Congress given below represent the progress thus far achieved towards the realisation of these objects.

1. That while recognising the necessity of providing for a fair and adequate Representation in the Legislative Councils for the Muhammadan and other communities where they are in a minority, this Congress disapproves the Regulations promulgated last year to carry out this object by means of separate electorates, and in particular urges upon the Government the justice and expediency of modifying the Regulations framed under the Indian Councils Act of 1909, before another election comes on, so as to remove anomalous distinctions between different sections of His Majesty's subjects in the matter of the franchise and the qualifications of candidates and the arbitrary disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Councils. The Congress also urges a modification of the Regulations, where necessary, relating to the composition of non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils, so as to render them effective for practical purposes. (Allahabad, Twenty-fifth Session, 1910.)

2. That this Congress strongly deprecates the expansion or application of the principle of Separate Communal Electorates.

to Municipalities, District Boards, or other Local Bodies. (Allahabad, Twenty-fifth Session, 1910.)

• 3. That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Muslim League of the ideal of Self-Government for India within the British Empire, and expresses its complete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various Communities in the country which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. This Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a *modus operandi* for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all the sections of the people to help the object we all have at heart. (Karachi, Twenty-eighth Session, 1913).

4. This Congress places on record its warmest thanks to the All-India Moslem League for passing a resolution recommending the substitution of other animals instead of cows in respect of the sacrifices on the occasion of Bakrid. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919).

5. This Congress tenders its thanks to the Muslim associations for their resolutions against cow-slaughter. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920).

6. In view of the fact that misunderstandings exist among the Sikhs as to the position of their community in the future policy of India, this Congress assures the Sikhs that their interests will receive the same protection in any scheme of Swaraj for India as is provided for Mahomedan and other minorities in provinces other than the Punjab. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920).

7. This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement, especially as the Non-co-operators and the Khilafat preachers were denied opportunity of carrying on effective propaganda of non-violence in the affected parts by the district authorities for six months before the disturbance, but is due to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements, and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplors the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other Non-co-operators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar, and is further of opinion that the treatment

of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a Government that calls itself civilised. (Ahmedabad, Thirty-seventh Session, 1921).

8. This Congress resolves that the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare a draft of the National Pact, to circulate it for opinion among leading representatives and influential persons of different communities in the country and after consideration of the opinions received, to submit their report to the All-India Congress Committee for disposal at the Cocanada Congress :—

(1) Lalajai Rajpat Rai (in case he cannot work on the committee on account of illness, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya).

(2) Sardar Mehtab Singh.

(3) Dr. M. A. Ansari (Convener). (Delhi Special Session, 1923.)

9. This Congress resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to issue a public manifesto inviting the attention of the Indian newspapers to the extreme necessity of exercising great restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter-communal relations, and also in reporting events and incidents relating to inter-communal dissensions and commenting on them, and to appeal to them not to adopt an attitude that may prove detrimental to the best interests of India and may embitter the relations between different communities.

This Congress also resolves that the Working Committee be instructed to appoint in each province a small committee which should request such newspapers as publish any matter likely to create inter-communal dissensions, that they should desist from such a course of action and if, in spite of their friendly advice, no useful result is achieved, to proclaim such newspapers. This Congress further resolves that, in case such newspapers do not even then alter their attitude, a boycott of them by congressmen be declared in the last resort. (Delhi, Special Session, 1923).

10. This Congress resolves that in the headquarters of every district, mixed committees be established under the supervision of District Congress Committees, in consultation with Khilafat Committees, Hindu Sabhas and other responsible local associations with a view to the maintenance of peace and security throughout the districts and in case of any incident likely to disturb such peace and security, to endeavour to minimise its evil consequences and provide for a speedy and satisfactory settlement and further to encourage people in case of any provocation, to conduct themselves with restraint and refer the matter to such committees for redress of their grievances instead of themselves resorting to retaliatory measures. (Delhi, Special Session, 1923).

11. This Congress while expressing its profound regret that during the last twelve months the inhabitants of certain towns and cities made attacks upon and caused injuries to persons, properties and places of worship of their neighbours in violation of the principles of religion and humanity and, while believing that such attacks deserve the strongest condemnation, resolves that a committee be formed for the purpose of visiting the places where disturbances have occurred and investigating matters with a view to fix the responsibility for them and publicly condemn those who are found guilty of such reprehensible acts.

The Congress further resolves that the said committee be asked to recommend such measures as are calculated to prevent in future similar incidents, so that all communities may practise their respective religions without wounding the feelings of each other and may co-operate in national matters with mutual confidence and good-will.

Resolved that the committee shall consist of:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Abbas Tyabji Sahab. | 4. Syt. Purushottam Das Tandon. |
| 2. T. A. K. Sherwani Sahab. | 5. Master Sunder Singh (Lyallpuri). |
| 3. Babu Rajendra Prasad. | 6. Syt. George Joseph. |
| 7. Syt. B. F. Bharucha. | |

Resolved that the above committee be requested to visit different places, beginning with Saharanpur, and report within two months to the All-India Congress Committee. (Delhi, Special Session, 1923).

12. This Congress resolves that a committee be formed to inquire into incidents connected with "Suddhi" and "Anti-Shuddhi" movements, to visit places wherever coercion, intimidation, exercise of undue pressure or influence or use of methods of proselytisation inconsistent with such religious objects, is alleged or suspected, and to recommend such means as it thinks necessary for the prevention of such practices.

This Congress also calls upon the committee to furnish a complete or *ad interim* report of its investigations and findings to the All-India Congress Committee before the 15th of December 1923, and that it should denounce the parties guilty of corrupt practices. The Congress resolves further that the committee shall consist of the following:—

1. Pandit Sitaram (Meerut).
 2. Pandit Neki Ram Sharma (Bhiwani).
 3. Maulvi Muhammad Shafi (Behar).
 4. Maulvi Zulfikar Ali Khan (Qadian).
- (Delhi Special Session, 1923.)

12. Read the draft of the India National Pact.

Resolved that the Committee appointed by the Delhi Session of the Congress do call for further opinions and criticisms and

submit further report by the 31st March, 1924 to the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration, and that Sardar Amar Singh Jhabbal be included in the committee in place of Sardar Mehtab Singh who is in Jail. (Cocanada, Thirty-ninth Session, 1923).

14. The Congress deplores the Hindu-Muslim tension and the riots that have taken place in various parts of India. The Congress deplores the riots that recently took place in Kohat resulting in loss of life and destruction of property including temples and Gurudwaras; and is of opinion that the local authority failed to perform the primary duty of protection of life and property. The Congress further deplores the enforced exodus of the Hindu population from Kohat and strongly urges the Mussalmans of Kohat to assure their Hindu brethren of full protection of their lives and property and to invite them to return as their honoured friends and neighbours. The Congress advises the refugees not to return to Kohat except upon an honourable invitation from the Kohat Mussalmans and upon the advice of Hindu and Mussalman leaders. The Congress advises the public whether Hindu or Mussalman, not to accept the finding of the Government of India as also of others on the Kohat tragedy and to suspend judgment till the board appointed by the Unity Conference or some other equally representative body has enquired into the unfortunate event and come to a decision upon it. The Congress expresses its heart-felt sympathy for the sufferers in the Gulbarga riots and condemns the desecration committed on the places of worship in that town. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924).

15. Whereas no community in India should impose or seek to impose its religious obligations or religious views upon any other community, but the free profession and practice of religion should, subject to public order and morality, be guaranteed to every community and person:

Hindus are at liberty to take processions and play music before any mosque at any time for religious or social purposes but there should be no stoppage of the processions nor special demonstrations in front of mosques; nor shall the songs or music sung or played in front of a mosque be such as is calculated to cause annoyance, offence or special disturbance to the worshippers in the mosque.

Moslems are at liberty to sacrifice cows or, subject to existing municipal laws regulating the slaughter of animals for purposes of food, to slaughter cows in any town or village in any place not being a thorough-fare nor one in the vicinity of a temple or a "mandir" not one exposed to the gaze of the Hindus. Cows should not be led in procession or in demonstration for sacrifice or slaughter.

Having regard to the deeprooted sentiment of the Hindu community in the matter of cow killing, the Moslem community is earnestly appealed to so conduct cow sacrifice or slaughter, as not to cause annoyance to the Hindus of the town or village concerned.

Whenever a complaint is made that any of the provisions of this resolution have been contravened, it shall be enquired into and decided by arbitrators appointed by the Working Committee by name or under general regulations, and their decision shall be final. (Calcutta, Working Committee Meeting, 1927).

16. That, with a view to giving full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures, for the present, and if desired, such representation of the communities should be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature ;

Provided that reciprocal concessions in favour of minorities including the Sikhs in the Punjab may be made by mutual agreement so as to give them representation in excess of the proportion of the number of seats to which they would be entitled on the population basis in any province or provinces ; and the proportions so agreed upon for the provinces shall be maintained in the representation of the two communities in the Central Legislature from the provinces. (Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, May, 1927.)

17. (a) The proposal made by the Muslim leaders that reforms should be introduced in the N. W. F. Province and and British Baluchistan on the same footing as in other provinces is, in the opinion of the Committee, a fair and reasonable one.

(b) The proposal that Sind should be separated from the Bombay Presidency and constituted into a separate province is one which has already been adopted in the Constitution of the Congress on the principle of the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis and the Committee is of opinion that the proposal may be given effect to. (Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, May, 1927.)

18(A). This Congress resolves that in any future scheme of constitution, so far as representation in the various legislatures is concerned, joint electorates in all the provinces and in the Central Legislature be constituted.

That, with a view to give full assurances to the two great communities that their legitimate interests will be safeguarded in the Legislatures for the present and if desired, such representation of the communities should be secured by the reservation of seats in joint electorates on the basis of population in every province and in the Central Legislature.

19. In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India communal questions can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the other minorities in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities, that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned. (Lahore, Forty-fifth Session, 1929.)

20. This Congress deplores the communal strife that is going on in Cawnpore and that has resulted in a large number of deaths and even a large number of injured. The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the families of the deceased and the injured. The Congress notes with deep grief the news of the death during the strife of Sijts. Ganesh Sankar Vidyarthi, President, U. P. C. C. who was one of the most selfless among national workers and who by his freedom from communal bias had endeared himself to all parties and communities. While tendering condolence to the family of the deceased the Congress notes with pride that a prominent worker of the first rank was found sacrificing his precious life in the attempt to rescue those in danger and restore peace and sanity in the midst of strife and insanity. The Congress asks all concerned to utilise this noble sacrifice for promoting peace and never for vengeance and, to that end, appoints a committee to discover the cause of the tension and to take such measures as may be necessary to heal the breach and to prevent the poison from spreading to the adjoining areas and districts.

Committee: Syt. Purushottamdas Tandon, Khwaja Abdul Majid, Syt. T. A. K. Sherwani, Syt. Zafarul Mulk and Pandit Sundarlal with Dr. Bhagavan Das as Chairman. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

21. This Congress regards the communal riots of Benares, Mirzapore, Agra, Cawnpore and other places as highly injurious to the movement for India's freedom and strongly condemns those who are responsible for causing or provoking such riots and considers their peace-destroying activities deserving of the strongest censure. This Congress also deeply deplores the murders of citizens especially of women and children and sincerely sympathises with the living victims of the savagery and with the families of the dead. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

22. In view of the lapse of the Nehru Report it is unnecessary to declare the policy of the Congress regarding communal questions, the Congress believing that in an independent India communal question can only be solved on strictly national lines. But as the Sikhs in particular, and the Muslims and the

other minorities in general, had expressed dissatisfaction over the solution of communal questions proposed in the Nehru Report, this Congress assures the Sikhs, the Muslims and other minorities that no solution thereof in any future constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that does not give full satisfaction to the parties concerned.

Hence the Congress is precluded from setting forth any communal solution of the communal problem. But at this critical juncture in the history of the nation, it is felt that the Working Committee should suggest for adoption by the country a solution though communal in appearance, yet as nearly national as possible and thereof after full and free discussion passed the following scheme:—

1. (a) The article in the constitution relating to Fundamental Rights shall include a guarantee to the communities concerned of the protection of their religious endowments.

(b) Personal laws shall be protected by specific provisions to be embodied in the constitution.

(c) Protection of political and other rights of minority communities in the various provinces shall be the concern and be within the jurisdiction of the federal Government.

2. The franchise shall be extended to all adult men and women.

(Note.—The Working Committee is committed to Adult Franchise by the Karachi resolution of the Congress and cannot entertain any alternative franchise. In view however of misapprehensions in some quarters the Committee wishes to make it clear that in any event the franchise shall be uniform and so extensive as to reflect in the electoral roll the proportion in the population of every community.)

3. (a) Joint electorates shall form the basis of representation in the future constitution of India.

(b) For the Hindus in Sind, the Muslims in Assam and the Sikhs in Punjab and North-Western Frontier Provinces, and for Hindus and Muslims in any province where they are less than 25 per cent of the population, seats shall be reserved in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures on the basis of population with the right to contest additional seats.

4. Appointments shall be made by non-party Public Service Commissions which shall prescribe the minimum qualifications and which shall have due regard to efficiency of the public service as well as to the principle of equal opportunity to all communities for a fair share in public services of the country.

5. In the formation of federal and provincial cabinets interests of minority communities should be recognised by convention.

6. The North-Western Frontier Province and Baluchistan shall have the same form of government and administration as other provinces.

7. Sind shall be constituted into a separate province, provided that the people of Sind are prepared to bear the financial burden of the separated province.

8. The future constitution of the country shall be federal. The residuary powers shall vest in the federating units, unless, on further examination, it is found to be against the best interests of India. (Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, July, 1931.)

CHAPTER V.

EDUCATION

While the Government have all along tried to keep the educational institutions of India under their thumb in the pursuit of an Imperial policy the Congress has consistently opposed such officialisation. As a counterpart of this move the Congress has also attempted to set up national educational institutions whenever and wherever possible.

The idea of taking up national education as a part of the Congress programme first materialised in its Calcutta Session in 1906. It was a part of the fourfold national programme—Self-government, National Education, Swadeshi and Boycott—urged on the Congress by Bengal, where a network of national institutions had already sprung up under the influence of the Swadeshi Movement when students were asked to boycott affiliated institutions as a protest against the Partition of Bengal. The National Council of Education in Bengal which was established as the central body still exists and is running a large engineering institution in the suburbs of Calcutta—"The College of Engineering and Technology, Jadavpur."

Boycott of Government institutions and setting up national ones were experimented once again on an All-India scale during the Non-Co-operation Movement. This time it came in as a part of a more comprehensive scheme of boycott designed to paralyse the Government, i.e. the fourfold boycott of Councils, Courts, educational institutions and foreign cloth. But after being worked for a period the wholesale boycott of educational institutions proved itself impracticable. Excepting the boycott of foreign cloth, other boycotts were also abandoned at Belgaum in 1924.

Regarding national education, another view prevalent among a section of Congress politicians also deserves mention. It is this, that demand for national education before the establishment of National Government amounts to putting the cart before the horse ; national education cannot be established without National Government. Lala Lajpat Rai held this view and expressed it in his speech at the special session at Calcutta in 1920 over which he presided and which was held to consider the Non-Co-operation programme.

The following are the Resolutions adopted at the different Sessions of the Congress in this connection :—

1. That having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders already existing, in regard to utilising such manufacturers for State purposes, and to employ more extensively than at present the skill and talents of the people of the country. (Madras, Third Session, 1887).

2. That this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well general as technical, in all its branches, and that the declaration made in the recent Resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce Imperial expenditure on education, and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing or at any rate of not decreasing, the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the educational institutions of all kinds now existing. (Allahabad, Fourth Session, 1888).

3. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country. (Nagpur, Seventh Session, 1891 ; re-affirmed in Allahabad, 1892).

4. That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of education in the country that Government grants for higher education should in any way be withdrawn and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894 ; re-affirmed in Poona, 1895).

5. That the time having come when greater facilities are imperatively required for higher education and the proper development of the Indian intellect than what are at present offered by Examinations alone, this Congress is of opinion that the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of teaching functions and for a wider scope of learning and so as to suit generally the requirements of the present day. (Calcutta, Twelfth Session, 1896).

6. That this Congress places on record its deep conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction and set apart more funds for a better and more successful working of the same. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898; re-affirmed in Lucknow, 1899; Lahore, 1900.)

7. That this Congress regrets the suspension of the privileges accorded to the graduates of a certain standing, of the Calcutta University to return Fellows to the University, and the fact that effect is not given to the provisions of the Act, constituting the Punjab University with regard to the election of Fellow by the Senate, and is of opinion that it is desirable, in the interests of sound education, to confer the privileges of electing fellows upon the graduates of Indian Universities, where it does not exist and of extending it, where it does exist. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900.)

8. That this Congress notices with great satisfaction that the subject of education in all its divisions is receiving the earnest and careful attention of His Excellency the Viceroy and this Congress trusts that in constituting the proposed Education Commission, His Excellency will be pleased to give adequate representation to Indian interests by appointing a sufficient number of Indian gentlemen to be members of the Commission. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901.)

9. That this Congress desires to tender its respectful thanks to the Government of India for the Circular letter recently addressed by them to Local Governments on the subject of the Universities' Commission Report—so far as it relates to the proposals for the abolition of Second Grade Colleges and Law Classes—which has partially allayed the apprehension in the public mind that due weight might not be attached to public opinion, in taking action on the recommendations of the Commission. That this Congress views with the gravest alarm many of the Commission's recommendations, the acceptance of which will, in its opinion reverse the policy steadily pursued during the last half-a-century by the British Government in the matter of higher education, by checking its spread and restricting its scope, and by virtually destroying such limited independence as the Universities at present enjoy.

That in particular the Congress objects most strongly to the following recommendations of the Commission:—

(a) The abolition of all existing Second Grade Colleges except such as may be raised to the status of a First Grade College, and the prohibition of the affiliation of new Second Grade Colleges.

(b) The fixing by the Syndicate of minimum rates of fees for different Colleges.

(c) The introduction of a rigidly uniform course of studies throughout the country, irrespective of the lines on which the different Universities have so far progressed.

(d) The monopoly of legal instruction by Central Law Colleges, one for each Province or Presidency.

(e) The virtual licensing of all secondary education by making the existence of private schools dependent upon their recognition by the Director of Public Instruction.

(f) And the officialisation of the Senate and the Syndicate and the practical conversion of the University into a Department of Government. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

10. That this Congress considers that the Institute of Research, which the private beneficence of Mr. Tata proposes to establish, should receive adequate support from Government, and the Congress is strongly of opinion that similar institutions should be founded in different parts of the country. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

11. That this Congress, while welcoming any wisely considered scheme for the reform of the educational policy of Government, is of opinion that the Universities' Bill, if passed into law, will have, as recommended in the report of the Universities Commission, the effect of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the independence of the Universities upon which largely depend their efficiency and usefulness, and of turning them practically into departments of Government.

That this Congress is of opinion that the provisions of the Bill will not remove the shortcomings of the present system of higher education but that provisions for funds and improvement in the standard of teaching by the agency of a superior class of teachers are imperatively needed in the interests of higher education.

That this Congress prays for the following modifications :—

(a) That each University should be dealt with by a separate Act.

(b) That in the case of the older Universities the number of ordinary Fellows should not be less than 200 of whom at least 80 should be elected by registered graduates and 20 by the members of the Faculties and that, in the case of the Universities of Allahabad and of the Punjab, a similar provision should be made.

(c) That the ordinary Fellows should hold office as at present for life, but should be liable to disqualification for absence during a fixed period.

(d) That the provision of a statutory proportion for the heads of Colleges on the Syndicate be omitted.

(e) That all graduates of ten years' standing in a Faculty be declared eligible to vote.

(f) That the section making it obligatory upon Colleges which apply for affiliation or have been affiliated to provide for residential quarters

for students and Professors and for the permanent maintenance of the Colleges be omitted.

(g) That as regards affiliation and disaffiliation the decision should, instead of being the direct act of Government as under the Bill, be as at present the act of the University, subject to the sanction of the Government

(h) That as regards the inspection of Colleges, it should be conducted by persons specially appointed by the Syndicate unconnected with the Government Educational Department or any aided or unaided College.

(i) That the power of making by-laws, and regulations should as at present be vested in the Senate, subject to the sanction of the Government. (Madras, Nineteenth Session, 1903).

12. That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the increased outlay on Primary Education, promised in their Resolution of March last, and for the institution of ten technical scholarships for the study of technical arts and industries in foreign countries, repeats its protest of last year against the retrograde policy adopted by Government in regard to Higher Education, as calculated to officialize the governing bodies of the Universities and to restrict the scope of University Education generally and the Congress places on record its emphatic opinion that in view of the large surpluses which the Government are now realising year after year, it is their clear duty to make a much larger allotment than at present out of the public funds for educational expenditure so as—

(a) to spread primary education more widely among the mass of the people, and to make a beginning in the direction of free and compulsory education;

(b) to make due provision for imparting instructions in manual training and in scientific agriculture;

(c) to provide for the better manning and equipment of Government Colleges and High Schools so as to make them really model institutions,

(d) to establish at least one central fully-equipped Polytechnic Institute in the country, with minor technical schools and colleges in different provinces. (Bombay, Twentieth Session, 1904.)

13. (a) That this Congress repeats its protest against the present policy of the Government of India in respect of High and Secondary Education, as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the Universities and restricting the spread of the education.

(b) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the special grants made this year to Primary and High Education, again places on record its firm conviction that the material and moral interests of the country demand a much larger expenditure than at present on all branches of education and a beginning in the direction of Free Primary Education.

(c) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the recommendations of the Committee on Industrial Education should be

promptly* carried out by the Government. The Congress specially urges the Government to order an Industrial Survey as recommended by the Committee (and as suggested by the Government of India itself in its Home Department Resolution No. 199, dated 18th June, 1888) as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of an organised system of technical education in the several provinces.

(d) That at least one central fully equipped Polytechnic Institute should be established in the country, with minor technical schools and colleges in the different provinces. (Benares, Twenty-first Session, 1905).

14. This Congress repeats its protest against the policy of the Government in respect of high and secondary education as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the Universities and restricting the spread of education. The Congress is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps for (i) making primary education free and gradually compulsory all over the country, (ii) assigning larger sums of money to secondary education (special encouragement being given, where necessary, to educationally backward classes), (iii) making the existing Universities more free from official control and providing them with sufficient means to take up the work of teaching, and (iv) making adequate provision for technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements. (Calcutta, Twenty-second Session, 1906).

15. In the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education for both boys and girls and organise a system of Education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—suited to the requirements of the country, on national lines and under national control. (Calcutta, Twenty-second Session, 1906 ; re-affirmed in Calcutta, 1911.)

16. That this Congress accords its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and expresses its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this Bill in Council. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

17. That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of the Government by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical and Industrial Education, suited to the conditions of the different Provinces of India.

This Congress further is of opinion that the Government should take early steps:

(a) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes);

(b) to make adequate provisions for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces, having regard to local requirements; and

(c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of Education in this country. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

18. (a) That while expressing its satisfaction and thankfulness that Government have announced a more active educational policy, this Congress regrets the defeat of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, and affirms its conviction that the introduction of a measure of Free and Compulsory Education is essential to secure a rapid extension of Elementary Education.

(b) This Congress cordially approves of the movement for the establishment of teaching and residential Universities in India. (Bankipur, Twenty-eight Session, 1912).

19. (a) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its donation of larger grants towards the extension of Primary Education in India, is strongly of opinion that a beginning should now be made for introducing Free and Compulsory Education in some selected areas.

(b) That the Congress, while approving of the proposals by Government for introducing teaching and residential Universities, is strongly of opinion that, that system should supplement, and not replace, the existing system of University Education, as otherwise the progress of Higher Education among the poorer classes will be seriously retarded.

(c) That this Congress reiterates its prayer to Government to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces, having regard to local requirements.

(d) That this Congress records its strong protest against the action of the Government of India vetoing the selection by the Calcutta University of Messrs. Rasul, Suhrawardi and Jayaswal, as lecturers, on the ground of their connection with politics; as the bar of politics is so general as to lend itself to arbitrary exclusion of the best scholarship from the lecturer's chair, so detrimental to the interests of Education in the country. (Karachi, Twenty-ninth Session, 1913).

20. This Congress places on record its emphatic protest against the highly retrograde character of the Patna University

Bill, and strongly urges that it should be so amended as to make it a thoroughly liberal and progressive measure. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916).

21. (a) That this Congress records its deliberate conviction that to foster the development of high education in India, it is necessary that (1) administrative and educational service should be filled mainly by qualified Indians, the existing distinction between the Indian and Provincial Services being done away with, and that (2) a substantial majority of the members of the Senates of the Universities, now existing or to be established, should be elected by the graduates of the Universities and by the professors and teachers of institutions affiliated thereto, and that such Senates should have full control over their own executive and educational policy.

(b) That this Congress is strongly of opinion that Government should assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education than is done at present and that the rules relating to the maximum number of admissions into a class, fees and grants-in-aid should be modified, and that in the matter of grants-in-aid the present differences between European and Indian students should be abolished and facilities afforded to all deserving pupils irrespective of race, caste or creed, for receiving the benefits of higher education.

(c) That in view of the paramount importance of educating the masses and the experience of other countries which show that the diffusion of elementary education is essential to widespread industrial education and general progress, this Congress urges upon the Government of India the necessity of taking early steps to make elementary education free and compulsory.

(d) That in view of experience of other countries this Congress strongly urges upon the Government the urgent necessity of starting an adequate number of industrial, and commercial schools and similar institutions of a higher type to provide suitable education for industrial and commercial careers, which will have the additional advantage of relieving the pressure on accommodation in general schools and colleges.

(e) That this Congress is further of opinion that if necessary and until national control is effectively secured over the educational system, voluntary organizations, independent of Government control, should be started and developed for the purpose of founding and expanding schools and colleges and for imparting general, technical and commercial education suited to the needs of the country.

(f) That in the opinion of this Congress compulsory religious instruction in any school or college aided out of public funds to pupils, the consent of whose parents has not been previously obtained, is incompatible with the policy of religious neutrality

to which Government has pledged itself, and urges the early insertion of a conscience clause in the educational Code to prevent interference on the part of school or college authorities with the religious beliefs of their pupils. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916).

22. As free elementary education is the primary and urgent need of the masses of India, this Congress urges on all Congress organizations to introduce and enforce the same in their respective areas on national lines. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920).

23. This Committee, having carefully considered the student movement in all its bearings, is of opinion that the organizers and professors and teachers of colleges and high schools nationalized or to be nationalized or opened in accordance with the Congress resolution on non-violent Non-Co-operation, should draw up and publish a new curriculum to be in keeping with the national requirements and to be enforced in full at the end of the current year and advises them during the transition and preparation period to confine their attention :

(1) to teaching hand-spinning and manufacture of yarn in order forthwith to supplement the shortage of yarn spun in Indian mills and to encourage the revival of the art of spinning,

(2) to teaching Hindustani through the Devanagari and Urdu Scripts,

(3) to enable the students to assimilate through their mother-tongues the instruction already acquired,

(4) and, for those students who desire to devote themselves to immediate national service in the way of village organization etc., to give them a short course of training to fit them for the purpose. (Nagpur, Working Committee meeting, January, 1921).

24. The Congress is strongly of opinion that the hope of the future of the country lies in its youth and therefore trusts that the Provincial Committees will strive more vigorously than they have done to keep alive all national educational institutions. But whilst the Congress is of opinion that existing national educational institutions should be maintained and new ones opened, the Congress does not regard any such institution to be national which does not employ some Indian language as the medium of instruction and which does not actively encourage Hindu-Muslim unity, education among untouchables and removal of untouchability, which does not make hand-spinning and carding and training in physical culture and self-defence compulsory, and in which teachers and students over the age of 12 years do not spin for at least half-an-hour per working day, and in which students and teachers do not habitually wear khaddar. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924).

CHAPTER VI.

PUBLIC SERVICES.

Larger employment of the children of the soil in Public Services and their gradual Indianization had long continued to be one of the oft-repeated demands of the Congress. The Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation, in particular, provided for Indians being "freely admitted to all offices the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, their ability, and their integrity duly to discharge." Indianization was pressed for both on grounds of efficiency and lesser cost of administration. British bureaucracy was necessarily high-salaried and suffered from the disability of not being familiar with Indian ways of life.

Nevertheless, Indians were denied their rightful place, due to the crime of colour, in the higher Services, which remained a close preserve for the aliens. There was, therefore, the insistent demand for Simultaneous Examinations both in England and in India. The Charter Act of 1853 threw open Civil Service to general competition, but age limitation operated against the Indians. The opportunity could not therefore be availed of by any Indian earlier than in 1870. A Public Service Commission was appointed in 1887; although its recommendation did not meet with popular approval. What is worse still, despite Parliament endorsing the proposal of simultaneous examination, the British bureaucracy stood in the way to its introduction. The minimum age of the candidate for I.C.S. Examination was, however, later raised to 23 years.

The agitation for Indianization gradually grew in volume. The Islington Commission (1912) made certain recommendations in this connection, which the sudden out-break of the War made nugatory. The Lee Commission's (1923) recommendations were in keeping with Mr. Lloyd George's characterisation of the Civil Service as the steel frame of the Indian Government. In the course of a speech Mr. Lloyd George stated in 1922:

"Whatever we may do in the way of strengthening the Government of India, one institution we will not interfere with, we will not deprive it of its functions and privileges, and that is the British Civil Service in India."

The Indian Legislative Assembly having refused to sanction,* the expenses of the Commission were certified by the Viceroy; but the Report was thrown out in 1924 by the

Assembly. Rare efficiency is claimed in support of the bureaucracy ; but that is by no means the sovereign virtue of the administrator. Lord Morley has rightly observed :

The Indian administration "would be a great deal more popular if it were a less trifle efficient and a trifle more elastic. Our danger is the creation of a pure bureaucracy, competent, faithful, industrious, but rather mechanical, rather lifeless, perhaps rather soulless."

The following are the Resolutions adopted at the different Sessions of the Congress in this connection :—

1. That in the opinion of this Congress, the competitive examination now held in England for first appointments in various Civil departments of the Public Service should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit, and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding Peonship and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years. (Bombay, First Session, 1885).

2. That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named below be appointed to consider the Public Service Question, and report thereon to this Congress :—

- (1) Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay).
- (2) " S. Subramania Iyer (Madras).
- (3) " Peary Mohan Mookerjee (Calcutta).
- (4) Babu Matilal Ghosh (Calcutta).
- (5) Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras).
- (6) " Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta).
- (7) " Gangaprasad Varma (Lucknow).
- (8) " Ramkali Chaudhuri (Benares).
- (9) " Guru Prasad Sen (Patna).
- (10) " Pandit Prannath (Lucknow).
- (11) " Munshi Kashiprasad (Allahabad).
- (12) " Mr. Hamid Ali (Lucknow).
- (13) Nawab Raza Ali Khan (Lucknow).
- (14) Lala Kanyalal (Amritsar).
- (15) Rao Shahib Gangadhar Rao Madhav Chitnavis (Nagpur).
- (16) Mr. Rahimtulla M. Sayani (Bombay).

3. That this Congress approves and adopts the Report submitted by the Committee appointed by (above) Resolution :

* "We the members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honour to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday :

1. That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.

2. That the simultaneous Examinations thus held be equally, open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects

3. That the classified lists be prepared according to merit.

4. That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.

5. That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, nor as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 33 years.

6. That simultaneous Examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.

7. That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.

8. That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than Covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of Her Majesty only as are residents thereof.

These Resolutions, it is hoped, cover the main principles which underlie the questions set by the Public Service Commission. For a more detailed consideration there was no time.

(Sd.) Dadabhai Naoroji,
President of the Committee,
(Calcutta 2nd Congress, 1886).

30th Dec., 1886.

4. That this Congress, while appreciating the concessions proposed in the Report of the Public Service Commission, yet feels it necessary to put distinctly on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service

for India is held simultaneously in England and in India. (Allahabad, Fourth Session, 1888).

5. That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India and in England, of all Examinations for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded. (Bombay, Fifth Session 1889; affirmed in Nagpur 1891).

6. That this Congress hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission in that—

(a) Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service, specially reserved for the natives of India; the resolution of Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870;

(b) Whereas, while 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service; the number to be allotted to Assam not having yet been announced;

(c) Whereas, while Membership of the Board of Revenue and a Commissionership of a Division, were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution;

(d) Whereas, while one-third of the Judgeship were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth has been so thrown open. (Allahabad, Eighth Session, 1892.)

7. That Mr. W. C. Bannerjee, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, and Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the lines indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress,

and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P. for representation to the House of Commons.

To

The Hon'ble the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland,
in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the President and members of the Eighth Indian National Congress held at Allahabad on the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1892, Respectfully sheweth:-

(i) That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Hon'ble House, the sad disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty's Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.

(ii) That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the public the full enjoyment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India in their Resolution appointing the Commission, observed, "that the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India, and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Convenanted Civil Service." But the result of the Commission's enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.

(iii) That in respect, likewise, to simultaneous examination in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous examination. Among the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those, who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(iv) That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commission, is of such a character that this Congress has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Hon'ble House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give

full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country. (Allahabad, Eighth Session, 1892.)

8. That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interest of Public medical education and the advancement of medical science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such services in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service, so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government, which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch, and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available, and indigenous talent in particular. (Lahore, Ninth Session, 1893.)

9. That this Congress desires to thank the British House of Commons for their just and wise vote in regard to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India, and most earnestly prays that august body to insist upon their orders being given prompt effect to, by the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India. (Lahore, Ninth Session, 1893.)

10. (a) That this Congress expresses its deep sense of disappointment at the Despatch of the Secretary of State supporting the view of the Government of India on the question of Simultaneous Examination, and this Congress hereby places on record its respectful but firm protest against the Despatch, as, among other things, introducing a new principle inconsistent with the Charter Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of the Queen of 1st November, 1858 (the solemn pledges contained in which the Secretary of State and the Government of India now seek to repudiate) by creating a disability founded upon race, for the Despatch lays down that a minimum of European officials in the Covenanted Service is indispensable.

(b) That in the opinion of the Congress the creation of the Provincial Service is no satisfactory or permanent solution of the problem, as this Service, constituted as it is at present, falls short of the legitimate aspirations of the people, and the interests of the Subordinate Service will not suffer by the concession of Simultaneous Examinations.

(c) That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of Simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest Telegraph, and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the Congress regrets to notice that the Despatch of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely

silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

(d) That this Congress respectfully urges on Her Majesty's Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893, on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people. (Madras, Tenth Session 1894 ; re-affirmed in Poona 1895, Calcutta 1896, Amraoti 1897, Madras 1898, Calcutta 1901 ; Ahmedabad 1902.)

11. (a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly, that the time has arrived when in the interests of public Medical Education, and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstituted on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military services.

(b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) composed with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

(c) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to re-organise the Chemical Analyser's department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistant, or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on the footing of specialists. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894 ; re-affirmed in Poona 1895 ; Calcutta 1896 ; Madras 1898.)

12. That this Congress hereby records its protests against the scheme reorganising the Educational Service which has just received the sanction of Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England from the superior grade of the Education Service to which they have hitherto been admitted ; for in the words of the Resolution :—

"In future, natives of India who are desirous of entering the Educational Department will usually be appointed in India, and to the Provincial Service."

The Congress prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the

superior grade of the Educational Service. (Calcutta, Twelfth Session, 1896.)

13. That this Congress is of opinion that the union of the Military and Civil Medical Services is extravagant, inconvenient and prejudicial to the interests of the Government as well as of the people, and strongly urges the necessity of the separation of the two services by the creation of a distinct Civil Medical Department recruited by open simultaneous competition in England and India. (Lucknow, Fifteenth Session, 1899; re-affirmed in Calcutta 1901, Ahmedabad 1902.)

14. That the Congress regrets the practical exclusion of natives of India from the higher appointments in the Police, the Public Works, the State Railways, the Opium, the Customs, the Telegraph, the Survey and other Departments, and prays that full justice be done to the claims of the people of India in regard to these appointments. (Lucknow, Fifteenth Session 1899; re-affirmed in Calcutta, 1901.)

15. That, in the opinion of the Congress, the new rules restricting the number of Indians eligible to qualify themselves for employment in the Engineering Branch of the Indian Public Works Department, through the Cooper's Hill College to a maximum of two only in the year, should be withdrawn as a matter of bare justice to the people of this country, and that the said College should be made available equally for the use of all subjects of Her Majesty; and the Congress is further of opinion that the invidious distinction made between Indians and Anglo-Indians as regards Guaranteed appointments in connection with the College at Roorke should be withdrawn and that these appointments, should be made available to all Her Majesty's Indian subjects in all parts of the country. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900.)

16. That this Congress notices with satisfaction that the question of Police reform is now under the consideration of the Government and that it is one of the twelve questions which His Excellency the Viceroy proposes to deal with during the term of His Viceroyalty. The Congress repeats its conviction that no satisfactory reform could be effected unless the Police were re-organised on the following lines:—

(1) That the higher ranks of the Police should be recruited more largely than at present from among educated natives of India as by Statute defined who being conversant with the language and habits, thoughts and life, of their subordinates would be in a position to exercise a more effective control over their subordinates than is exercised at present.

(2) That the pay and prospects of the subordinate ranks of the Police should be substantially improved so as to render the service more attractive to the educated community. This Congress is of opinion that the wider employment of educated Indians in the subordinate ranks of

the Police upon higher pay and with better prospects can alone contribute to the efficiency and integrity of the Police.

(3) That the competitive examination held in England for the recruitment of the Provincial Branches of the Police Service should be thrown open to natives of India instead of being confined to candidates of British birth. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901).

17. That this Congress records its sense of regret at the inadequacy of the representation on the Police Commission of Indian gentlemen of experience on the subject and at the limited scope of reference as indicated in the Resolution of the Government of India and in the opening speech of the President.

This Congress further records its deliberate conviction that the Police will not be rendered efficient unless the following among other reforms are carried out:—

(1) That men of adequate qualification are secured for superior offices in the Police Service.

(2) That educated Indians are largely employed in the superior offices in the Police Service.

(3) That the position and prospects of investigating and inspecting Officers are improved so as to attract educated men to the service.

(4) That the District Officer, who is District Magistrate and head of the Police, is relieved of his judicial powers and of all control over the Magistracy. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

18. That in view of the fact that the Railway administration forms an important branch of the P. W. Department of the Government, the Congress notices with regret that the natives of India are practically excluded from higher appointments such as Traffic Inspectors, District Traffic Superintendents, Accountants, &c., on State, as well as, on Guaranteed Railways and appointments of Rs. 200 and above are as a rule bestowed only on Europeans. That the exclusive employment of Europeans in the higher posts results in heavy working charges, the burden of which falls on the Indian tax-payers at whose expense the State Railways have been constructed and who have to bear the ultimate liability of deficits on the Guaranteed Railways. The Congress, therefore, deems it its duty to urge in the interests of economical Railway administration, as also for the purpose of removing a legitimate grievance, that Government will be pleased to direct the employment of qualified Indians in the higher branches of the Railway service. (Ahmedabad Eighteenth Session, 1902).

19. (a) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country ; that while the recommendations of the Commission did not secure full justice to the claims of the people of the country to larger and more extended employment in the higher grades of the Public Service, the

Government have not even carried them out in their integrity, and have not extended the principle of appointing Indians to new appointments since created from time to time and in Special Departments such as the Salt, Opium, Medical and Police Departments, the Survey Department of the Government of India, the Government Telegraph Department, the Indo-British Telegraph Department, the Mint Department, the Postal Department, and the Foreign Department.

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress the recent policy of the heads of departments and of the authorities responsible for Railway administration proscribing the appointment of Indians in the Public and the Railway Services is a gross violation of the pledges and assurances given by the Government.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress in order to arrest the economic drain that is caused by the present system of appointments by the Government, to secure to the people of the country the invaluable benefit of the experience and knowledge, which a training in the Public Service affords, and to introduce economy in the administration, a policy of free employment of the natives of the soil in all branches of the Service, is imperatively demanded. (Madras Nineteenth Session, 1903).

20. (a) That in the opinion of this Congress, the principles and policy enunciated by the Government of India in their Resolution, dated 24th May, 1904, on the subject of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, are inconsistent with those laid down in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 by the late Queen Empress, and this Congress enters its respectful but emphatic protest against an attempt to explain away pledges, solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the people of this country, and to deviate from arrangements deliberately arrived at by the Government after a careful examination of the whole question by a Public Commission.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that the true remedy for many existing financial and administration evils lies, in the wider employment of Indians in the higher branches of the country's services; and while concurring with previous Congresses in urging that immediate effect should be given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June, 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for Service in India simultaneously in England and in India, this Congress places on record its firm conviction that the only satisfactory solution of this question is to be found in the re-organisation of the Indian Civil Service, which should be re-constituted on a decentralized basis, its judicial functions in

the meantime being partly transferred to persons who have been trained in the profession of Law.

(c) That this Congress deplores the abolition of the competitive test for the Provincial Service in most Provinces of India. Past experience has amply established the fact that a system of Government nomination degenerates, in the special circumstances of this country, into a system of appointment by official favour, and this, by bringing unfit men into the service, impairs the efficiency of the administration, and in addition unfairly discredits the fitness of Indians for high office. This Congress, therefore, respectfully urges the Government of India to restore the competitive test for the Provincial Service, wherever it has been abolished. (Bombay, Twenty-first Session, 1904).

21. That this Congress, while noting with satisfaction some useful reforms recommended by the Police Commission, regrets that adequate measures have not been adopted to materially improve the efficiency and the honesty of the Police Service.

This Congress records its conviction:—

(1) That competitive examinations for the recruitment of the Police Service in the higher grades should be thrown open to all classes of British subjects instead of being confined to candidates of British birth and that such examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India.

(2) That educated Indians should be largely employed in the higher grades in order to secure efficiency in work.

(3) That enlistment in the Provincial Services should be by competitive examinations.

(4) And lastly, that District Officers, who are the heads of the Police, should be relieved of judicial work and of all control over the Magistracy of the District. (Benares Twenty-first Session 1905).

22. (a) That this Congress gratefully recognises the efforts that have been made during the last three years by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy to give gracious effect to the policy, laid down in the great Charter of 1858, and reiterated in His Majesty's message of last year, of obliterating distinctions of race in conferring higher offices on the people of India in the Public Service of the country.

That this Congress, however, is strongly of opinion that in order to carry out this policy effectively, the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June, 1893, should be given effect to, and all examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and in England, and all first appointments for the higher branches of the Public Service, which are made in India, should be by competitive examination only.

(b) That this Congress thanks the Secretary of State (i) for his despatch regarding the employment in the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service of qualified medical men, not belonging to the Indian Medical Service, and earnestly requests the Government of India to take early action in the direction pointed out by the Secretary of State. (ii) That in the interests of public, the medical service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service, wholly independent of the Indian Military Medical Service. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

23. That this Congress desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that the reforms in the Police system which have been effected under the recommendations of Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission have not produced the results which had been anticipated, as is evident from the judicial findings of the highest courts in some recent cases, and they have not improved the quality or the efficiency of the police force, including the village police. This Congress is of opinion that the pay and prospects of the Indian officers are not sufficient to attract the best men to the Service, and it strongly protests against the practical exclusion of Indians of a better class from the higher offices of trust and responsibility, and records its conviction that no real improvement in the methods of Police investigation can be effected unless confessions are made inadmissible, except when made at trial. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

24. That this Congress records its emphatic opinion that the present differentiation of the Civil Service into (1) the Imperial Service recruited in England, mainly from Europeans; and (2) the Provincial Services recruited in India, mainly from Indians, is opposed to the declarations made in the statutes of 1833 and 1870 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and that such differentiation should be abolished as early as possible and that Indians should be afforded equal opportunities with Europeans, for appointment to posts now reserved for the Imperial Service, by the holding of Simultaneous Examinations in England and India under conditions calculated to secure the best men for the posts. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911).

25. (a) That this Congress records its sense of satisfaction at the appointment of the Royal Commission of Indian Public Service, and while expressing its regret at the inadequacy of the non-official Indian element thereon, trusts that the deliberation of the Commission will result in the just recognition of Indian claims to appointments in the various departments of the Public Service.

(b) This Congress urges the introduction of the reform outlined below :

* (1) The holding of the open Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service and Public Services now recruited in England simultaneously in India and in England.

(2) The recruitment of the Public Services as a rule by means of Competitive Examinations and not by a system of nomination.

(3) The abolition of the division of Services into Imperial and Provincial as now constituted, and the equalisation of the conditions of service as between Europeans and Indians.

(4) The abrogation of all rules, orders, notifications and circulars which expressly or in effect debar Indians as such from any appointment in any department.

(5) The removal of restrictions against the appointment of persons other than members of Indian Civil Service in certain high and miscellaneous offices.

(6) The complete Separation of the Executive and Judicial functions and services. The creation of a distinct Judicial Service to be recruited from among members of the legal profession and a proportionate curtailment of the cadre of the Indian Civil Service.

(7) The constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service for Civil Medical appointments and the restriction of members of the Indian Medical Service to military posts only, the designation of the Indian Medical Service to be changed to Indian Military Medical Service.

(8) The closing of all Indian Services to the natives of those British Colonies where Indians are not eligible for service. (Bankipur, Twenty-eighth Session, 1912).

26. (a) That this Congress places on record its indignant protest against, and emphatically repudiates, as utterly unfounded, the charges of general incompetence, lack of initiative, lack of character, etc., which some of the witnesses, among whom this Congress notices with regret some of the highest administrative officers, have freely levelled at Indians as a people.

(b) That this Congress begs to express its earnest hope that the Royal Commissioners will, alike on grounds of justice, national progress, economy, efficiency and even expediency, see fit to make recommendations which will have the certain effect of largely increasing the present very inadequate proportion of Indians in the high appointments in the Public Services of their own country ; thus redeeming the solemn pledge contained in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Royal Proclamation of 1858. (In the latter portion Bankipur Resolution has been confirmed. Karachi Twenty-ninth Session, 1913.)

CHAPTER VII.

JUDICIAL REFORMS.

The system of administration of justice in India came in for considerable changes after the transfer of the country to the British Crown in 1858. The codification of laws led to the enactment of the Civil Procedure, the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Indian High Court Act was passed in 1861 and the Trial by Jury was also introduced. That the latter system grew into popularity is evidenced by the fact that the Congress repeatedly urged its extension and resented strongly its withdrawal, as in Bengal in 1892.

But the question which most agitated the public mind for the last fifty years is the combination of the executive and judicial functions in the magistracy. In the interests of proper administration of justice the Congress all along pressed for their separation ; but apparently to no purpose. At the eleventh Session of the Congress Mr. Mon Mohan Ghosh in moving the resolution for separation quoted a statement by one Mr. James, a Commissioner, in which the latter claimed the combination of functions as "the necessity of British Power in India." The late Mr. R. C. Dutt's scheme (1893) showed how the separation may be made feasible without additional costs. In his Minute of Dissent to the Report on the Royal Commission on the Public Services, Sir Abdur Rahim insisted upon the same. Despite, however, the question being discussed so often by different public bodies, official as well as non-official, nothing has yet been done in this connection.

The following are the Resolutions adopted at the different Sessions of the Congress in this connection :—

1. That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force. (Calcutta Second Session 1886 ; re-affirmed at Allahabad 1888 ; Madras 1894 ; Poona 1895).

2. That in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then for the first time, vested in Session Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals, should be at once withdrawn. (Calcutta, Second Session 1886 ; re-affirmed at Allahabad 1888 ; Madras 1894.)

3. That in the opinion of this Congress, a provision similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which, accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a committal to the Session Court), should be introduced into the Indian Code of Cr. Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions. (Calcutta Second Session 1886 ; re-affirmed at Allahabad 1888).

4. That this Congress do place on record an expression of universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that in its opinion it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should in some provinces involve some extra expenditure. (Calcutta Second Session 1886 ; re-affirmed at Madras 1887 ; Allahabad 1888 ; Lahore 1893 ; Madras 1894 ; Poona 1895 ; Calcutta 1896 ; Amraoti 1897 ; Bombay 1904 ; Calcutta 1906).

5. That having regard to the unsatisfactory character, in many respects of the Judicial and Police Administration, this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating :—

* * * *

(e) the fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspector General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police (Nagpur Seventh Session 1891).

6. That this Congress views with deepest concern and alarm the recent policy of Government with respect to Trial by Jury, and particularly the action of the Governments of Bengal and Assam in withdrawing the right of Trial by Jury in the majority of serious offences, and most respectfully, but firmly, protests against such policy and action as retrograde, reactionary, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and prays that the same may be reversed by the Government of India, and failing that, by the Government of England. (Allahabad Eighth Session 1892 ; re-affirmed at Poona 1895).

7. That this Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper judicial training being given to persons who are appointed

to the post of District and Session Judge, and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal, the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case. (Madras Tenth Session 1894).

8. That this Congress having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of Trial by Jury, and to the fact that with the progress of education, a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, and concurring with previous Congresses, is of opinion that Trial by Jury should be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final. (Calcutta Twelfth Session 1896).

9. That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and India, which the question of separation of the judicial from the executive functions in the administration of justice has received ; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of State in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform. (Lucknow Fifteenth Session 1899 ; re-affirmed at Lahore 1900 ; Calcutta 1901).

10. That the Congress once again records its deliberate opinion that the separation of judicial and executive functions is necessary, in the interest of righteous and efficient administration of justice. The Congress is supported in this opinion by high and distinguished authorities, intimately familiar with the administration of criminal justice in India, such as Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir William Markby, Sir James Jardine, Mr. Reynolds and others. This Congress understands that the question is now under the consideration of the Government of India ; and having regard to the soundness of the principle involved, the unanimity of public sentiment on the subject and above all, to the numerous instances of failure of justice resulting from the combination of judicial and executive functions, this Congress appeals to the Government of India to introduce this much-needed reform which has been too long delayed, partly through the fear of loss of prestige and the weakening of the Executive Government, but chiefly on the score of expense which, it is believed, will not be heavy

and which in any case ought not to be an insurmountable difficulty. (Calcutta Seventeenth Session 1901).

• 11. That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be strengthened so far as appeals from India are concerned, and this Congress respectfully ventures to suggest that Indian lawyers of eminence should be appointed as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the determination of appeals from India. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901.)

12. That this Congress is of opinion that the present system under which a very large proportion of the District Judgeships, Joint-Judgeships and Assistant Judgeships, are filled by Covenanted Civilians without any special legal training, and without adequate guarantee of the knowledge of law necessary for the satisfactory discharge of the very important and responsible judicial duties entrusted to them, is injurious to the best interests of efficient judicial administration in the mofussil and that it is urgently necessary to devise means to ensure a higher standard of efficiency in the administration of law by securing the services of trained lawyers for the said posts. (Ahmedabad Eighteenth Session 1902).

13. (a) That in the opinion of this Congress a complete separation of judicial from executive functions must now be carried out without further delay.

(b) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited from the legal profession more largely than at present as the system of appointing Civilians without special legal training to high judicial offices does not lead to a satisfactory administration of justice in the mofussil. (Benares Twenty-first Session 1905).

14. This Congress records its satisfaction that the proposal for the separation of executive and judicial functions has received the sanction of the Government in some definite shape for the Province of Bengal ; but is at the same time of opinion that the scheme should also be extended throughout the country and that it will not succeed in its object unless and until the entire Judicial Service be placed directly and absolutely under the High Court or Chief Court, as the case may be, even in matters of promotion and transfer. (Madras 'Twenty-fourth Session 1908).

15. That this Congress is strongly of opinion that all the High Courts in India should have the same direct relations with the Government of India alone as the High Court of Fort William in Bengal at present time. (Calcutta, Twenty-sixth Session, 1911.)

16. That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the early separation of Judicial and Executive functions in the best interests of the Empire and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken, to be really effective, must place all the Judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in the Province. (Madras, Twenty-ninth Session, 1914.)

17. This Congress concurring with previous Congresses urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the interests of justice and purity of administration and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken, to be really effective, must place all the judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every province and further this Congress emphasises the necessity for the creation of a Judicial Service separate from and independent of the Indian Civil Service, to be recruited partly by competitive examination and partly from the legal profession. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915).

18. This Congress re-affirms its resolution that it is desirable to invest the Chief Courts of the Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces with the status and powers of Chartered High Courts and while praying that early steps may be taken by the Secretary of State for India for the introduction of this urgent reform, regrets that the recommendations of the Local Government and the Government of India in that behalf in regard to the Punjab have been rejected by the Secretary of State. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915).

19. That in all trials by jury Indians should have the right to claim that not less than half the jurors shall be Indians. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916).

20. That this Congress, while thanking Government of India for their decision to establish a High Court in the Punjab after the war, re-affirms its resolution that it is desirable to invest the Chief Courts of Burma and the Courts of the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh and the Central Provinces with the status and powers of Chartered High Courts and prays that early steps may be taken by the Secretary of State for India for the introduction of this urgent reform. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916).

CHAPTER VIII.

FOREIGN POLICY AND PROPAGANDA.

The question of having a decided foreign policy and carrying on foreign propaganda in the interest of Indian National Movement has at present assumed an extraordinary importance as the Congress has been repeatedly called upon to meet and undo the mischief that is now being caused by interested anti-Indian propaganda in Europe and America. The Congress had all along realised the value of foreign propaganda to enlist the sympathy of the civilised world in India's behalf and had its own organ and branch organisation in England for this purpose. It had also been a policy with the Congress from its foundation to send deputations of prominent Indian leaders and orators to influence British public opinion in order to create sympathy for Indian political aspirations.

The idea of carrying on foreign propaganda on the above lines underwent a radical change with the rise of the non-cooperation spirit. Since then, on the recommendation of Mahatma Gandhi, British Committee of the Indian National Congress and its organ 'India' have been abolished. But still the need of organising foreign propaganda to enlighten the outside public about the real state of Indian affairs has always been keenly felt and proposals have repeatedly come before the Congress to set up a Board for this purpose or to authorise some trusted worker in Europe to do this on behalf of the Congress.

As regards foreign policy the Congress has intimated to all the foreign states that India wants to live in peace and amity with them ; and commitments by the present bureaucracy in India or the British Government of which it is a subordinate branch should in no way be taken to be commitment by or on behalf of India.

The following are the Resolutions adopted at the different Sessions of the Congress in this connection :—

1. (a) That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M.P., J. E. Ellis, M.P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen,

and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India.

(b) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard, Mr. Pherozechah Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated. (Poona, Fifth Session 1889).

2. That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Mr. George Yule and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mukholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardley Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British Public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public meetings and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates. (Calcutta, Sixth Session, 1890).

3. That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress of not less than 100 delegates in England, all things being convenient, in 1892 and that the several Standing Congress Committees be directed to report at the coming Congress, the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles. (Calcutta, Sixth Session, 1890.)

4. That a sum of Rs. 40,000 exclusive of individual donations, is assigned for the expenses of the British Committee of the Congress and Rs. 6,000 for the General Secretary's office and Establishment and that the several circles and districts do contribute as arranged in Committee. (Calcutta, Sixth Session, 1890; re-affirmed in 1891; from 1893 to 1898 the grant amounted to Rs. 68,000 per year; Rs. 54,000 in 1899; Rs. 30,000 in 1900; Rs. 10,500 in 1903; £700 in 1904.)

5. That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozechah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Bannerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, D. A. Khare, and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty with the sanction and approval of the Standing Congress Committees of their respective circles, to

represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated. (Calcutta, Sixth Session, 1890.)

6. That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir William Wedderburn, and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves, not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved. (Nagpur, Seventh Session, 1891.)

7. That in view of the General Election now impending in England, and in accordance with the recommendation of British Committee, the provisional arrangements, set on foot in pursuance of the Resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress of 1890 for holding, all things being convenient, a Congress of not less than 100 delegates in England in 1892, be now suspended until after such General Election. (Nagpur, Seventh Session, 1891.)

8. That this Congress most respectfully and cordially tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, their member in the House of Commons; and it again puts on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the services which that gentleman has rendered to this country, reiterates its unshaken confidence in him, and looks upon him as the Indian representative in the House of Commons. (Allahabad, Eighth Session, 1892.)

9. That an agency be appointed in England for the purpose of organising, in concert with the British Congress Committee, public meetings for the dissemination of information on Indian matters, and that funds be raised for the purpose. (Lucknow, Fifteenth Session, 1899).

10. (a) That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee, as at present constituted and the Journal *India* as published by it, be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance with the following scheme:—

(b) That a circulation of 4,000 copies of *India* be secured by allocating 1,500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras, 200 copies to the North-Western Provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar and the Central Provinces and 1000 copies to Bombay, the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8/-.

(c) That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due for the copies of *India* assigned to their respective circles and the money be paid in advance in two half-yearly instalments :

Bengal :—Babus Surendra Nath Banerjea, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Baikuntha Nath Sen.

Bombay :—Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. D. F. Wacha, Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

Madras :—Hon'ble Mr. Srinivas Rao, Mr. Vijiaraghava Chariar, Mr. V. Rynu Nambiar, Mr. G. Subramaniya Iyer

Berar & Central Provinces :—Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.

North-West Provinces & Oudh :—Mr. M. M. Malaviya, Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma, Mr. S. Sinha, Mr. A. Nundy.

Cawnpur :—Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit.

Punjab :—Lala Harkissen Lal.

(d) That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of *India* and the British Committee, a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901).

11. That this Congress desires to accord its most cordial support to the candidature of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for North Lambeth, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji for Walthamstow, Sir Henry Cotton for Nottingham and Sir John Jardine for Roxburghshire and appeals to the electors of these constituencies that, in the interest of the people of India, they will be pleased to return them to Parliament so that they may not only loyally serve them, but represent in some manner the people of a country which though a part of the British Empire, has no direct representative in the British Parliament. (Madras, Nineteenth Session, 1903 ; re-affirmed in 1904.)

12. That, looking to the near approach of a General Election in England, and to the vital importance, at this crisis, of bringing the claims of India before the Electors, before the Parliamentary candidates, and before the Political leaders, it is expedient that the Congress should depute trustworthy and experienced representatives nominated by the different provinces to be present in England for this purpose, before and during the election ; and that a fund of not less than Rs. 30,000 should be raised to meet the necessary expenses of such Deputation. (Bombay, Twentieth Session, 1904.)

13. That this Congress desires to record its sense of high appreciation of the valuable services recently rendered by the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E., and Lala Lajpat Rai in England. (Benares, Twenty-first Session, 1905.)

14. That in view of the importance of urging the more pressing proposals of the Congress on the attention of the authorities in England at the present juncture this Congress appoints its President, the Hon'ble Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale,

C.I.E., as its Delegate and deputed him to proceed to England for this purpose. (Benares, Twenty-first Session, 1905.)

* 15. That the following message be addressed by the Congress to Mr. A. O. Hume :—

This Congress sends you its cordial greetings and congratulations. The reforms announced by Lord Morley are a partial fruition of the efforts made by the Congress during the last twenty-three years and we are gratified to think that to you as its father and founder they must be a source of great and sincere satisfaction.

This Congress offers its sincere congratulations to Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, on his recent recovery from a serious illness and takes this opportunity to give expression to its deep gratitude for the unflagging zeal and devotion and the love, patience and singleness of purpose with which he has laboured for the Indian cause during the last, twenty years and which has been largely instrumental in securing for Congress, views and representations the favourable consideration which they have received in England.

This Congress desires, to convey to the members of the British Committee its grateful thanks for their disinterested and strenuous services in the cause of India's political advancement. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908.)

16. That the All-India Congress Committee be authorised to arrange for a Deputation consisting, as far as possible, of representatives from different Provinces, to England, to represent Indian views on the following subjects:—

- (1) Indians in South Africa and other Colonies;
- (2) Press Act;
- (3) Reform of the India Council;
- (4) Separation of Judicial and Executive functions;
- (5) And important questions on which Congress has expressed opinion. (Karachi, Twenty-ninth Session, 1913).

17. This Congress urges the Congress Committees, Home Rule Leagues, and other associations which have as their object the attainment of Self-Government within the Empire to carry on through the year an educative propaganda on law-abiding and constitutional lines in support of the reforms put forward by the Indian National Congress and Moslem League. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

18. That the All-India Congress Committee be authorized to arrange that a deputation consisting, as far as possible, of representatives from the different provinces should proceed to England immediately after the War to press Indian claims as outlined in Resolution XII on the attention of the Government and people of England, and to arrange for a special session of the Congress in England, if necessary. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

19. That the All-India Congress Committee be authorised to send a deputation to England if necessary. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

20. This Congress requests Mr. Joseph Baptista and Mr. H. S. L. Polak, both now in England, to convey to the Labour Party in annual session assembled its cordial welcome of their proffered help in obtaining the passage through Parliament of a statute embodying the grant of responsible government in India. This Congress authorises the President to send a cablegram to Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, Chairman of the British Committee of the National Congress, informing him that, in response to an invitation from representatives of the Labour Party, the Congress is requesting Messrs. Baptista and Polak to attend the forthcoming Congress. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

21. That this Congress records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other members of the British Committee and resolves that the organization of the British Committee and *India* should be maintained. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Sessions, 1917.)

22. This Congress records its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the Labour Party in and outside Parliament through its office-bearers, through its organisation, its prominent members and the daily and weekly press, and specially Mr. Spoor, the accredited representative of the party in Parliament for Indian affairs, by generally supporting the cause of self-government for India and particularly by pressing the Congress view about the Indian Political Reforms on the Joint Select Committee and on the occasion of the passage of the Government of India Bill in Parliament, for its full sympathy with demands for full responsible government in India and its generous assurance to advance it through its power and influence.

This Congress urges its provincial committees and other affiliated associations to promote Labour unions throughout this country with the view of improving social, economic and political conditions of the labouring classes and securing for them a fair standard of living and a proper place in the body politic of India. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

23. This Congress notes with satisfaction that it has been agreed by the Board of Directors of the journal "*India*" that it shall represent the views of the Congress and refers the recommendations contained in the report of the Congress deputation for the extension and improvement of the said journal to the All-India Congress Committee. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

24. * This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the time has arrived for establishing a permanent mission for its own propaganda work in England and elsewhere and appoints a committee of the following gentlemen to collect the necessary funds for the purpose and to select the personnel of the mission for the first year: Mr. B. G. Tilak (Convener) Mr. S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Mr. Mohammed Ali, Mr. S. R. Bomanji, Lala Lajpatrai, G. S. Khaparde, and Syed Hasan Imam with power to add, if necessary. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

25. This Congress puts on record its feelings of gratefulness to Mr. B. G. Horniman whose arduous labours and courageous championship of the cause of India have made the Indian case widely known to the people outside India, and condemns the policy of Government which still keeps him removed from the Indian people. (Nagpur, Thirty-Sixth Session, 1920.)

26. That, in the opinion of this Congress, it is necessary in the interests of India to disseminate correct information about India and Indian questions in foreign countries. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

27. This Congress, while authorising the All-India Congress Committee to give effect to the foregoing resolution, resolves:—

(a) That the publication of newspaper "India" as an organ of the Congress be discontinued forthwith and the contracts of the present staff be terminated.

(b) That, subject to the existing liabilities in connection with the British Congress Committee and newspaper *India* no further financial assistance from the Congress fund be supplied for these purposes; and

(c) That a Committee consisting of Mr. Ben Spoor, Mr. Parikh, Mr. Holford Knight, Dr. Vakil, Mr. M. H. Kidwai and Mr. Dube be appointed for winding up the affairs of the British Congress Committee and newspaper *India*. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

28. A sum of 3,000 dollars is sanctioned as a contribution to the India Home Rule League of America to be spent under the directions of a Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. Kelkar and Lajpat Rai. (Nagpur, A. I. C. C. Meeting January, 1921.)

29. In order to give effect to the Congress resolution for the dissemination of news in foreign countries, this Committee authorises the expenditure of a sum not exceeding £3,000 for such purpose in the United Kingdom, during the current year, in accordance with the instructions to be from time to time issued by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee. (Nagpur, A. I. C. C. Meeting, January, 1921.)

30. *That the following resolution passed at a public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held on the 26th April, 1921

under the auspices of the Central Khilafat Committee of India be recorded :—

"In view of the fact that the destiny of the people of India is inevitably linked with that of the neighbouring Asiatic Nations and Powers, this public meeting of the Mussulmans of Bombay request the All-India Congress Committee to promote feelings of amity and concord with neighbouring States, and with a view to establish mutual goodwill and sympathy, to formulate a clear and definite foreign policy for India."

Resolved further that the grateful acknowledgments of the All-India Congress Committee be communicated to Mr. Pickthall, the chairman of the said meeting, and to the Central Khilafat Committee of India for inviting the attention of the All India Congress Committee to a matter of such importance, and that the Working Committee be asked to frame a statement of such policy for presenting the same at the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for its consideration. (Bombay, A.I.C.C. Meeting July, 1921.)

31. The All India Congress Committee approves and adopts the resolution on Foreign Policy proposed by the Working Committee, that the Congress should let it be known to the neighbouring and other non-Indian States :—

(1) that the present Government of India in no way represent Indian opinion and that their policy has been traditionally guided by considerations more of holding India in subjection than of protecting her borders;

(2) that India as a self-governing country can have nothing to fear from the neighbouring states or any state as her people have no designs upon any of them, and hence no intention of establishing any trade relations hostile to or not desired by the people of such states;

(3) and that the people of India regard most treaties entered into with the Imperial Government by neighbouring states as mainly designed by the latter to perpetuate the exploitation of India by the Imperial power, and would therefore urge the states having no ill-will against the people of India, and having no desire to injure her interests, to refrain from entering into any treaty with the Imperial power.

The Committee wishes also to assure the foreign states that when India has attained self-government, her foreign policy will naturally be always guided so as to respect their religious obligations. (Delhi, A.I.C.C. Meeting July, 1921.)

32. The All India Congress Committee congratulates the Turkish Nation on their recent victories and further records its emphatic opinion that unless the demands of the Angora Government are satisfied in regard to the restitution of the Turks to full and unhampered freedom in their homelands in Asia and Europe, and unless the *jazirat-ul-Arab* are freed from all non-Moslem control, there can not be peace and contentment in India. (Lucknow, A.I.C.C. Meeting June, 1922.)

33. Resolved that the Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the Egyptians in their troubles and hopes that they

will bear their sorrows bravely and rise superior to the terrorism now set up in their land. (Belgaum, All-India Congress Committee, December, 1924.)

34. This Congress authorises the opening of a Foreign Department under the Congress to look after the interests of Indians abroad and carry on an educative propaganda in the country regarding their position in the British Empire and foreign countries. (Cawnpur, Congress 1925.)

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

(b) This Congress appoints Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as its representative to the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities which shall be held in Brussels on the 29th January next. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926.)

36. This Congress has noted with grave concern the extraordinary and extensive War preparations, which the British Government is carrying on in India and in the Eastern seas specially in the North West Frontier of India. These preparations for war are not only calculated to strengthen the hold of British Imperialism in India in order to strangle all attempts at freedom but must result in hastening a disastrous war in which an attempt will be made to make India again a tool in the hands of the foreign imperialists. The Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with their neighbours and desire to live in peace with them and to assert their right to determine whether or not they will take part in any war.

The Congress demands that these war preparations be put an end to and further declares that in the event of the British Government embarking on any warlike adventure and endeavouring to exploit India in it for the furtherance of their imperialist aims, it will be the duty of the people of India to refuse to take any part in such a war or to co-operate with them in any way whatsoever. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927.)

37. This Congress reiterates the War Danger resolution of the Madras Sessions of the Congress, and wishes to declare that the present Government of India in no way represents the people of India and their policy has been traditionally guided by consideration of holding India under subjection and not of protecting her frontiers. The people of India have no quarrel with the neighbouring states of the other nations of the world, and they will not permit themselves to be exploited by England to further her imperialist aims. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928.)

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

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

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

The Working Committee is authorised to determine the number of delegates and the quota of subscription to be paid by these branches and the rights of such delegates to take part in the meetings of the Subjects Committee of the Congress. The Congress further authorises the Working committee to consider the application of the committee formed in Kobe, Japan, for affiliation and to recognise it after due enquiries if it so desires. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928.)

39. The Committee has noted with anxious concern the recent internal troubles in Afganistan and the reactionary attempts made there to put an end to the reform introduced by King Amanullah. The Committee whole-heartedly sympathises with the progressive elements in the country and wishes them all success in their endeavour to make Afghanistan a united and progressive country. (New Delhi, Working Committee Meeting, February, 1929.)

CHAPTER IX

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

The question of Indians overseas, mainly in South and East Africa, came to the forefront in Indian politics on account of the repeated struggles by the Indians there for the preservation of their rights against the encroachment of the local Governments acting in the interest of the White settlers. Mahatma Gandhi's fight with the South African Government and the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement of 1911 secured to the Indians a substantial concession of their demands. After this Agreement there was another Agreement in 1914.

But in spite of such agreements and assurances the local authorities did not desist from passing laws designed to keep the Indians in an inferior position and to restrict their rights of citizenship. This has been attempted mainly in three ways—(1) by segregation (2) by taking away rights of franchise and (3) by controlling immigration. In this they have been emboldened by the fact that Indians, not being masters in their own home, are not in a position to take effective steps to put a check and neither the Indian nor the Imperial Governments are prepared to do the same. The Congress, while realising that until Swaraj is obtained in India it cannot effectively help or come to the relief of Indians overseas, has, nevertheless, tried to put moral pressure upon the Indian and Imperial Governments so that they may be compelled to do their duties to the Indians overseas.

The following are the Resolutions adopted at the different Sessions of the Congress in this connection :—

1. That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty's Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by voting the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them. (Madras, Tenth Session, 1894.)

2. That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake. (Poona, Eleventh Session, 1895 ; re-affirmed in Calcutta, 1896.)

3. That having regard to the facility of intercourse between all parts of India and Assam, this Congress is of opinion that the time has now arrived when the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882 as amended by Act VII of 1893 should be repealed. (Calcutta, Twelfth Session, 1896.)

4. That this Congress deplores the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Indian and European settlers in South Africa, a prominent instance of which is afforded by the recent decision of the Transvaal High Court restricting Indians to "locations" and appeals to Her Majesty's Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers, to relieve them of the disabilities imposed on them. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

5. That this Congress once more draws the attention of the Indian Government as well as of the Secretary of State for India to the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa, and earnestly hopes that in view of the re-arrangement of the boundaries in that Continent and the incorporation of the late Boer Republics into the British dominions, the disabilities under which the Indian settlers laboured in those Republics, and as to which Her Majesty's Government owing to their independence in internal matters felt powerless to obtain redress, will now no longer exist; and that the serious inconvenience caused to settlers in Natal, among others by the Immigration Restrictions and the Dealer's Licenses Acts of that Colony, which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution as also the Proclamation of 1858, will be materially mitigated, if not entirely removed. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900; re-affirmed in Ahmedabad Session, 1902.)

6. That this Congress sympathises with the British Indian settlers in South Africa in their struggle for existence, and respectfully draws the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the anti-Indian legislation there, and trusts that while the question to the status of British Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies is still under the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies, His Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure for the settlers a just and equitable adjustment thereof. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901.)

7. That this Congress views with grave concern and regret the hard lot of His Majesty's Indian subjects living in the British Colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, the great hardships and disabilities to which they are subjected by the Colonial Governments, and the consequent degradation of their status and rights as subjects of the King, and protests against the treatment of Indians by the colonies as backward

and uncivilized races ; and it prays that in view of the great part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the colonies and the economic advantages, which have resulted both to India and to the colonies from their emigration to and stay in the latter, the Government of India will be pleased to ensure to them all the rights and privileges of British citizenship in common with the European subjects of His Majesty by, enforcing, if necessary, such measures as will render it impossible for the colonies to secure Indian immigrants except on fair, equitable and honourable terms ; and that in view to the great importance of the principle of equal treatment of all His Majesty's Government should devise adequate measures to ensure that position to Indian emigrants in all the British Colonies. (Madras, Nineteenth Session, 1903.)

8. (a) That the Congress, while noting with satisfaction the relaxation on restrictions recently ordered by the Government of the Australian Commonwealth in the case of Indian visitors to Australia, places on record its deep regret that Indian Settlers—subjects of His Majesty the King Emperor—should continue to be subjected to harrasing restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies.

(b) In particular, this Congress records its most emphatic protest against the threatened enforcement, in an aggravated form of the anti-Indian legislation of the late Boer Government of the Transvaal by the British Government. In view of the fact that one of the declared causes of the recent Boer War was the treatment meted out to the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Government of that Republic, and in view also of the admitted loyalty of Indian Settlers in South Africa and the help rendered by them during the war, this Congress fervently prays that the British Parliament will insist on a just and equal treatment being secured to Indian Settlers in that Crown Colony.

(c) In this connection the Congress tenders its sincere thanks to the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India for their firm stand in the interests of Indian emigrants, and the Congress earnestly trusts that they will not relax their efforts in the matter till a satisfactory solution is reached. (Bombay Twentieth Session, 1904 ; re-affirmed in 1905.)

9. (a) The Congress particularly protests against the enforcement by the British Government of disabilities on the Indian Settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River Crown Colonies, which were not enforced even under the old rule, in spite of declarations by His Majesty's Ministers that the

treatment of the Indian subjects of the King-Emperor by the Boer Government was one of the causes of the late war.

(b) In view of the important part the Indian Settlers have played in the development of the Colonies, their admitted loyalty and peaceful and industrious habits, their useful and self-sacrificing services during the recent war, and, above all, the great constitutional importance of the principle of equal treatment of all citizens of the Empire anywhere in the King's dominions, this Congress respectfully, but strongly, urges the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to insist, by prohibiting, if necessary, the emigration of indentured labour and adopting other retaliatory measures, on the recognition of the status of Indian emigrants as British citizens in all the Colonies. (Benares, Twenty-first Session 1905.)

10. This Congress, while noting with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in disallowing, for the present, the proposed Ordinance against British Indians in the Transvaal, desires to give expression to its grave apprehension that unless the Imperial Government continues to extend its firm protection to the British Indian community, the policy of the Ordinance is almost certain to be enforced as soon as arrangements under the constitution recently granted are completed.

This Congress also places on record its sense of deep regret and indignation that the people of this country should be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions, and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies, and the Congress expresses its firm conviction that such a policy is fraught with serious danger to the best interests of the Empire. (Calcutta, Twenty-second Session, 1906.)

11. This Congress views with the greatest indignation the harsh, humiliating and cruel treatment to which British Indians, even of the highest respectability and position, have been subjected by the British Colonies in South Africa, and expresses its alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far reaching consequences of a mischievous character calculated to cause great injury to the best interests of the British Empire, and trusts that the Imperial Parliament when granting the new Constitution to South Africa will secure the interests of the Indian Inhabitants of South Africa.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the British Parliament and the Government of India, the desirability of dealing with the self-governing Colonies in the same manner in which the latter ruthlessly deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course

of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress, while aware of the declaration of responsible states men in favour allowing the self-governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, deems it but right to point out that the policy of shutting the door and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy in Asia and other parts of the world, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908.)

12. That this Congress expresses its great admiration of intense patriotism courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal, Muhammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their country, are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds.

That this Congress offers its warmest encouragement to Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his brave and faithful associates, and calls upon all Indian of whatever race or creed to help them unstintedly with funds; and in this connection the Congress begs to convey to Mr. R. J. Tata its high appreciation of the patriotic instincts, which have inspired his munificent donation of Rs. 25,000 to his suffering countrymen in South Africa in their hour of need and trial.

That this Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South African Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner in which the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy, which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

That this Congress protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous. (Lahore Twenty-fifth Session, 1909.)

13. (a) That this Congress anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the Provincial Settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Indian Community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic Legislation of the Province regarding registration and immigration, and expresses its high admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Muhammadan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interests of their countrymen, during their peaceful and selfish struggle for elementary civil rights against overwhelming odds.

(b) Whilst appreciating the endeavours that have been made from time to time to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indians of South Africa and other British Colonies, this Congress urges that, in view of the avowed inability of His Majesty's Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude in this matter, the Government of India should take such retaliatory measures as may be calculated to protect Indian self-respect and the interests of Indian residents in those parts of the Empire, and thus remove a great source of discontent among the people of this Country.

(c) This Congress further protests against the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the Self-Governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against, and denying the rights of full British citizenship to, all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous.

(d) Whilst thanking the Government of India for the prohibition to the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for South Africa, this Congress is strongly of opinion that in the highest National interests, the system of indentured labour is undesirable and should be abolished, and respectfully urges the Government to prohibit the further recruitment of Indian labour under contract of indenture, whether for service at home or abroad. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911.)

14. (a) That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by the Ministers of the South African Union, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Act and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to the Indians in South African just and honourable treatment.

(b) That this Congress expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in Natal in the

recent strikes, and entirely disapproves of the personnel of the Committee, appointed by the South African Union to enquire into the matter, as two of its members are already known to be biased against Indians and as it does not include persons who command the confidence of Indians in South Africa and here.

(c) That this Congress tenders its most respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question.

(d) That this Congress requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to take the steps needed to redress the grievances relating to the questions of the £3 tax, indentured labour, domicile, the Educational test, validity of Indian Marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa.

(e) That this Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers, and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds. (Karachi, Twenty-ninth Session, 1913.)

15. That this Congress strongly protests against prohibition of immigration resulting from the operation of the Canadian Privy Council Order No. 920, generally known as the "Continuous Journey Clause," as the order in question has practically the effect of preventing any Indian, not already settled there, from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no direct steamship service between the two Countries, and the Steamship Companies refuse through booking and further subjects the present Indian Settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from bringing over their wives and children. This Congress therefore, urges upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of the said Continuous Journey Regulation. (Karachi, Twenty-ninth Session, 1913.)

16. That owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave results from the system of Indentured Labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere. (Karachi, Twenty-ninth Session, 1913.)

17. That this Congress begs to convey to H. E. the Viceroy the profound gratitude of the people of India for the sympathetic manner in which he has handled the questions connected with the emigration of Indians abroad, and while welcoming H. E.'s suggestion of Reciprocity as the underlying

basis of negotiations with the Colonies, this Congress desires to record its conviction that any policy of Reciprocity to be effective and acceptable to the people of India, must proceed on the basis that the Government of India should possess and exercise the same power of dealing with the Colonies as they possess and exercise with regard to India. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

18. (a) That this Congress begs to offer to H. E. the Viceroy, its respectful thanks for the noble and courageous stand made by him in the cause of our people in S. Africa ; and, while, expressing its grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Government of India, in obtaining relief in respect of some of the most pressing grievances of our Indian fellow subjects and of the firm advocacy, in the cause of India, of Sir Benjamin Robertson, this Congress begs to place on record that no settlement can be wholly satisfactory or be deemed final, which does not secure equality of treatment between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects in South Africa, and respectfully urges on the Government of India that steps may be taken as early as circumstances will permit to bring about such equality of treatment.

(b) That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of, and admiration for, the heroic endeavours of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, and their unparalleled sacrifice in their struggle for the maintenance of the self-respect of India and the redress of Indian grievances.

(c) That this Congress further expresses its gratitude to Messrs. Pollak and Kallenbach for their voluntary sacrifice and suffering in the cause of India, and to the Rev. Mr. Andrews for his help under circumstances of great difficulty.

(d) And, lastly, that this Congress records its appreciation of the invaluable services of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale throughout the struggle in bringing about the present settlement. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

19. That owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave consequences resulting from the system of Indentured Labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

20. This Congress re-affirms its Resolution passed at its last session against the system of Indentured Labour and urges its abolition as early as possible, the system being a form of slavery which socially and politically debases the labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of the country. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915).

21.* This Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial statesmen, been justly and equitably administered and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

22. This Congress while strongly disapproving of the existence of the Indian Students' Department in England, as it is at present constituted, and its methods of working, earnestly draws the attention of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State for India to the growing discontent among Indian students in the United Kingdom caused by the increasing tendency on the part of the Educational institutions there to restrict the admission of the Indian students and by the unfair and differential treatment accorded to them after their admission to such institutions, and urges the Secretary of State for India to use his influence, authority and power towards securing equality of treatment and opportunity for them. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

23. (a) This Congress strongly urges that indentured emigration should be stopped by prohibiting the recruitment of such labour within the ensuing year.

(b) In the opinion of this Congress, it is highly desirable that at least one representative Indian selected after consultation with associations voicing Indian public opinion be appointed by the Government of India to take part in the forthcoming Inter-departmental Conference to be held in London for the consideration of this question.

(c) This Congress earnestly requests that the reports of Mr. Marjoribanks and Hon'ble Mr. Thambi Marakkayar and of the Inter-departmental Committee be published for general information and discussion before any action is taken thereupon. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

24. That this Congress, reiterating the resolutions passed at the previous sessions of the Congress on the subject of the treatment and status of British Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions and the Crown Colonies of the Empire, once more places on record the ever-growing sense of dissatisfaction at the continued ill treatment of Indian settlers in those Dominions and Colonies, and expresses the earnest hope that, as a result of the growing feeling of cohesion among the constituent parts of the Empire due to the present worldwide war, the statesmen and people of Great Britain will take a more liberal and

Imperial view of the status of the Indian settlers in those parts. Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

25. That this Congress totally disapproves of the existence of the Indian students' department both in Great Britain and India, which is a source of constant irritation to the Indian students studying in Great Britain, and, an unnecessary, burden on the Indian tax-payer. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

26. This Congress re-expresses its regret that the British Indians of South Africa still labour under disabilities which materially affect their trade and render their residence difficult, and unjustly restrict their movement to and in these parts of the Empire, and hopes that the local authorities will realise their responsibility to the Indians who have, in spite of disabilities, take their full share in the war by raising corps and otherwise remove the disabilities complained of, and authorises the President to cable the substance of the resolution to the respective authorities. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

27. This Congress is of opinion that the report of the Inter-departmental Committee which recently sat in London to consider the question of Indentured Labour is not calculated to deal with the evils of indentured labour. This Congress is further of opinion that nothing short of complete abolition of indentured labour, whether described as such or otherwise, can effectively meet the evils which have been admitted by all concerned to have done irreparable harm to the labourers; and this Congress records its grateful appreciation of the services rendered to the cause by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who, at considerable risk to health, journeyed to the Fiji Isles and is still labouring for the welfare of the Indians residing in those Isles. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

28. This Congress extends its hearty support to the Indians in East Africa and South Africa in their heroic and noble struggle against the treatment meted out to them a treatment that threatens to bring about their social, economic and political ruin, by the Governments of East Africa and South Africa.

This Congress approves of the policy of peaceful non-cooperation initiated by the Indians of East Africa, with a view to securing complete equality of treatment alike in law and in practice.

This Congress is painfully aware of the fact that in the present enslaved condition of the people of this country it cannot give protection to their countrymen in Fiji, who have been so inhumanly treated by their Government and planters as to result in the enforced return of the poor men and women who had made Fiji their home.

This Congress considers that the helplessness of the nation in the matter of the treatment of Indians in the British Dominions overseas is a clear demonstration of the necessity of non-co-operation for the establishment of Swarajya.

This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services rendered and being rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the cause of indentured Indians in Fiji and elsewhere and the Indian settlers in East and South Africa. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920).

29. Considered suggested resolutions regarding the position of affairs in East and South Africa and the general situation there :

Resolved that this Committee views with grave concern the development of affairs in East and South Africa and warns the Imperial Government that if they are unable to protect the lives, honour and just rights of Indian citizens in the British Dominions and Colonies, the people of India will be compelled to reconsider their views regarding India's partnership in the Empire. The Working Committee assures the Indians in East and South Africa of its support in their struggle and urges them to carry it on by all legitimate and non-violent means. (Bombay, Working Committee Meeting, Jan-Feb., 1923).

30. The decision of the British Government on the Kenya question having made it clear that it is not possible for India to have an equal and honourable place in the British Empire, the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress is of opinion that there should be a solemn demonstration throughout India to mark the event. The Committee therefore resolves that there shall be a peaceful hartal throughout India on the 26th of August. There shall be meetings everywhere on that day at which resolutions should be passed calling upon the people to abstain from participation in the British Empire Exhibition, the Imperial Conference, the Empire Day celebrations and all other imperial functions. In view of the unanimous expression of opinion by the representatives of all political views on the far-reaching issues involved, the Committee hopes that everyone will join in the demonstration and meetings irrespective of differences of opinion in respect of other matters. (Vizagapatam and Nagpur Working Committee Meetings, August, 1923.)

31. The Congress authorises the All-India Congress Committee to take all necessary steps in this behalf.

In view of the humiliating treatment accorded to Indian labourers in various parts of the British Empire, this Congress advises the people of India to consider the question of stopping all kinds of emigration from India for labour purposes and calls upon the Working Committee to appoint a small committee to examine the matter in all aspects and report to the All-India Congress Committee. (Coconada, Thirty-ninth Session, 1923.)

32. The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial Governments have failed to protect the interest of the settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress, whilst tendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles, regrets its inability to render effective assistance until Swaraj has been attained.

The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa to the Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the municipal franchise which they have long enjoyed.

The Congress regards the question of the deprivation of the franchise as not only manifestly unjust but also a breach of the agreement of 1914 between the Union Government and the Indian community and the past declarations of the Natal Government.

The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of the deprivation of the natural and just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924.)

33. The Congress extends its welcome to the South African Indian Congress deputation and assures the Indian settlers of South Africa of its full support in their struggle against the consolidated forces which threaten their very existence in that sub-continent.

This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the proposed legislation known as the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill is in breach of the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1911, in that, it is racial in character and is calculated not only to make the position of settlers much worse than it was in 1914, but is designed to make residence in that country of any self-respecting Indian impossible.

In the opinion of the Congress, if the interpretation of the same agreement, as put upon it on behalf of the settlers, is not accepted by the Union Government, it should be decided by reference to arbitration, as was done in 1893, in connection with matters affecting the Indian settlers of the Transvaal, and in matters arising from the administration of Law 3 of 1895.

The Congress heartily endorses the suggestion that a Round Table Conference, containing among others, proper Indian representatives, should be called to settle the question, and trusts the Union Government will accept that reasonable suggestion.

In the event of a proposal of a Round Table Conference and the proposal regarding arbitration failing, the Congress is of opinion that the Imperial Government should withhold Royal

Assent to the Bill, should it pass through the Union Parliament. (Cawnpur, Forty-first Session, 1925.)

24. This Congress welcomes the Round Table Conference now sitting in South Africa to deliberate upon the best method of dealing with the question of the Status of Indian Settlers in that sub-continent and prays for divine blessing and guidance upon its deliberators.

This Congress once more tenders its thanks to that good Englishman, Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has been chiefly instrumental in preparing in South Africa a calm atmosphere suitable for holding of the Conference. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926.)

35. In the opinion of the Congress the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as evidenced by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the original poll-tax of 20 shillings which by currency manipulation was raised to 30 shillings and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation is calculated to demonstrate afresh that British Imperialism means conservation of European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspirations. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926.)

36. This Congress while acknowledging the relief received by the Indian settlers in South Africa and regarding the signing of the Indo-Union agreement as a token of the desire of the Union Government to accord better treatment to the Indian settlers cannot be satisfied till the status of the settlers is brought on a par with that of the enfranchised inhabitants of the Union and appeals to the Union Government to consolidate the goodwill created between the two countries by repealing all class legislation, especially the Colour Bar Act of 1926, the Clause in the Liquor Bill of 1927 prohibiting the employment of Indians as waiters in hotels and the Municipal Land Alienation Ordinances of Natal in so far as the latter involve racial segregation.

This Congress places on record its sense of deep gratitude to Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews for his great and humanitarian work in South Africa and East Africa in connection with the status of the Indian settlers in those countries. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927.)

37. This Congress enters (i) its protest against the appointment of the East African Federation Commission without any Indian representative and also against the tendency, under cover of responsible government, to give the European adventurers further powers of exploiting the unsophisticated natives of the soil and of oppressing by harassing and racial legislation the peaceful Indian settlers who settled in East Africa long before

any European ever went there and who have for centuries established and enjoyed friendly commercial relations with the natives ;

(ii) calls the attention of the League of Nations to the imminent danger of infringement of the Tanganeyika mandate by opening highlands in that territory exclusively for European settlement ;

(iii) condemns the Feetham Report on Kenya local self-government as giving unfair and disproportionate representation to Europeans in Nairobi and Mombasa and hopes that the Indians in East Africa will continue their struggle for full status. (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927.)

38. Congratulating the Indians in East Africa on their friendly relations with East Africans, and trusting they would continue to maintain the same relations, and treat the interests of the original inhabitants as superior to all other interests and appealing for full support to Indians in the struggle for the achievement of the political and economic equality in East Africa. (Bombay, A. I. C. C. Meeting, May, 1929.)

39. The A. I. C. C. congratulates the deputation, now in India on behalf of the Indian settlers in East Africa, on the sound national stand it has taken on questions of common franchise and settlement of land on terms of absolute equality and, while wishing it every success assures them all support that public opinion can render to Indians in East Africa. It strongly deplores the attitude taken by the Government of India, as disclosed in the debate of the 26th instant in the Assembly, when the Member-in-Charge declared the position of the Government of India as a mere advocate, instead of a high contracting party, to protect the interest of Indian nationals overseas and records its considered opinion that the Governor-General in Council should make an early declaration of their definite policy in regard to protection of the rights of Indian nationals abroad. (Lucknow, A. I. C. C. Meeting, September, 1929.)

40. The Congress congratulates Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who went to East Africa at considerable inconvenience to herself, and also the Indians in East Africa on the clear national stand they took upon the Indian problem in that subcontinent. This Congress is of opinion that no solution of the question can satisfy the nation that accepts communal electorates and is based on a discriminate franchise or that imposes disqualification on Indians holding property. (Lahore, Forty-fifth Session, 1929.)

41. This Congress condemns the refusal of passports for return to India to Syt. Shapurji J. Saklatvala, ex-M.P. and

others who are living in England and other foreign countries. (Lahore, Forty-fifth Session, 1929.)

42. The Congress views with alarm the trend of events in South Africa and East Africa regarding the position of Indian settlers in those countries. The contemplated legislation in South Africa is in contravention of promises and in some respects constitutes an attack even on legal rights. The Congress appeals to the governments concerned to mete out to the Indian settlers the same measure of justice that they would claim for their nationals in a free India. This Congress tenders its thanks to Deenabandhu Andrews and Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru for their selfless labours on behalf of the settlers overseas. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

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

The Committee reiterates its sense of gratitude towards Deenabandhu Andrews for his unremitting efforts on behalf of Indian settlers overseas, expresses its full confidence in his selfless mission and hopes that he will continue his labours in this direction. (Wardha, W. C. Meeting, Sept., 1934.)

APPENDIX I.

1. LAUNCHING OF SATYAGRAHA AND ITS WITHDRAWAL.

1. (a) This Committee is of opinion that the time has arrived for the inauguration of a non-tax campaign by non-payment of specified taxes in certain provinces and is further of opinion that a beginning should be made by non-payment of land tax in provinces where the ryotwari system prevails as in Gujrat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra, Tamil Nad and the Punjab and by the non-payment of the Chowkidari tax in provinces where it is levied such as in Bengal, Behar and Orissa. It therefore calls upon such provinces to organise campaigns for non-payment of land tax or the Chowkidari tax as the case may be in areas to be selected by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned. The Committee warns the tax-payers of areas not selected by the Provincial Congress Committee against embarking on a campaign of non-payment of land revenue or Chowkidari tax as such action is likely to interfere seriously with the conduct of the general campaign of civil disobedience.

(b) The Committee calls upon Provincial Committees to take steps to continue and extend the manufacture of contraband salt for sale or consumption wherever possible and directs that technical breaches of the Salt Laws shall be continued with redoubled energy in places where they are sought to be prevented by the Government by arrests or otherwise. The Committee resolves that, to mark the country's disapproval of the Salt Laws, Congress organisations all over the country should organise public breaches of those laws on every Sunday.

(c) This Committee strongly condemns the Press Ordinance recently issued by the Governor-General as an outrage on civilisation and appreciates the action of those newspapers which have refused to submit to the lawless provisions of that Ordinance. It calls upon the Indian newspapers which have not yet ceased publication or having ceased publication have reappeared to stop further issues. It also calls upon the people to boycott all Anglo-Indian and Indian papers which continue publication hereafter. (Allahabad Working Committee Meeting, May, 1930.)

2. Whereas the Government has indulged in a regular orgy of relentless repression to stifle the satyagraha movement and has established a reign of terror throughout the country by actively encouraging or conniving at open acts of lawlessness and violence committed on the people by the very officials charged with the maintenance of law and order.

And whereas the following among other unlawful acts have been committed in pursuance of this policy, that is to say,

(1) cruel and indiscriminate beating of unarmed and unresisting men, women and children by, in the presence and under the orders of responsible British and Indian officers in many towns and places in the country; (2) indecent assaults on men and women and hitting them on their private parts; (3) shootings without any justification; (4) inhuman treatment of the wounded and obstructing the private Red Cross and Ambulance work; (5) arrests and convictions on false charges; (6) uncalled for application of Martial Laws; (7) unlawful introduction of Martial Law conditions without the formal application of Martial Law;

(8) misuse of sec. 144 of the Cr. P. C. and other provisions of the law; (9) trespasses on private property and forcible ejection of lawful occupiers; (10) suppression of authentic news and the issue of false and misleading communiques and (11) fomenting Hindu Muslim difference.

And whereas the Governor-General has recently promulgated three Ordinances, namely, the Press Ordinance, the Prevention of Intimidation Ordinance and the Unlawful Instigation Ordinance, the first of which has killed free and independent nationalist journalism and the last two have made it criminal to organize the peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, the social boycott of Government officers participating in various kinds of excesses and to carry on propaganda for non-payment of taxes not voted by the representatives of the people.

And whereas the statement issued by the Governor-General justifying these Ordinances contain allegations which are contrary to facts showing that the Governor-General is either kept in complete ignorance of the actual happenings in the country or is intentionally ignoring them.

Now therefore this Committee calls upon the country to meet the situation thus created, by publicly disobeying the three Ordinances aforesaid with calm and unflinching courage and strict observance of non-violence under the gravest provocation as heretofore, and carry out fearlessly all the resolutions of the Congress, the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee regardless of the said ordinances.

In particular the Committee advises the people to carry on with redoubled vigour the peaceful picketing of liquor and foreign cloth shops, social boycott of Government officers known to have participated in unjustifiable assaults on satyagrahis and others and to extend campaign for non-payment of land tax to parts of Gujerat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra, and Tamil Nad where it has not yet been started and also to intensify and extend the campaign of non-payment of Chowkidari tax in Bengal, and start it in Behar and Orissa. (Allahabad, Working Committee Meeting, June, 1930.)

3. The Committee calls upon all Congress organisations and the country at large to take more rigorous steps to bring about a complete boycott of British goods generally than have so far been taken by giving preference to goods of non-British manufacture wherever similar Swadeshi goods are not available. (Allahabad, Working Committee Meeting, June, 1930.)

4. The Committee calls upon the people to organise and enforce a strict social boycott of all Government officials and others known to have participated directly or indirectly in the atrocities committed upon the people to stifle the national movement. (Allahabad, Working Committee Meeting, 1930.)

5. "The Working Committee has heard Mahatma Gandhi's account of his visit to the west and considered the situation created by the extraordinary Ordinances promulgated in Bengal, the United Provinces and the Frontier Province, and by the actions of the authorities, including the numerous arrests made, among those of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Mr. Sherwani and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and by the shooting in the Frontier Province of innocent men, resulting in many deaths and many more being injured. The Working Committee has also seen the telegram from H. E. the Viceroy in reply to the telegram sent by Mahatma Gandhi to him.

"The Working Committee is of opinion that these several acts and others of lesser gravity that have taken place in some other provinces and the telegram from His Excellency seem to make further co-operation with the Government on the part of the Congress utterly im-

possible unless the Government policy is radically changed, these acts and the telegram betrayed no intention on the part of the bureaucracy to hand power to the people and are calculated to demoralise the nation. They also betray want of faith in the Congress, from which co-operation is expected by the Government.

"The Working Committee yields to no one in its abhorrence of terrorism on any account whatsoever resorted to by individuals such as was recently witnessed in Bengal, but it condemns with equal force terrorism practiced by the Government as evidenced by its recent acts and Ordinances.

"The Working Committee marks the deep national humiliation over the assassination committed by two girls in Comilla and is firmly convinced that such crime does great harm to the nation, specially when, through its greatest political mouthpiece of the Congress, it is pledged to non-violence for achieving Swaraj.

"But the Working Committee can see no justification whatsoever for the Bengal Ordinance, which seeks to punish the whole people for the crime of a few. The remedy lies in dealing with the known cause that prompt such crime.

"If the Bengal Ordinance has no justification for its existence the Ordinances in U. P. and the Frontier Province have still less.

"The Working Committee is of opinion that the measures taken by the Congress in the U. P. for obtaining Agrarian relief are and can be shown to be justified. The Working Committee holds that it is the unquestionable right of all people suffering from great economic distress, as the tenantry of the U. P. is admittedly suffering, to withhold payment of rent if they fail, as in the U. P. they have failed, to obtain redress by other constitutional methods. In the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sherwani, the President of the U. P. Congress Committee and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Working General Secretary of the Congress who were proceeding to Bombay to confer with Mahatma Gandhi and to take part in the meeting of the Working Committee the Government have gone beyond the limits contemplated by the Ordinances in that there was no question whatsoever of these gentlemen taking part in Bombay in a no-tax campaign in U. P.

"So far as the Frontier Province is concerned on the Government's own showing there appears to be no warrant for either the promulgation of the Ordinance or the arrest and imprisonment without trial of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his co-workers. The Working Committee regards the shootings in that Province of innocent and unarmed men to be wanton and inhuman, and congratulates the brave men of the Frontier upon their courage and endurance; and the Working Committee has no doubt that if the brave people of the Frontier retained their non-violent spirit in spite of the gravest provocation, their blood and their sufferings would advance the cause of India's independence.

"The Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to institute a public and impartial enquiry into the events that have led up to the passing of these Ordinances, the necessity of superseding the ordinary course of law and the legislative machinery, and the necessity of the several acts committed thereunder and thereafter. If a proper enquiry is set up and all facilities be given to the Working Committee for the production of evidence it will be prepared to assist the Inquiry by leading evidence before it.

"The W. C. has considered the declaration of the Prime Minister made before the R.T.C. and the debate in the House of Parliament and regards it as wholly unsatisfactory and inadequate in terms of the Congress demand and places on record its opinion that nothing

short of complete Independence, carrying full control over the Defence and the External Affairs and Finance, with such safeguards as may be demonstrably necessary in the interest of the nation, can be regarded by the Congress as satisfactory.

"The W. C. notes that the British Govt. was not prepared at the R.T.C. to regard the Congress as the only political organisation representing and entitled to so speak and act on behalf of the nation as a whole without distinction of caste, creed or colour. At the same time the Committee recognises with sorrow that communal harmony could not be attained at the same Conference.

"The W. C. invites, therefore, to make ceaseless efforts to demonstrate the capacity of the Congress to represent the nation as a whole and promote an atmosphere that could make a constitution framed on a purely national basis acceptable to the various communities composing the nation.

"Meanwhile the W.C. is prepared to tender co-operation to the Govt., provided that H. R. the Viceroy reconsiders his telegram and adequate relief is granted in respect of the Ordinances and the acts, free scope is left to the Congress in any future further negotiations and consultations to prosecute the Congress claim for complete Independence and the administration of the country is carried on in consultation with popular representatives pending the attainment of such Independence.

"The absence of any satisfactory response from the Govt. in terms of the foregoing paragraph, the W.C. will regard as an indication on the part of the Govt. that it has reduced to nullity the Delhi Pact.

"In the event of a satisfactory response not forthcoming, the W.C. calls upon the nation to resume C.D. including the non-payment of taxes under the following conditions and illustrative heads:—

1. No province, district or Tashil or village is bound to take up C.D. unless the people thereof understand the non-violent nature of the struggle with all its implications and are ready to undergo suffering involving the loss of life and property.

2. Non-violence must be observed in thought, word, and deed in the face of gravest provocation, it being understood that the campaign is not one of seeking revenge or inflicting injury on the oppressor, but is one of converting him through self-suffering and self-purification.

3. Social boycott with the intention of inflicting injury on the Govt. officers, police, or anti-nationalists can never be undertaken and is wholly inconsistent with the spirit of non-violence.

4. It should be borne in mind that non-violent campaigns are independent of pecuniary assistance. Therefore, there should be no hired volunteers, but their bare maintenance and maintenance of the dependants of poor men and women who might have been imprisoned or killed, is permissible wherever it is possible. The W. C., however, expects the workers to continue the struggle, even though they might have to suffer privations.

5. Boycott of all foreign cloth, whether British or other countries is obligatory under all circumstances.

6. All Congress men and women are expected to use hand-spun and hand-woven Khaddar to the exclusion of even cloth manufactured in the indigenous mills.

7. Picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops should be vigorously conducted chiefly by women, but always so as to ensure perfect non-violence.

8. Unlicensed manufacture and collection of salt should be resumed.

9. If processions and demonstrations are organised, only those should join them who will stand lathi charges or bullets without moving from their respective places.

10. Even in non-violent war, boycott of goods manufactured by oppressors is perfectly lawful, inasmuch as it is never the duty of the victim to promote or retain commercial relations with the oppressor. Therefore the boycott of British goods and concerns should be resumed and vigorously prosecuted.

11. Pure breach of non-moral laws and laws and orders injurious to people, wherever considered possible and advisable, may be practised.

12. All unjust orders issued under an Ordinance may be civilly disobeyed. (Bombay, Working Committee meeting, January, 1932).

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

Inasmuch as there exists in the Congress a large body of members who believe in the necessity of entry into the Legislatures as a step in the country's progress towards its goal, the All-India Congress Committee hereby appoints Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. M. A. Ansari to form a Board with Dr. M. A. Ansari as President, called the Congress Parliamentary Board consisting of not more than twenty-five Congressmen.

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

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

The Board shall select only such Congressmen as candidates who will be pledged to carry out in the Legislatures the Congress policy as it will be determined from time to time. (Palna, A. I. C. C. Meeting, May, 1934.)

1. GANDHIJEE'S STATEMENT (*Dated, Palna, April 7, 1934*).

[Referred to in foregoing Resolution 6.]

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

This statement owes its inspiration to a personal chat with the inmates and associates of the Satyagraha Ashram who had just come out of prison and whom, at Rajendra Babu's instance, I had sent to

Bihar. More especially is it due to a revealing information I got in the course of a conversation about a valued companion of long standing who was found reluctant to perform the full prison task and preferring his private studies to the allotted task. This was undoubtedly contrary to the rules of Satyagraha. More than the imperfection of the friend, whom I love more than ever, it brought home to me my own imperfection. The friend said he had thought that I was aware of his weakness. I was blind. Blindness in a leader is unpardonable. I saw at once that I must for the time being remain the sole representative of civil resistance in action.

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

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

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

The introspection prompted by the conversation with the Ashram inmates has led me to the conclusion that I must advise all Congressmen to suspend civil resistance for Swaraj as distinguished from specific grievances. They should leave it to me alone. It should be resumed by others in my life-time only under my direction, unless one arises claiming to know the science better than I do and inspires confidence. I give this opinion as the author and initiator of Satyagraha. Henceforth, therefore, all who have been impelled to civil resistance for Swaraj under my advice, directly given or indirectly inferred, will please desist from civil resistance. I am quite convinced that this is the best course in the interests of India's fight for freedom.

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

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

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

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

2. NATIONAL FLAG.

The National Flag shall be three coloured, horizontally arranged, as before, but the colours shall be saffron, white and green in the order stated here from top to bottom, with the spinning wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe; it being understood that the colours have no communal significance, but that saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice, white, peace and truth, and green shall represent faith and chivalry and the spinning wheel the hope of the masses. The proportions of the Flag should be fly to hoist as three to two. (Bombay, A.I.C.C. Meeting, August, 1931.)

3. SOCIAL UPLIFT.

1. That this Congress having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object. (Allahabad, Fourth Session, 1888.)

1. This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

2. This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential for the sake of national self-respect to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious com-

munities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition, and if Hindus, to bring about removal of untouchability, and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes. (Ahmedabad, Thirty-seventh Session, 1921.)

3. This Committee hereby appoints a Committee consisting of Swami Shradhanand, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. G. B. Deshpande and I. K. Yajnik to formulate a scheme embodying practical measures to be adopted for bettering the condition of the so called "Untouchables" throughout the country, and place it for consideration before the next meeting of the Working Committee. The amount to be raised for the scheme should be 5 lacs for the present. (Lucknow, A. I. C. C. Meeting, June, 1922.)

4. The Congress notes with satisfaction the progress in Hindu opinion regarding the removal of untouchability, but is of opinion that much yet remains to be done and therefore appeals to the Hindu members of all Congress organisations to a greater effort in the cause. The Congress hereby urges the Hindu members of Provincial Congress Committees to devote greater attention to the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes by ascertaining their wants, such as in regard to wells, places of worship, facilities for education etc., and making provision for meeting such wants. The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis of Vikom who are engaged in asserting the right of way of untouchables through a thoroughfare which is open to caste Hindus, on their non-violence, patience, courage and endurance, and hopes that the State of Travancore which is regarded as enlightened will recognise the justice of the Satyagrahis' claims and grant speedy relief. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924.)

5. The Congress notes with satisfaction that notwithstanding the setback suffered by the campaign against the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs initiated in 1921, Congress workers in several parts of the country have continued it with vigour and determination. The Congress hopes that the peaceful endeavour of workers to wean those who are addicted to the drink or opium habit from the curse, will receive further and greater strength and encouragement than hitherto. The Congress is of opinion that the policy of the Government of India in using the drink and drug habit of the people as a source of revenue, is detrimental to the moral welfare of the people of India and would therefore welcome its abolition.

The Congress is further of opinion that the regulation by the Government of India of the opium traffic is detrimental not only to the moral welfare of India but of the whole world, and that the cultivation of opium in India, which is out of all proportion to medical and scientific requirements should be restricted to such requirements. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924.)

4. BERAR.

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come for the establishment of a Provincial Legislative Council in Berar, which is now held by the Government on a permanent tenure, and the status and privileges which are accorded to Provinces included in British India. (Ahmedabad, Twenty-fifth Session, 1910.)

5. BODH GAYA SETTLEMENT.

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

- (a) that both Hindus and Buddhists should be assured fullest liberty of worship according to their own methods; (b) that a Committee consisting of five Buddhists and five Hindus one of whom shall be the Mahanth of Bodh Gaya and the Hindu Minister to the Government of Bihar and Orissa for the time being be formed and the management and control of the temple and of the worship in it should be entrusted to the said Committee; (c) that this Committee should have no connection with the properties attached to the Math of Bodh Gaya. (Delhi, A. I. C. C. Meeting, March, 1926.)

APPENDIX II.

A

CONGRESS AND MOSLEM LEAGUE SCHEME
OF REFORMS.

The following is the scheme of Reforms as a definite step towards Self-Government passed at the 31st Session of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow, on the 29th December 1916, and also adopted by the All-India Moslem League at its meeting held on the 31st December, 1916 :—

I. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.
2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.
3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.
4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions :—

Punjab—One-half of the elected Indian Members.		
United Provinces—30 per cent.	"	"
Bengal—40 per cent.	"	"
Behar—25 per cent.	"	"
Central Provinces—15 per cent.	"	"
Madras—15 per cent.	"	"
Bombay—One-third	"	"

Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, post, telegraph, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolutions on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor in Council provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor, shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III. IMPERIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Mahomedans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Mahomedans elected by separate Mahomedan electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mahomedan electorates. (Vide provisos to section 1, clause 4).

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned herein below shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:—

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of Military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and customs-duties, of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council; provided, however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN COUNCIL.

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI. INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

1. In any council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and rights of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII. MILITARY AND OTHER MATTERS.

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Executive Officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every Province shall be placed under the highest Court of that Province.

B

NEHRU REPORT.

THE RECOMMENDATIONS

We have made no attempt to draft the constitution as whole, with the precision necessary in the case of a bill intended to be introduced in the legislature. Our recommendations have by their very nature taken a form similar to that of clauses of a draft bill but they are not intended to be treated as such or understood as anything more than an indication of the principles involved, which was all we were called upon to do by our terms of reference. It will be for the Parliamentary draftsmen to put them into shape, add formal and consequential provisions, and such details as we have omitted. It may be mentioned that some of the drafts placed before us provide for transfer orders and orders in Council to give effect to the constitution. These are very important, but more for the draftsmen than for us. On some points we have gone into greater detail than on others. But this is more or less accidental. We have drawn freely on the constitutions of the dominions as well as on Dr. Besant's Commonwealth of India Bill and the drafts prepared by Messrs. Vijayaraghavachariar, Srinivasa Iyengar and Rangaswami Iyengar, and the committee of the Independent Labour Party, and also on the Government of India Act, but have found necessary in most cases to make some verbal and at times more important alterations. We have also omitted the preamble and the definitions excepting the definition of "citizen" which was settled by the first committee appointed by the All Parties Conference. We now give these recommendations under suitable headings :

CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF INDIA

1. India shall have the same constitutional status in the comity of nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa and the Irish Free State, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of India, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled, and known as the Commonwealth of India.

OPERATION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND LAWS

2. This Act and all laws made by the Parliament of the Commonwealth thereunder shall be binding on the courts and people of every province, and of every part of the Commonwealth, notwithstanding anything in the laws of the Indian Legislature or any province or in any Act of the United Kingdom extending to British India ; and the laws of the Commonwealth shall be enforced in all Indian territorial waters.

DEFINITION OF CITIZEN

3. The word "citizen" wherever it occurs in this constitution means every person

- (a) who was born, or whose father was either born or naturalised, within the territorial limits of the Commonwealth and has not been naturalised as a citizen of any other country ;
- (b) who is naturalised in the Commonwealth under the law in force for the time being.

Explanation :—No person who is a citizen of a foreign country can be a citizen of the Commonwealth unless he renounces the citizenship of such foreign country in the manner prescribed by law.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

4. (i) All powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people and the same shall be exercised in the Commonwealth of India through the organisations established by or under, and in accord with, this constitution.

(ii) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

(iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion are, subject to public order or morality, hereby guaranteed to every person.

(iv) The right of free expression of opinion, as well as the right to assemble peaceably and without arms, and to form associations or unions, is hereby guaranteed for purposes not opposed to public order or morality.

(v) All citizens in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education without any distinction of caste or creed in the matter of admission into any educational institutions, maintained or aided by the state, and such right shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by competent authority.

(vi) All citizens are equal before the law and possess equal civic rights.

(vii) There shall be no penal law whether substantive or procedural of a discriminative nature.

(viii) No person shall be punished for any act which was not punishable under the law at the time it was committed.

(ix) No corporal punishment or other punishment involving torture of any kind shall be lawful.

(x) Every citizen shall have the right to a writ of *habeas corpus*. Such right may be suspended in case of war or rebellion by an Act of the central legislature or, if the legislature is not in session, by the Governor-General in Council, and in such case he shall report the

suspension, to the legislature at the earliest possible opportunity for such action as it may deem fit.

(xi) There shall be no state religion for the Commonwealth of India or for any province in the Commonwealth, nor shall the state either directly or indirectly endow any religion or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status.

(xii) No person attending any school, receiving state aid or other public money shall be compelled to attend the religious instruction that may be given in the school.

(xiii) No person shall by reason of his religion, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling.

(xiv) All citizens have an equal right of access to, and use of, public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort.

(xv) Freedom of combination and association for the maintenance and improvement of labour and economic conditions is guaranteed to everyone and of all occupations. All agreements and measures tending to restrict or obstruct such freedom are illegal.

(xvi) No breach of contract of service or abetment thereof shall be made a criminal offence.

(xvii) Parliament shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing of a living wage for every worker, the protection of motherhood, welfare of children, and the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment.

(xviii) Every citizen shall have the right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations made in that behalf.

(xix) Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens

Note : Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in article IV the Sikhs are entitled to carry kripans.

PARLIAMENT

5. The legislative power of the Commonwealth shall be vested in a Parliament which shall consist of the King, a Senate and a House of Representatives herein called the Parliament.

6. The Governor-General shall be appointed by the King and shall have, and may exercise in the Commonwealth, during the King's pleasure, but subject to this constitution, such powers and functions of the King as his Majesty may assign to him.

7. (a) There shall be payable to the King out of the revenues of India for the salary of the Governor-General an annual sum.....which, until the Parliament of the Commonwealth otherwise provides, shall be as in the schedule hereof provided.

(b) The salary of a Governor-General shall not be altered during his continuance in office.

8. The Senate shall consist of 200 members to be elected by the Provincial Councils, a specific number of seats being allotted to each province on the basis of population, subject to a minimum. The election shall be held by the method of proportional representation with the single transferable vote. (The Hare system).

9. The House of Representatives shall consist of 500 members to be elected by constituencies determined by law. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21, and is not disqualified by law, shall be entitled to vote.

Provided that Parliament shall have the power to increase the number of members from time to time if necessary.

10. (1) Every House of Representatives shall continue for five years from its first meeting and every Senate shall continue for seven years.

Provided that—

- (a) either chamber of the legislature may be sooner dissolved by the Governor-General ; and
 - (b) any such period may be extended by the Governor-General if in special circumstances he so thinks fit ; and
 - (c) after the dissolution of either chamber the Governor-General shall appoint a date not more than six months after the date of dissolution for the next session of that chamber.
- (2) The Governor-General may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of either chamber of the Indian legislature as he thinks fit, and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.
- (3) Any meeting of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be adjourned by the person presiding.
- (4)* All questions in either chamber shall be determined by a majority of votes of members present, other than the presiding member, who shall, however, have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.
- (5) The powers of either chamber of the Indian legislature may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy in the chamber.
11. There shall be a president of each House of Parliament who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House. There shall also be a deputy president of each House who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.
12. The privileges, immunities and powers to be held, enjoyed and exercised by the Senate and the House of Representatives and by the members thereof respectively shall be such as are from time to time defined by Act of Parliament of the Commonwealth.
13. Parliament shall, subject to the provisions of this constitution, have power to make laws
- (a) for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth in relation to all matters not coming in the classes of subjects by this Act assigned to the legislatures of provinces ;
 - (b) for the nationals and servants of the Commonwealth within other parts of India as well as those without and beyond India ;
 - (c) for the government officers, soldiers, airmen and followers in His Majesty's Indian forces, whenever they are serving, in so far as they are not subject to the Army Act or the Air Force Act ; and
 - (d) for all persons employed or serving in or belonging to the Royal Indian Marine Service or the Indian Navy.

For greater certainty, but not so as to restrict the generality of the foregoing terms of this section, it is hereby declared that notwithstanding anything in this Act the legislative authority of the Parliament of the Commonwealth extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated and specified in Schedule I, attached hereto.

14. The powers of Parliament with respect to foreign affairs, not including the Indian States, shall be the same as exercised by the self-governing dominions.

15. Provision may be made by rules under this Act for regulating the course of business and the preservation of order in the chambers of the Indian legislature, and as to the persons to preside at the meetings of the House of Representatives in the absence of the president and the deputy president ; and the rules may provide for the number of members required to constitute a quorum, and for prohibiting or regulating the asking of questions on, and the discussion of, any subject specified in the rules.

16. (i) Any bill which appropriates revenue or monies for the ordinary annual services of the Commonwealth government shall deal only with such appropriations.

(ii) Bill imposing taxation shall deal only with the imposition of taxes, and any provision therein dealing with any other matter shall be of no effect.

(iii) Bills affecting the public debt or for the appropriation of revenues or monies or for imposing taxation shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council and can only originate in the House of Representatives.

17. A money bill means a bill which contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely the imposition, repeal, remission, alteration or regulation of taxation ; the imposition for the payment of debt or other financial purposes of charges on public revenues or monies, or the variation or repeal of any such charges ; supply, the appropriation, receipt, custody, issue or audit of accounts of public money ; the raising of any loan or the repayment thereof ; or subordinate matters incidental to those subjects or any of them. In this definition the expression "taxation", "public money" and "loan" respectively do not include any taxation, money or loan raised by local authorities or bodies for local purposes.

18. The question whether a bill is or is not a money bill will be decided by the president of the House of Representatives.

19. A money bill passed by the House of Representatives shall be sent to the Senate for its recommendations and it shall be returned not later than days therefrom to the House of Representatives, which may pass it, accepting or rejecting all or any of the recommendations of the Senate ; and the bill so passed shall be deemed to have been passed by both chambers.

20. (i) Subject to the provisions of this Act, a bill may be initiated in either House of Parliament and, if passed by the originating House, shall be introduced in the other House for being passed.

(ii) Except as otherwise provided under this Act, a bill shall not be deemed to have been passed by Parliament unless it has been agreed to by both Houses, either without amendments or with such amendments only as may be agreed to by both Houses.

(iii) If any bill which has been passed by the House of Representatives is not, within six months after the passage of the bill by that House, passed by the Senate, either without amendments or with such amendments as may be agreed to by both Houses, the Governor-General shall, on resolution passed by either House to that effect, refer the matter for decision to a joint sitting of both Houses. The members present at any such joint sitting may deliberate and shall vote together upon the bill as last proposed by the House of Representatives and upon amendments if any, which have been made therein by one House of Parliament and not agreed to by the other ; and any

such amendments which are affirmed by a majority of the total number of members of the Senate and the House of Representatives present at such sitting, shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament

21. (i) So soon as any bill shall have been passed, or deemed to have been passed by both Houses, it shall be presented to the Governor-General for the signification by him, in the King's name, of the King's assent, and the Governor-General may signify such assent or withhold the same or he may reserve the bill for the signification of the King's pleasure.

(ii) A bill passed by both Houses of Parliament shall not become an Act until the Governor-General signifies his assent thereto in the King's name, or in the case of a bill reserved for the signification of the King's pleasure, until he signifies by speech or message to each House of Parliament, or by proclamation that it has received the assent of the King in Council.

Provided that the Governor-General may, where a bill has been passed by both Houses of Parliament and presented to him for the signification by him of the King's assent, or has been reserved by him for the signification of the King's pleasure, return the bill for reconsideration by Parliament with a recommendation that Parliament shall consider amendments thereto.

(iii) Any bill so returned shall be further considered by Parliament together with amendments, recommended by the Governor-General, and if re-affirmed with or without amendments, may be again presented to the Governor-General for the signification in the King's name of the King's assent.

THE COMMONWEALTH EXECUTIVE.

22. The Executive power of the Commonwealth is vested in the King and is exercisable by the Governor-General as the King's representative, acting on the advice of the executive council, subject to the provisions of this Act and of the laws of the Commonwealth.

23. (a) There shall be an executive council consisting of the Prime Minister and, until Parliament otherwise provides, not more than six ministers of the Commonwealth.

(b) The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General and the ministers shall also be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister.

(c) The executive council shall be collectively responsible to the legislature for all matters concerning the departments of the Commonwealth administered by members of the executive council.

24. Until Parliament otherwise provides, the appointment and removal of all other officers of the executive government of the Commonwealth shall be vested in the Governor-General in Council, unless the appointment is delegated by the Governor-General in Council, or by a law of the Commonwealth to some other authority.

25. The Command-in-chief of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth is vested in the Governor-General as the King's representative.

HIGH COMMISSIONER AND FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES.

26. The Commonwealth shall have the power to appoint High Commissioners and other foreign representatives similar to that exercised by Canada and other dominions. Such appointment shall be made

by the Governor-General in Council who shall also make provision by rules for his pay, powers, duties and conditions of employment.

FINANCIAL CONTROL.

27. (1) The Auditor General in India shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council who shall by rules make provision for his pay, powers, duties and conditions of employment, or for the discharge of his duties in the case of a temporary vacancy or absence from duty.

(2) Subject to any rules made by the Governor-General in Council no office may be added to or withdrawn from the public service and the emoluments of no posts may be varied except after consultation with such finance authority as may be designated in the rules, being an authority of the province or of the Commonwealth according as it is or is not under the control of a local government.

THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.

28. The legislative power of a province shall be vested in the King and the local legislative council.

29. There shall be a Governor of every province who shall be appointed by the King and represent his Majesty in the province.

30. There shall be payable to the King out of the revenues of the province for the salary of the Governor an annual sum of.....which, until Parliament of the Commonwealth otherwise provides shall be as in schedule..... hereof provided.

31. (1) There shall be one member of the Provincial Legislative Council for every 100,000 of the population of the said province, provided that in provinces with a population of less than ten millions there may be a maximum of 100 members.

(2) Every member shall be elected by a constituency determined by law. Every person of either sex who has attained the age of 21 and is not disqualified by law shall be entitled to vote.

32. (1) Every Provincial Council shall continue for 5 years from its first sitting provided that—

(a) it may be sooner dissolved by the Governor,

(b) the term of 5 years may be extended by the Governor if in special circumstances he so thinks fit;

(c) after the dissolution of the Council the Governor shall appoint a date not more than 6 months after the date of the dissolution for the next session of the Council.

(2) The Governor may appoint such times and places for holding the sessions of the Council as he thinks fit and may also from time to time, by notification or otherwise, prorogue such sessions.

(3) Any meeting of the Council may be adjourned by the person presiding

(4) All questions in the Council shall be determined by the majority of votes of the members present, other than the presiding member, who shall however have and exercise a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes.

(5) The powers of the Council may be exercised notwithstanding any vacancy.

33. There shall be a president of every Council who shall be a member of the House and shall be elected by the House. There shall also be a deputy president who shall also be a member of the House and be similarly elected.

34. The local legislature of any province has power, subject to the provisions of this Act, to make laws for the peace and good government of the territories for the time being constituting that province. The legislative authority of every provincial council extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects hereinafter enumerated and specified in Schedule II, attached hereto.

35. The local legislature of any province may repeal or alter, as to that province, any law relating to a provincial subject made either before or after the commencement of this Act by any authority in British India.

36. Any measure affecting the public revenues of a province, or imposing any charge on the revenue, shall be introduced only by a member of the executive council of the Governor.

37. When a bill has been passed by a local legislative council, the Governor may declare that he assents to or withholds his assent from the bill.

38. If the Governor withholds his assent from any such bill the bill shall not become an Act.

39. If the Governor assents to any such bill, he shall forthwith send an authentic copy of the Act to the Governor-General, and the Act shall not have validity until the Governor-General has assented thereto and that assent has been signified by the Governor-General to, and published by the Governor.

40. Where the Governor-General withholds his assent from any such Act, he shall signify to the Governor in writing his reason for so withholding his assent.

41. When an Act has been assented to by the Governor-General it shall be lawful for his Majesty in Council to signify his disallowance of the Act.

42. Where the disallowance of an Act has been so signified, the Governor shall forthwith notify the disallowance, and thereupon the Act, as from the date of the notification, shall become void accordingly.

THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE.

43. The executive power of the province shall be vested in the Governor acting on the advice of the provincial executive council.

44. There shall be an executive council for every province consisting of not more than five ministers appointed by the Governor.

45. In appointing the Executive Council the Governor shall select the Chief Minister and appoint others only on his advice.

THE JUDICIARY.

46. There shall be a Supreme Court which shall exercise such jurisdiction as Parliament shall determine. The Supreme Court shall consist of a Lord President, and so many other Justices, as Parliament may fix.

47. The Lord President of the Commonwealth, and all other Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth to be appointed after the establishment of the Commonwealth, shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and shall receive such remuneration as Parliament shall prescribe, and their remuneration shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

48. The Lord President of the Commonwealth and other judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth shall not be removed from

office except by the Governor-General in Council on an address from both Houses of Parliament in the same session praying for such removal on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity.

49. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all matters—

- (i) referred to the Supreme Court by the Governor-General in Council under section 85;
- (ii) in which the Commonwealth, or person suing or being sued on behalf of the Commonwealth, is a party;
- (iii) affecting consuls or other representatives of other countries;
- (iv) between provinces;
- (v) arising under this constitution or involving its interpretation.

50. The Supreme Court shall have jurisdiction, with such exceptions and subject to such regulations as Parliament prescribes, to hear and determine appeals from all judgments, decrees, orders and sentences—

- (a) of any Justice or Justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court;
- (b) of the High Court of any province, or of any other court of any province from which at the establishment of the Commonwealth an appeal lies to the King in Council.

51. The judgment of the Supreme Court in all such cases shall be final and conclusive and shall not be reviewed, or be capable of being reviewed by any other court, tribunal or authority whatsoever.

APPEALS TO THE KING IN COUNCIL.

52. (i) No appeal shall be permitted to the King in Council from a decision of the Supreme Court upon any question howsoever arising, as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any province or provinces, or as to the limits *inter se* of the constitutional powers of any two or more provinces, unless the Supreme Court shall certify that the question is one which ought to be determined by the King in Council.

(ii) The Supreme Court may so certify if satisfied that for any special reason the certificates should be granted, and thereafter an appeal shall lie to the King in Council on the question without further leave.

(iii) Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in which such leave may be asked, provided that such laws do not impair any right which the King may be pleased to exercise by virtue of his royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal from the Supreme Court to the King in Council.

HIGH COURTS—CONSTITUTION.

53. The High Courts referred to in this Act are the High Courts of judicature for the time being established in British India.

54. Each High Court shall consist of a Chief Justice and as many other judges as the Governor-General in Council may think fit to appoint. Provided as follows:—

- (i) The Governor-General in Council may appoint persons to act as additional judges of any High Court, for such period, not exceeding two years, as may be required; and the judges so appointed shall, whilst so acting, have all the powers, of a judge of the High Court appointed by the Governor-General in Council;

(ii) the maximum number of judges of a High Court including the Chief Justice and additional judges shall be 20.

55. A judge of a High Court must be an advocate on the rolls of a High Court of not less than ten years' standing provided that nothing herein contained shall affect the continuance of the tenure of office of the judges who may be holding appointments at the commencement of this Act.

56. (i) Every judge of a High Court shall hold office during his good behaviour.

(ii) Any such judge may resign his office to the local government.

57. The Chief Justice and other judges of the High Court shall not be removed from office except by the Governor-General in Council on an address by the Provincial Legislature.

58. (i) The Governor-General in Council may fix the salaries, allowances, furloughs, retiring pensions, and may alter them, but any such alteration shall not affect the salary of any judge appointed before the date thereof.

(ii) The remuneration fixed for a judge under this section shall commence upon taking upon himself the execution of his office.

59. (i) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of Chief Justice of a High Court, and during any absence of such a Chief Justice the Local Government shall appoint one of the other judges of the same High Court to perform the duties of Chief Justice of the court, until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General to the office of Chief Justice of the court, and has entered on the discharge of his duties of that office, or until the Chief Justice has returned from his absence, as the case requires.

(ii) On the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of any other judge of High Court, and during any absence of any such judge, or on the appointment of any such judge to act as chief justice, the local government may appoint a person, with such qualifications as are required in persons to be appointed to the High Court; and the person so appointed may sit and perform the duties of a Judge of the Court, until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General in Council to the Office of Judge of the Court, and has entered on the discharge of the duties of the office, or until the absent Judge has returned from his absence, or until the local government sees cause to cancel the appointment of the acting Judge.

60. (i) The several High Courts are courts of record and have such jurisdiction, original and appellate, including admiralty jurisdiction in respect of offences committed on the high seas, and all such powers and authority over or in relation to the administration of justice, including power to appoint clerks and other ministerial officers of the court, and power to make rules for regulating the practice of the court as are vested in them by letters patent, and subject to the provisions of any such letters patent, all such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are vested in those courts respectively at the commencement of this Act.

(ii) The letters patent establishing, or vesting jurisdiction, powers or authority, in a High Court may be amended from time to time by a further letters patent.

61. Each of the High Courts has superintendence over all Courts for the time being subject to its appellate jurisdiction, and may do any of the following things, that is to say,--

(a) call for returns;

(b) direct the transfer of any suit or appeal from any such Court to any other Court of equal or superior jurisdiction;

- (c) make and issue general rules and prescribe forms for regulating the practice and proceedings of such Courts ;
- (d) prescribe forms in which books, entries and accounts shall be kept by the officers of any such Courts ; and
- (e) settle tables of fees to be allowed to the sheriff, attorneys, and all clerks and officers of Courts ;

Provided that such rules, forms and tables shall not be inconsistent with the provisions of any law for the time being in force, and shall require the previous approval of the local government.

62. (i) Each High Court may, by its own rules, provide as it thinks fit for the exercise, by one or more Judges of the High Court of the original and appellate jurisdiction vested in the Court.

(ii) The Chief Justice of each High Court shall determine what Judge in each case is to sit alone, and what Judges of the Court, whether with or without the Chief Judge, are to constitute the several division courts.

63. The Governor-General in Council may, by order, transfer any territory or place from the jurisdiction of one to the jurisdiction of any other of the High Courts, and authorise any High Court to exercise all or any portion of its jurisdiction in any part of British India not included within the limits for which the High Court was established, and also to exercise any such jurisdiction in respect of any British subject for the time being within any part of India outside the Commonwealth.

64. (a) The Governor-General, each Governor, each of the members of the executive council, whether in the Commonwealth or in the provinces, shall not be subject to the original, appellate or revisional jurisdiction of any High Court, by reason of anything counselled, ordered or done, by any of them, in his public capacity only.

(b) The exemption shall extend also to the Chief Justices and other Judges of the several High Courts.

65. The Governor-General in Council may, if he sees fit, by letters patent, establish a High Court of judicature in any territory in the Commonwealth, whether or not included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another High Court, and confer on any High Court so established, any such jurisdiction, powers and authority as are vested in, or may be conferred on, any High Court existing at the commencement of this Act ; and, where a High Court is so established in any area included within the limits of the local jurisdiction of another High Court, the Governor-General may, by letters patent, alter those limits, and make such incidental, consequential and supplemental provisions as may appear to be necessary by reason of the alteration.

ADVOCATE GENERAL

66. The local government may appoint an Advocate-General for each of the provinces and may, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the office of Advocate-General, or during any absence or deputation of an Advocate-General, appoint a person to act as Advocate-General ; and the person appointed may exercise the powers of an Advocate-General until some person has been appointed by the Governor-General in Council and has entered on the discharge of his duties or until the Advocate-General has returned from his absence or deputation, as the case may be, or until the local government cancels the local appointment.

PROPERTY, REVENUE AND FINANCE

67. All property vested in, or arising or accruing from property or rights vested in, his Majesty or the Secretary of State in Council under the Government of India Acts, 1858, 1915 and 1919 shall vest in the Governor-General in Council.

68. The revenues of India shall vest in the Governor-General in Council and shall, subject to the provisions of this Act, be applied for the purposes of the Commonwealth alone.

69. The expression "the revenues of India" in this Act shall include all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in British India, and in particular,—

- (i) all tributes and other payments in respect of any territories which would have been receivable by or in the name of the East India Company if the Government of India Act, 1858, had not been passed; and
- (ii) all fines and penalties incurred by the sentence or order of any court of justice in British India, and all forfeitures for crimes of any moveable or immovable property in British India; and
- (iii) all moveable or immovable property in British India escheating or lapsing for want of an heir or successor and all property in British India developing as *bona vacantia* for want of a rightful owner.

70. Parliament shall establish a Railway and Harbour Fund into which shall be paid all revenues raised or received by the Governor-General in Council from the administration of railways, posts and harbours, and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament to the purposes of railways, posts and harbours on such conditions and in such manner as it may prescribe. There shall also be formed a consolidated revenue fund into which shall be paid all other revenues raised or received by the Governor-General in Council and such fund shall be appropriated by Parliament for the purpose of the Commonwealth in the manner prescribed by this Act or by rules made in that behalf and subject to the charges imposed thereby.

71. There shall be charged on the revenues of India alone—

- (a) all the debts of the East India Company; and
- (b) all sums of money, costs, charges and expenses which, if the Government of India Act, 1858, the Government of India Act 1919 or this Act had not been passed, would have been paid by the East India Company out of the revenues of India in respect of any treaties, covenants, contracts, grants or liabilities existing at the commencement of this Act; and
- (c) all expenses, debts and liabilities lawfully contracted and incurred on account of the Government of India; and
- (d) all other charges and payments under this Act (except so far as is otherwise provided under this Act).

72. (i) As soon as may be after the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General in Council shall appoint a Commission consisting of one representative from each province and.....representatives of the government of the Commonwealth, and presided over by an officer of the Commonwealth, to institute an enquiry into (a) the sources of revenue which may be assigned to the government of the Commonwealth and to the governments of the provinces respectively with due regard to the efficient administration and development of the services or subjects under the respective control of either, and (b) the

financial relations which should exist between the government of the Commonwealth and the governments of the provinces, and (c) for the means to be adopted for giving effect to such relations.

(ii) The said Commission shall appoint a committee to examine the whole question of the training of officers for the land, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth and the establishment of the requisite number of schools and colleges for military instruction.

(iii) The committee so appointed shall report to the Commission about the requisite number of such schools and colleges and their staffs, the places where they are to be established, and the standard of instruction to be imparted in each, and an estimate of the initial and maintenance cost of the said schools and colleges.

(iv) The said Commission shall also appoint a committee to investigate and report on the steps to be taken for the introduction of general primary education in the Commonwealth and the affording of special educational facilities for backward classes.

(v) The said Commission shall have the power to appoint such other committees as it may consider necessary, for the purposes of its inquiry.

(vi) The said Commission shall report to the Governor-General in Council on matters recommended in clause 1, and shall make special recommendations fixing minimum charges on the revenues of the Commonwealth and the provinces for the purposes mentioned in 2, 3 and 4.

73. The Governor-General in Council shall lay the entire report of the Commission together with his recommendations before Parliament for such legislative or other action as it may deem fit.

74. Pending the completion of the said enquiry, and until Parliament has taken action under clause 68, the existing sources of revenue and the financial relations shall continue to be in force.

...

DEFENCE

75. (a) The Governor-General in Council shall appoint a Committee of Defence consisting of (1) the Prime Minister, (2) the Minister of Defence, (3) the Minister of Foreign Affairs, (4) the Commander-in-Chief, (5) the Commander of the Air Forces, (6) the Commander of Naval Forces, (7) the Chief of the General Staff, and two other experts.

(b) The Prime Minister shall be the chairman of the committee; and there shall be a permanent staff including a secretary attached to this committee.

(c) The functions of this committee shall be to advise the government and the various departments concerned with questions of defence and upon general questions of policy.

(d) As soon as the committee is appointed the Governor-General in Council may take the advice of the Committee of Defence as to the practicability and means of effecting a retrenchment in the expenditure on defence compatibly with the safety of India. The estimates shall be framed according to the recommendations of the committee.

76. The proposals of the Governor-General in Council for the appropriation of revenues or monies classified as "Defence", shall be submitted to the vote of the House of the Representatives.

77. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in the foregoing provisions, the Governor-General in Council may, in the event of any foreign aggression on India by land, air or sea, or upon his being satisfied that there is a reasonable apprehension of such aggression, authorise such expenditure as may be necessary for the safety of British India or any part thereof. Such action taken by the Governor-General shall be reported by him immediately to the legislature, if in session, or if

the legislature is not in session, to a special session to be summoned as soon as possible thereafter.

78. No measure affecting the discipline or maintenance of any part of the military, naval and air forces of the Commonwealth shall be introduced in Parliament except on the recommendation of the Committee of Defence appointed under this constitution.

THE CIVIL SERVICES.

79. Subject to the provisions of the next succeeding section, all officers of the public services shall, at the establishment of the Commonwealth, become officers of the Commonwealth.

80. As soon as possible after the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Governor-General in Council shall appoint a Public Service Commission to make recommendations for such reorganisation and readjustment of the departments of the public services as may be necessary.

81. Parliament may make laws for regulating the classification of the Civil Services in India, the sources and methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct. Parliament may also, to such extent and in respect of such matters as it may prescribe, delegate the power of making rules under the said laws to the Governor-General in Council or to Local Governments.

82. (i) After the establishment of the Commonwealth the Governor-General in Council shall appoint a permanent Public Service Commission with such powers and duties relating to the recruitment, appointment discipline, retirement and superannuation of public officers as Parliament shall determine.

(ii) Members of the permanent Public Service Commission shall hold office for five years from the date of appointment.

83. Any officer of the public service who desires to retire within three years of the establishment of the Commonwealth, or is not retained in the service of the Commonwealth, shall be entitled to receive such pension, gratuity or other compensation as he would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

THE ARMY SERVICES.

84. All officers, British and Indian, serving in the army, the navy, the Royal Indian Marine, or the Air Force of India, serving in India at the commencement of the new constitution, shall retain all their existing rights as to salaries, allowances or pensions or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them, as the Governor-General in Council may consider just and equitable, or as they would have received in like circumstances if the Commonwealth had not been established.

Further all such officers, British or Indian, who were in receipt of pensions at the date of the commencement of the new constitution, shall continue to receive the same pension from the revenues of India.

INDIAN STATES.

85. The Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States, arising out of treaties or otherwise, as the Government of India has hitherto exercised and discharged.

In case of any difference between the Commonwealth and any Indian State on any matter arising out of treaties, engagements, sanads or similar other documents, the Governor-General in Council, may with the consent of the State concerned, refer the said matter to the Supreme Court for its decision.

NEW PROVINCES.

86. The redistribution of provinces should take place on a linguistic basis on the demand of the majority of the population of the area concerned, subject to financial and administrative considerations.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

87. Parliament may, by law, repeal or alter any of the provisions of the constitution. Provided that the bill embodying such repeal or alteration shall be passed by both Houses of Parliament sitting together and at the third reading shall be agreed to by not less than two-thirds of the total number of the members of both Houses. A bill so passed at such a joint sitting shall be taken to have been duly passed by both Houses of Parliament.

Note.—The following are the recommendations on Communal and other controversial matters.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

I. There shall be joint mixed electorates throughout India for the House of Representative and the provincial legislatures.

II. There shall be no reservation of seats for the House of Representatives except for Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority and non-Muslims in the N.-W.F. Province. Such reservation will be in strict proportion to the Muslim population in every province where they are in a minority and in proportion to the non-Muslim population in N.-W.F. Province. The Muslims or non-Muslims where reservation is allowed to them shall have the right to contest additional seats.

III. In the provinces

- (a) there shall be no reservation of seats for any community in the Punjab and Bengal;
- (b) in provinces other than the Punjab and Bengal there will be reservation of seats for Muslim minorities on population basis with the right to contest additional seats;
- (c) in the N.-W. F. Province there shall be similar reservation of seats for non-Muslims with the right to contest other seats.

IV. Reservation of seats where allowed shall be for a fixed period of ten years.

REDISTRIBUTION AND STATUS OF PROVINCES.

V. Sind should be separated from Bombay and constituted into a separate province after such enquiry about the financial position as may be considered necessary.

VI. Parts of Karnataka, except the small islands on the other side of the Mysore territory, should similarly be separated from the provinces in which they are at present included and formed into a single separate province.

VII. The N.-W. F. Province, and all newly formed provinces by separation from other provinces, shall have the same form of government as the other provinces in India.

MOTILAL NEHRU.

ALI IMAM.

TRJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

M. S. ANEY.

MANGAL SINGH.

SHUAIB QURESHI.

SURESH CHANDRA BOSH.

G. R. PRADHAN.

APPENDIX III.

CONGRESS CONSTITUTION.

A

(As adopted by the Congress of 1908, amended by the Congress of 1911, and further amended by the Congress of 1912 and further amended by the Congress of 1915.)

OBJECTS.

Article I.

The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country.

Article II.

Every delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this constitution and by the rules of the Congress hereto appended.

SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS.

Article III.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such place as may have been decided upon at the previous session of the Congress.

(b) If no such decision has been arrived at, the All-India Congress Committee shall decide the matter.

(c) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee, either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever and whenever it may deem it advisable to hold such session.

(d) It shall be open to the All-India Congress Committee to change the venue of the Congress to some other town when such change is deemed by it to be necessary or desirable owing to serious or unforeseen difficulties or other contingencies of a like nature.

COMPONENT PARTS OF THE ORGANISATION.

Article IV.

The Indian National Congress Organisation will consist of:—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) Provincial Congress Committees.
- (c) District Congress Committees.

- (d) Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Congress Committees.
- (e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised by the Provincial Congress Committees.
- (f) The All-India Congress Committee.
- (g) The British Committee of the Congress; and
- (h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conference or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

Article V.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the Provincial or District or other Congress Committees unless he has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this constitution and by the rules of the Congress hereto appended.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEES.

Article VI.

(a) To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District Conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces :—

- I. Madras; II. Bombay; III. Bengal; IV. United Provinces; V. Punjab (including N. W. Frontier Provinces); VI. Central Provinces; VII. Behar and Orissa; VIII. Berar, and IX. Burma.

For this purpose Coorg and the areas administered by the British Government in the Nizam's Dominions, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, shall belong to Madras; similar areas in Baroda and Kathiawar and Southern Maratha States to Bombay; Assam to Bengal; Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and the areas administered by the British Government in Rajputana to the United Provinces; British Baluchistan to the Punjab; areas administered by the British Government in Central India to the Central Provinces".

Article VII.

Every Provincial Congress Committee will consist of :—

- (a) Such persons in the Province as may have attended as many sessions of the Congress as delegates as may be determined by each Provincial Congress Committee for its own Province.
- (b) Representatives elected in accordance with its terms of affiliation by every affiliated District Congress Committee.
- (c) As many representatives of recognised Political Associations or Public Bodies referred to in Clause (e) of Article IV as each Provincial Congress Committee may think fit to determine.
- (d) All such ex-Presidents of the Congress or ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees of the Congress as ordinarily reside within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee and may not have been enrolled as members of the said Committee in accordance with Clause (b) of Article VI or by virtue of the provisions contained in any of the foregoing Clauses of this Article.

(e) The General Secretary or Secretaries of the Congress ordinarily residing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee, such General Secretary or Secretaries being added as ex-officio member or members of the said Committee.

Article VIII.

Every member of the Provincial Congress shall pay an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 5/-.

DISTRICT OR OTHER CONGRESS COMMITTEES OR ASSOCIATIONS.

Article IX.

The Provincial Congress Committee shall have affiliated to itself a District Congress Committee or Association for each District, wherever possible, or for such other areas in the Province as it deems proper, subject to such conditions or terms of affiliation as it may deem expedient or necessary. It will be the duty of the District Congress Committee or Association to act for the District in Congress matters with the co-operation of any Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees which may be organised and affiliated to it, subject in all cases to the general control and approval of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Article X.

Every member of the District Congress Committee or Association shall either be a resident of the District or shall have a substantial interest in the District and shall pay an annual subscription of not less than one Rupee.

Article XI.

No District Congress Committee or Association or Public Body referred to in Clauses (c) and (e) of Article IV shall be entitled to return representatives to the Provincial Congress Committee or Delegates to the Congress or to the Provincial Conference unless it contributes to the Provincial Congress Committee such annual subscription as may be determined by the latter.

Article XII.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame its own rules not inconsistent with the constitution and the rules of the Congress. No District or other Congress Committee or Association mentioned in Article IX shall frame any rule inconsistent with those framed by the Provincial Congress Committee to which it is affiliated.

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Article XIII.

The All-India Congress Committee, shall, as far as possible, be constituted as herein below laid down :—

15	Representatives of Madras.
15	" " Bombay.
20	" " Bengal (including Assam).
15	" " United Provinces.
13	" " Punjab (including N. W. Frontier Provinces)
7	" " Central Provinces.
15	" " Behar and Orissa.
5	" " Berar; and
2	" " Burma.

provided, as far as possible, that 1/5th of the total number of representatives shall be Mahomedans.

All ex-Presidents of the Congress residing or present in India, and the General Secretaries of the Congress, who shall also be ex-officio General Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee, shall be ex-officio members in addition.

Article XIV.

The representatives of each Province shall be elected by its Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting held, as far as possible, before the 30th of November for each year. If any Provincial Congress Committee fail to elect its representatives, the said representatives shall be elected by the delegates for that Province present at the ensuing Congress. In either case, the representatives of each Province shall be elected from among the members of its Provincial Congress Committee, and the election shall be made, as far as possible, with due regard to the Proviso in Article XIII.

Article XV.

The names of the representatives so elected by the different Provinces shall be communicated to the General Secretaries. These together with the names of the ex-officio members shall be announced at the Congress.

Article XVI.

The President of the Congress at which the All-India Congress Committee comes into existence shall, if he ordinarily resides in India, be ex-officio President of the All-India Congress Committee. In his absence the members of the All-India Congress Committee may elect their own President.

Article XVII.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the date of its appointment at the Congress till the appointment of the new Committee.

(b) If any vacancy arises by death, resignation or otherwise the remaining members of the Province, in respect of which the vacancy has arisen, shall be competent to fill it up for the remaining period.

Article XVIII.

(a) It will be the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to take such steps as it may deem expedient and practicable to carry on the work and propaganda of the Congress and it shall have the power to deal with all such matters of great importance or urgency as may require to be disposed of in the name of and for the purposes of the Congress, in addition to matters specified in this constitution as falling within its powers or functions.

(b) The decision of the All-India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it.

Article XIX.

On the requisition in writing of not less than 20 of its members, the General Secretaries shall convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at the earliest possible time.

ELECTORATES AND DELEGATES.

Article XX.

The right of electing delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest in (1) the British Committee of the Congress; (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated as hereinabove laid down; (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than two years' standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs; (4) Political Associations of British Indians resident outside British India of more than two years' standing recognised by the All-India Congress Committee; (5) Public Meetings convened by Provincial or District Congress Committees or other recognised bodies; and (6) Public meetings convened under the auspices of any Association which is of not less than two years' standing on the 31st December, 1915 and which has as one of its objects the attainment of Self-Government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means;

Provided

(a) That the said Association by a special resolution accepts Article I of the Congress Constitution and notifies to that effect to the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which it belongs.

(b) That the said Association makes the acceptance of the said Article I a condition precedent to new membership.

(c) That the total number of the delegates to be elected by such public meeting shall not exceed 15 in number and no such Association shall be entitled to call more than one public meeting for the said purposes for any one session of the Congress.

But this however will be subject to the right of the All-India Congress Committee to disqualify any such political Association or Body at any time.

Explanation :—No person elected as a Delegate need be a member of any Congress Committee if he is otherwise qualified.

Article XXI.

All delegates to the Indian National Congress shall pay a fee of Rs. 10 each and shall be not less than 21 years of age at the date of election.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS.

Article XXII.

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Everyone, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays such contribution as may be determined by the Provincial Congress Committee, shall be eligible to be a member of the Reception Committee.

(b) No one who is only a member of the Reception Committee but not a delegate, shall be allowed to vote or take part in the debate at the Congress.

(c) The reception Committee shall be bound to provide the necessary funds for meeting all the expenses of the Congress as also the cost of preparing, printing, publishing, and distributing the Report of the Congress.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT.

Article XXIII.

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee shall as far as possible by the end of June suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Congress Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names, and the Reception Committee shall meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or in the case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in the aforesaid manner the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final;

Provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

(b) There shall be no formal election of the President by or in the Congress, but merely the adoption (in accordance with the provision in that behalf laid down in Rule 3, Clause (b) of the "Rules" hereto appended) of a formal resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

SUBJECTS COMMITTEE.

Article XXIV.

The Subjects Committee to be appointed at each session of the Congress to settle its programme of business to be transacted shall, as far as possible, consist of:—

- Not more than 15 Representatives of Madras.
- Not more than 15 Representatives of Bombay.
- Not more than 20 Representatives of Bengal.
- Not more than 15 Representatives of United Provinces.
- Not more than 13 Representatives of Punjab (including N. W. F. Province).
- Not more than 7 Representatives of Central Provinces.
- Not more than 15 Representatives of Behar and Orissa.
- Not more than 5 Representatives of Berar.
- Not more than 2 Representatives of Burma.
- Not more than 5 Representatives of British Committee of the Congress.
- And additional 10 Representatives of the Province in which the Congress is held.

All the above-mentioned representatives being elected, in accordance with Rule 9 of the "Rules" hereto appended, by the delegates attending the Congress from the respective Provinces.

The President of the Congress for the year, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the year, all ex-Presidents of the Congress and ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees, the General Secretaries of the Congress the local Secretaries of the Congress for the year, not exceeding

six in number, and all the members of the All-India Congress Committee for the year, shall in addition be *ex-officio* members of the Subjects Committee.

Article XXV.

The President of the Congress for the year shall be *ex-officio* Chairman of the Subjects Committee, and he may nominate 5 delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.

CONTENTIOUS SUBJECTS AND INTERESTS OF MINORITIES.

Article XXVI.

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates, as a body, object by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number; and if, after the discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mahomedan delegates as a body, are by a majority of $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of their number opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped; provided that in both these cases the $\frac{3}{4}$ ths mentioned above shall not be less than a 4th of the total number of the delegates assembled at the Congress.

(b) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

VOTING AT THE CONGRESS.

Article XXVII.

Ordinarily, all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes as laid down in Rule 21 of the "Rules" hereto appended, but in cases falling under Article XXX of this Congress or whenever a division is duly asked for in accordance with Rule 22 of the "Rules" hereto appended, the voting at the Congress shall be by Provinces only. In cases falling under Clause (1) of Article XXX, each Province shall have one vote to be given as determined by a majority of its delegates present at the Congress. In all other cases of voting by Provinces the vote of each Province, determined as aforesaid, shall be equivalent to the number of representatives assigned to the Province in constituting the All-India Congress Committee.

BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS.

Article XXVIII.

The Reception Committee of the Province, in which the Congress is held, shall remit to the British Committee of the Congress through the General Secretaries of the Congress the amount of the fees received by it from delegates, subject to a minimum of Rs. 3,000 (three thousand.)

GENERAL SECRETARIES.

Article XXIX.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall have two General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall be responsible for the preparation, publication and distribution of the Report of the Congress, and they shall submit a full account of the funds which

may come into their hands and a report of the work of the year to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall be sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees and be presented to the Congress.

(b) The All-India Congress Committee shall make adequate provision for the expenses of the work devolving on the General Secretaries, either out of the surplus at the disposal of the Reception Committee or by calling upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make such contribution as it may deem fit to apportion among them.

CHANGES IN THE CONSTITUTION OF RULES.

Article XXX.

No addition, alteration or amendment shall be made (1) in Article I of this Constitution except by an unanimous vote of all the Provinces, and (2) in the rest of this Constitution or in the "Rules" hereto appended except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Provinces, provided, in either case, that no motion for any such addition, alteration or amendment shall be brought before the Congress unless it has been previously accepted by the Subjects Committee of the Congress for the year.

B

The Constitution of the Congress as adopted at Nagpur Session, 1921; and amended at Cocanada Session, 1923.—

Article I.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during the last week of December at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session or such other place as may have been determined by the All India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress shall be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees or of its own motion, provided that in the latter case due notice has been given and the proposal is supported by two-thirds of the members present. The All-India Congress Committee shall determine the place where such session is to be held, and the Articles of the Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Article II.

Every delegate elected to the Indian National Congress shall be deemed to have expressed his or her acceptance of the object of the Congress and methods of its attainment as laid down in the foregoing Article, and shall be bound by the Constitution and the Rules of the Congress.

Article III.

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following :—

- (a) The Indian National Congress.
- (b) The All-India Congress Committee.
- (c) Provincial Congress Committees.

- (d) District Congress Committees.
- (e) Sub-Divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other local Congress Committees.
- (f) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
- (g) The Reception Committee of the Congress.

Note.—Provincial, District, Taluqa, Tahsil or other Conferences may be organised by the above Committees for educative and propaganda purposes.

Article IV.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has attained the age of 18 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.

Article V.

The following shall be the provinces with headquarters mentioned against them, but in every case the respective Provincial Congress Committee shall have the power to alter the headquarters from time to time.

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Language.</i>	<i>Headquarters.</i>
(1) Ajmer, Merwara and Rajputana	(Hindustani)	Ajmer
(2) Andra	(Telugu)	Bezawada
(3) Assam	(Assamese)	Gauhati
(4) Behar	(Hindustani)	Patna
(5) Bengal and Surma Valley	(Bengali)	Calcutta
(6) Berar	(Marathi)	Amraoti
(7) Burma	(Burmese)	Rangoon
(8) Central Provinces	(Hindustani)	Jubbulpore
(9) Central Provinces	(Marathi)	Nagpur
(10) City of Bombay	(Marathi and Gujarati)	Bombay
(11) Delhi	(Hindustani)	Delhi
(12) Gujarat	(Gujrati)	Ahmedabad
(13) Karnatak	(Cannada)	Gadag
(14) Kerala	(Malayalam)	Calicut
(15) Maharashtra	(Marathi)	Poona
(16) Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province	(Punjabi and Hindustani)	Lahore
(17) Sind	(Sindhi)	Hyderabad
(18) Tamil Nadu	(Tamil)	Trichinopoly
(19) United Provinces	(Hindustani)	Allahabad
(20) Utkal	(Oriya)	Cuttack

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States assigned to it by the All-India Congress Committee to particular districts within its jurisdiction.

Article VI.

(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee in and for each of the provinces named in the foregoing Article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in Article III and shall have the power to

frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this constitution or any rules made by the All-India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the Congress organisations in the province in accordance with the rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

(d) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall submit an annual report of the Congress work in that province to the All-India Congress Committee before the 30th November.

(e) No person shall take part in elections to any Congress organisation who has not paid his subscription within a time fixed by the rules of the Provincial Congress Committee for the purpose.

Article VII.

Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of four annas per year shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee, provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.

The year of the four-anna membership shall be from January 1st to December 31st.

Article VIII.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not a member of any Congress organisation.

The number of delegates shall be not more than one for every fifty thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the province of its jurisdiction, including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the census of 1921; provided, however, that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of the elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All-India Congress Committee in their respective provinces from the number of delegates they are entitled to return.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame rules for the election of delegates, due regard being had to the return of women delegates and the representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The rules shall provide for the organisation of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation, by a single transferable vote or by any other method, of every variety of political opinion. Notice of all changes in the rules framed by the Provincial Congress Committee shall forthwith be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress, an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected, containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than 30 days before the date fixed for the holding of the session. No changes shall be made in the list within ten days of the Congress. In case, however, of interim vacancies, the Provincial Congress Committee shall fill them in accordance with the rules made in that behalf,

such rules having been communicated previously to the All-India Congress Committee

Article IX.

(a) Each Provincial Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or delegates, or be elected as such, unless and until he has paid the subscription due by him.

Article X.

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached, marked Appendix A, and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

Article XI.

Every delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a fee of Rs. 10 at the Congress office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Article XII.

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Article XIII.

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25 each.

Article XIV.

The Reception Committee shall elect its chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV.

It shall be duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress session to elect the President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following Article, to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within four months of the session of the Congress.

Article XVI.

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible, by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the presidency of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more of such names, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the president

of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the president recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees, or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise, of the president elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case the person so elected as president belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

The president of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

Article XVII.

(a) The Reception Committee shall through the Provincial Congress Committee of the province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees.

(b) If Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the province in which the session was held, towards the Provincial Congress fund of that province.

Article XVIII.

(a) The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress, to the All-India Congress Committee.

(b) The accounts of the All-India Congress Committee shall be audited every year by an auditor appointed at the annual session. It shall be competent for this auditor to call for and inspect the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

(c) The All-India Congress Committee shall take steps to ensure that the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees are properly audited.

Article XIX.

The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members, exclusive of ex-officio members.

The ex-officio members shall be the elected President, past Presidents of the Congress, if they sign Article I of this Constitution and are members of any Congress organisation, the General Secretaries and the Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be, as far as possible, on the basis of population according to the linguistic distribution of provinces, as given in Appendix B.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Elections to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

Casual vacancies in the All-India Congress Committee caused by resignation, death, absence from India, or otherwise, shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations, and every time upon requisition by 30 members thereof, who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. When once such a meeting is requisitioned and convened, additional subjects may be brought up for consideration provided due notice has been given to the members of the same.

The quorum for the All-India Congress Committee shall be fifty.

The All-India Congress Committees shall hold office till the election of the new All-India Congress Committee.

Article XX.

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Committee to the persons so elected.

Article XXI.

The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the Programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this constitution.

Article XXII.

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

Article XXXIII.

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries and two Treasurers, who shall be annually elected by the Congress. The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of funds which may come into their hands, to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committees.

Article XXIV.

The All-India Committee shall, at its first meeting after the annual sessions of the Congress, elect 9 members who shall, with the President, General Secretaries and Treasurers, be the Working Committee of the Congress and the executive authority responsible to the All-India Congress Committee in all matters.

All proceedings of the Working Committee shall be placed before the next meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

Article XXV.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall constitute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI.

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open Session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside, and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVII.

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolutions to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII.

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time, as the occasion may require, during the pendency of the Congress session.

Article XXIX.

No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subject Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the president thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX.

At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows :—

(a) The Resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee.

(b) Any substantive motion not included in (a) but which does not fall under Article XXXIX of the Constitution and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

Article XXXI.

The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.

Article XXXII.

The All-India Congress Committee shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of 12 members to enquire into and finally decide all election disputes coming before it. The parties to the dispute shall nominate one each out of this panel to represent the respective disputants, and the president shall choose the third.

Article XXXIII.

The proceedings of the Congress shall be conducted, as far as possible in Hindustani, English or the language of the province may also be used.

Number of members of the All-India Congress Committee, allotted to the different provinces.

<i>Province.</i>					<i>No. of Members.</i>	
1.	Ajmer	...	...	...	...	7
2.	Andhra	...	...	...	...	24
3.	Assam	...	...	...	...	5
4.	Behar	...	...	...	...	33
5.	Bengal and Surma Valley	...	...	...	...	48
6.	Berar	...	...	...	...	7
7.	Burma	...	...	...	...	12
8.	Central Provinces (Hindustani)	...	...	...	...	13
9.	Central Provinces (Marathi)	...	...	...	...	7
10.	City of Bombay	...	...	...	...	7
11.	Delhi	...	...	...	...	8
12.	Gujarat	...	...	...	...	12
13.	Karnatak	...	...	...	...	15
14.	Kerala	...	...	...	...	8
15.	Maharashtra	...	...	...	...	16
16.	Punjab and N. W. Frontier Province	...	...	...	...	37
17.	Sind	...	...	...	...	9
18.	Tamil Nadu	...	...	...	...	25
19.	United Provinces	...	...	...	...	45
20.	Utkal	...	...	...	...	12
TOTAL					...	350

APPENDIX IV

THANKS GIVING.

1. That this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her most Gracious Majesty, the Queen Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy, years of rule over the great British Empire. (Calcutta, Second Session, 1886).

2. Read telegram from General Booth: * * * That the following telegram despatched in reply to General Booth:—

"The Congress having received and considered your kindly message thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary *raison d'être* of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this wide-spread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second in every province and in every caste, associations, public or private, are working with yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in the same field, and we have to thank you that your army too is now engaged in the good work of elevating our masses. May your efforts and ours, in both directions, be crowned with success. Congress, including men of many creeds, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren." (Nagpur, Seventh Session, 1891).

2a. That this Congress desires to place on record its humble congratulations on Her Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, having attained the sixtieth year of her reign, the longest and the most beneficent in the annals of the Empire—a reign associated with the most important advances in human happiness and civilisation. The Congress expresses the hope that Her Majesty may long be spared to reign over her people. (Calcutta, Twelfth Session, 1896).

3. That this Congress desires to record its gratitude to H. R. the Viceroy for the benevolence of his famine policy, and for his firm resolve to uphold the interests of order and justice, as evidenced in the regulations recently issued regarding the grant of shooting passes to soldiers and his proceedings in connection with the Rangoon and O'Gara Cases. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900).

3a. That the Congress hereby approves of the suggestion presented by the Indian Congress Committee for the consideration of this session that at least half-a-day at each annual session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the Industrial and Educational problems of the country. Further resolved that annually two Committees be appointed by the Congress, one for educational and one for the industrial subjects to consider and suggest means for the Educational and Industrial improvement of the country and to

assist therein, and that to each Committee a Secretary be annually appointed. These Committees shall divide themselves into Provincial Committees with power to add to their number. (Lahore, Sixteenth Session, 1900).

4. That the Congress begs to tender its respectful homage to His Most Gracious Majesty, King-Emperor Edward VII, on the occasion of the approaching Coronation Darbar to be held at Delhi on 1st January, 1903, and humbly trusts that His Majesty's reign will be an era of peace, prosperity and contentment throughout the Empire, and will be marked by the gradual but complete redemption of the pledges contained in Her late Majesty's Proclamation and re-affirmed in His Majesty's gracious Message to the Indian people. (Amhedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902).

5. That this Congress, representing His Majesty's Indian subjects of all races, creeds and communities, most humbly and respectfully offers its loyal and dutiful welcome to Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of their visit to India.

The Congress is deeply touched by the expressions of Their Highnesses' sentiments of cordial good-will towards the people of India; is confident that the personal knowledge gained during the present tour will stimulate their kindly interest in the welfare of its people, and it expresses the fervent hope that His Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to submit, to His Majesty the King-Emperor, the earnest prayer of this Congress that the principles of the Queen's Proclamation be enforced in the Government of this country.

That the President do submit the above resolution to His Royal Highness by wire. (Benares, Twenty-first Session, 1905).

6. That the Indian National Congress tenders its loyal homage to His Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor and respectfully welcomes the message sent by His Majesty to the Princes and Peoples of India on the Fiftieth Anniversary of the memorable Proclamation issued in 1858 by his Illustrious Mother, Victoria the Good.

That this Congress begs to record its satisfaction that the interpretation placed by it upon the Pledge contained in that "Great Charter" of 1858 has been upheld by His Majesty.

That this Congress gratefully welcomes the pronouncement made by His Majesty that the time has come when the principle of representative institutions, which from the first began to be gradually introduced in India, may be prudently extended, and that the politic satisfaction of the claim to equality of citizenship and greater share in legislation and government made by important classes in India, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British Rule, will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.

That the Congress looks forward with confidence to a steady fulfilment by those in authority under the Crown in letter and in spirit of the pledges, and assurances contained in the Great Charter of 1858 and in His Majesty's Message of 1908. (Madras, Twenty-fourth Session, 1908.)

7. That this Congress thanks the Government of His Imperial Majesty for appointing, the Hon. Mr. S. P. Sinha as a member of His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Amir Ali as a member of the Privy Council. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session 1909.)

1. That this Congress while gratefully appreciating the earnest and arduous endeavours of Lord Morley and Lord Minto

in extending to the people of this country a fairly liberal measure of constitutional reforms, as now embodied in the India Councils' Act of 1909, deems it its duty to place on record its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates on the basis of religion and regrets that the Regulations framed under the Act have not been framed in the same liberal spirit in which Lord Morley's despatch of last year was conceived. In particular the Regulations have caused widespread dissatisfaction throughout the country by reason of :

(a) the excessive and unfairly preponderant share of representation given to the followers of one particular religion ;

(b) the unjust, invidious, and humiliating distinctions made between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects of His Majesty in the matter of the electorates, the franchise, and the qualifications of candidates ;

(c) the wide, arbitrary and unreasonable disqualifications and restrictions for candidates seeking election to the Council ;

(d) the general distrust of the educated classes that runs through the whole course of the Regulations ; and

(e) the unsatisfactory composition of the non-official majorities in the Provincial Councils rendering them ineffective and unreal for all practical purposes.

And this Congress earnestly requests the Government so to revise the Regulations, as soon as the present elections are over, as to remove these objectionable features, and bring them into harmony with the spirit of the Royal Message and the Secretary of State's Despatch of last year. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909).

8. That this Congress desires to give expression to its profound grief at the sudden and untimely demise of His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII whose beneficent reign will ever be memorable in the annals of India for the steps taken to obliterate race distinctions in making appointments to high office, and for the measures of constitutional reform adopted with a view to associate the people of this country with the administration of their affairs. (Allahabad, Twenty-sixth Session, 1910.)

9 That this Congress offers its humble homage and duty to the King-Emperor George V on his accession and begs to tender to His Majesty an assurance of its profound loyalty and attachment to his august throne and person. The Congress expresses its deep and heartfelt joy at the announcement of the proposed visit of their Most Gracious Majesties, King George and Queen Mary, to India, in 1911. (Allahabad, Twenty-sixth Session, 1910.)

9a. That (a) this Congress in offering its warm and respectful welcome to His Excellency Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, begs to convey to His Excellency an earnest assurance of its desire to co-operate loyally with the Government in promoting the welfare of the people of the country ; (b) this Congress resolves that a sub-committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to prepare an

Address to be presented to His Excellency in the name of the Congress by a deputation headed by the President :

The President.	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar
The Ex-Presidents present.	(United Provinces).
The General Secretaries.	Nawab Sadiq Ali Khan
Hon. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu	(United Provinces).
(United Bengal).	Mr. Syed Hasan Imam (Behar).
Mr. Ambikacharan Mozumder	Dr. H. S. Gour
(United Bengal).	(Central Provinces).
Hon. Mr. N. Subba Rao	Hon. Rao Bahadur R. N.
(Madras).	Mudholkar (Berar).
Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer	Hon. Mr. Harkishan Lal
(Madras).	(Punjab).
Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah	Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhuri
(Bombay).	(Punjab).
Mr. N. M. Samarth (Bombay).	

—(Allahabad, Twenty-seventh Session, 1910).

9b. That this Congress in humble duty respectfully tenders its most loyal homage to the Throne and Person of their Imperial Majesties, the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress, and feels confident that their visit to India will be productive of lasting benefit to the people of this country. (Calcutta, Twenty-seventh Session, 1911.)

9c. That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of horror and detestation at the dastardly attempt made on the life of His Excellency the Viceroy, who has by his wise and conciliatory policy and earnest solicitude to promote the well-being of the millions of His Majesty's subjects entrusted to his care, won the esteem, the confidence, the affection and the gratitude of the people of India. The Congress offers its respectful sympathy to Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Hardinge and fervently prays that His Excellency may have a speedy recovery and restoration to health. (Bankipore, Twenty-seventh Session, 1912.)

9d. That this Congress thanks the Government for the establishment of Legislative Councils in the Central Provinces and Assam and is of opinion that the former administration should be raised to the status of a Lieutenant-Governor's charge. (Bankipore, Twenty-seventh Session, 1912.)

10. (a) That this Congress desires to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor and the people of England its profound devotion to the Throne, its unswerving allegiance to the British connection, and its firm resolve to stand by the Empire, at all hazards and at all costs.

(b) That this Congress places on record the deep sense of gratitude and the enthusiasm which the Royal Message, addressed to the Princes and Peoples of India at the beginning of the War, has evoked throughout the length and breadth of the country, and which strikingly illustrates His Majesty's solicitude and sympathy for them, and strengthens the bond which unites the Princes and Peoples of India to His Royal House and the person of His Gracious Majesty. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

11. This Congress places on record its profound sense of relief and thankfulness at the recovery of His Majesty the King-Emperor from his recent accident, and respectfully begs to convey to His Majesty on behalf of the people of India their deep loyalty and profound devotion

to the Throne, their unswerving allegiance to the British connection, and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and all costs. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

• 12. This Congress respectfully begs to convey to His Majesty on behalf of the people of India, their deep loyalty and profound devotion to the throne, unswerving allegiance to the British connection, and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire. This Congress prays that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

13. This Congress begs to place on record its sense of gratitude to His Majesty's Government for extending the term of office of His Excellency Lord Hardinge as Viceroy of India till March next, and prays that His Excellency's tenure of office may be extended till after the present crisis is over. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1915.)

14. That this Congress, speaking on behalf of the united people of India, begs respectfully to convey to His Majesty the King Emperor, their deep loyalty and profound attachment to the Throne, their unswerving allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire at all hazards and at all costs. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

15. That this Congress extends to the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu a most cordial welcome on the occasion of his visit to India. The Congress hopes that his visit will be crowned with success and that it will convince him of the supreme necessity for the establishment of responsible government in this country. (Calcutta Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

16. This Congress tenders its respectful thanks to His Majesty the King Emperor for his gracious Proclamation dated the 23rd December, 1919, and welcomes the announcement that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will visit India next winter and assures him a warm reception by the people of this country. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

17. This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa and particularly the Transvaal to deprive the Indian settlers of the rights of property, trade hitherto enjoyed by them and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa. This Congress is of opinion that the anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and trusts that the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civic and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa including the East African territory conquered from Germany. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

18. This Congress views with grateful satisfaction the Viceregal declaration that the existing indentures in Fiji are likely to be cancelled at the end of the current year and hopes that a final declaration to that effect will be made by the Government of India before the end of the year and this Congress further hopes that indentured emigration in any form whatsoever, whether under the same or other name, will never be renewed. This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable and selfless services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the afflicted in the Punjab, and the services being rendered to the Indian settlers in East and South Africa. (Amritsar, Thirty-fifth Session, 1919.)

CONDOLENCE.

That this Congress records its profound regret at the irreparable loss that the British Empire and the civilised world at large have sustained by the death of Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the greatest statesman

of modern times, and a warm and genuine friend of humanity, and desires to express its sense of gratitude for the sympathy which he uniformly evinced towards the effects of the Indian people in securing a more liberal and progressive Government in India; and that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to his son, Mr. Herbert Gladstone. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

That this Congress deeply mourns the great loss the country has suffered by the sad and untimely death of the late Maharaja of Darbhanga, Sir Lakshmessur Singh Bahadur, G.C.I.E. The Congress places on record its high appreciation of his ready and enlightened public spirit and his liberal and catholic benefactions, and desires to give expression to its feeling of gratitude for the generous and unfailing support which the Congress movement received at his hands; and that a copy of the foregoing resolution be forwarded to Maharaja Rameshwar Singh, the brother of the deceased Maharaja. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

That this Congress expresses its profound grief for the great loss which the people of the country in general and those of the Punjab in particular have sustained by the death of the late Sardar Dayal Singh of Lahore, and places on record its high appreciation of the public spirit and the liberal support he gave in furtherance of the progressive movements which tended to ameliorate the condition of the Natives of India. (Madras, Fourteenth Session, 1898.)

(a) That this Congress desires to express its profound sorrow at the death of Her Majesty, Queen-Empress Victoria, and its sense of the irreparable loss which the Empire has sustained thereby. This Congress recalls with gratitude Her late Majesty's deep personal sympathy with the people of India, as evidenced by Her gracious Proclamation and by various other measures and personal acts, conceived in the same spirit of anxious solicitude for the welfare of the people of India.

(b) That this Congress tenders its respectful homage to His Gracious Majesty King Edward VII and under His Majesty's beneficent reign hopefully looks forward to the strengthening of free institutions, the expansion of popular rights, and the gradual but complete redemption of the promises contained in Her late Majesty's Proclamation.

(c) That this Congress desires to place on record its deep sense of regret at the great loss that the country has sustained by the untimely death of the Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1901.)

That this Congress desires to put on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the death of Bakshi Jaishi Ram, who was one of the staunch supporters of the Congress for many a year and rendered valuable services to it in connection with his own Province. (Calcutta, Seventeenth Session, 1900.)

That this Congress wishes to place on record its great regret at the death of Mr. R. M. Savani, one of its past Presidents, and of Mr. P. Rangia Naidu, who did valuable services in various capacities to the interests of this country. (Ahmedabad, Eighteenth Session, 1902.)

That this Congress desires to put on record its sense of the deep and irreparable loss sustained by India by the deaths of Lord Stanley of Alderly and Mr. W. S. Caine, the memory of whose services to people of India will always be cherished with gratitude.

That this Congress also wishes to place on record its deep regret at the death of the Raja of Ramnad, who has always been a distinguished benefactor of the Congress. (Madras, Nineteenth Session, 1903.)

That this Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Mr. J. N. Tata, whose great services to the industrial development of India as also his enlightened philanthropy and patrio-

tism the country will gratefully remember. This Congress also records its deep grief at the death of Mr. William Digby, in whom the people of India have lost an earnest and devoted champion of their cause. (Bombay, Twentieth Session, 1904.)

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of the great loss which the Congress and the country at large have sustained by the death of Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, Mr. Justice Budinuddin Tyabji, and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, ex-Presidents of the Congress, and Mr. M. Viraraghava Chariar of Madras. Their great public services and the example of duty and of self-sacrificing devotion which they presented in their lives entitle them to the lasting gratitude of the country. (Calcutta, Twenty-second Session, 1906.)

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of the deep sorrow and of loss to India of the sudden death of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Samuel Smith, and that a copy of the foregoing resolution be communicated to the members of his family. (Calcutta, Twenty-second Session, 1906.)

This Congress desires to place on record its sense of the great and irreparable loss which the country and the community has sustained by the deaths of Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose and Romesh Chandra Dutt, both past Presidents of the Congress. Their services to the country will always remain enshrined in the grateful recollection of their countrymen. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909.)

This Congress records its sense of the great loss that this country has sustained by the death of the Marquis of Ripon, who by his beneficent, progressive, and statesmanlike policy, as Viceroy of India, earned the lasting esteem, affection and gratitude of all classes of His Majesty's subjects. (Lahore, Twenty-fifth Session, 1909.)

That this Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow for the death of Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, C.B., the father and founder of the Indian National Congress, for whose lifelong services, rendered at rare self-sacrifice, India feels deep and lasting gratitude, and in whose death the cause of Indian progress and reform has sustained an irreparable loss. (Bankipore, Twenty-eighth Session, 1912.)

This Congress desires to express its heartfelt and respectful sympathy with H. R. Lord Hardinge in the bereavements he has sustained by the death of his wife and of his eldest son, All-India mourns with His Excellency in his great sorrow. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of the profound sorrow and irreparable loss the country has sustained by the untimely death of Babu Ganga Prasad Varma who was a devoted worker in the cause of the Congress from its earliest days, and whose memory will be cherished with grateful affection by his friends and colleagues and by his countrymen at large for his many distinguished services. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

That this Congress desires to express its deep sorrow for the death of Mr. Ambalal Sakarjal Desai, and of Babu Bishnu Pada Chatterjee of Bengal, who were devoted and distinguished workers in the Congress cause, and who rendered it valuable service. (Madras, Thirtieth Session, 1914.)

This Congress desires to place on record its deep sense of the great loss the country has sustained by the death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was prematurely cut off in the midst of a career of great public usefulness. He enjoyed in an equal measure the confidence of the Government and the love of the people. His great abilities, combined with a rare modesty of character, his selfless devotion to the cause of his country and his inestimable services to the people will enshrine his name in their grateful recollections, and will be an

unfailing source of inspiration to distant generations of his countrymen. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

This Congress desires to place on record India's great sorrow at the death of Keir Hardie, who, in and outside the House of Commons, rendered valuable services to this country which will be gratefully cherished by the people of India. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss in the death of Sir Henry Cotton, whose active sympathy for the people of India and lifelong devotion to the cause of Indian progress and good government will ever be remembered with gratitude in this country. His courageous advocacy of the cause of the Assam-cooly will remain a memorable example of his undaunted courage and greatness of heart. He served India as faithfully in Parliament as he had done as a member of the Civil Service, and India will long cherish his memory as a great administrator and a true friend. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

This Congress desires to express its profound sorrow at the death of Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta, who was one of its distinguished founders and staunchest supporters. His long and exceptional career in the Bombay Legislative Council, his remarkable work in the Imperial Legislative Council, and his other public activities, extending over a period of well nigh fifty years were of the highest value to the country. His invaluable services in the cause of Local Self-Government, higher education and constitutional progress combined with a firm grasp of principles and broad outlook, made him one of the greatest and most brilliant of Indian leaders and will remain a splendid example and a rich heritage for the people of India, whom he served with rare ability and disinterestedness, indomitable courage, and sagacious statesmanship. (Bombay, Thirty-first Session, 1915.)

This Congress places on record its sense of profound sorrow at the great loss which India has sustained by the premature death of Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar, who won the esteem and confidence of his countrymen by his selfless and broad-minded patriotism and rare intellectual attainments. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

This Congress expresses its profound sorrow at the death of Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, whose fearless independence, fervent patriotism and great knowledge of public problems, specially of economic questions, will enshrine him in the grateful recollections of his countrymen. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

This Congress deeply mourns the death of Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, who was one of the staunchest supporters of the Congress movement, and rendered valuable services to the Congress as its Joint General Secretary. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

This Congress expresses its deep sorrow at the great loss, which the British Empire has sustained by the premature and tragic death of Lord Kitchener, who was a great soldier, and who rendered eminent services to the Empire during the present war. (Lucknow, Thirty-second Session, 1916.)

That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound sorrow at the death of Dadabhai Naoroji. His great service to the motherland will always enshrine his memory in the grateful recollections of his countrymen, while his saintly character, his private worth and public virtues, will for all time come to be an example and an inspiration to the people of India. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

That this Congress desires to express its profound sense of sorrow at the sudden and premature death of Abdul Rasul, a man of the highest integrity of character, of noble devotion to duty and of the purest and most stainless patriotism, one who laboured strenuously to unite the Hindus and Mahomedans of this country in one bond of

loving service to their country forgetful of all differences of race, language and religion. (Calcutta, Thirty-third Session, 1917.)

This Congress places on record its sense of deep and profound sorrow at the death of Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The stainless purity of his life, his services and sufferings in the cause of his country, his deep devotion to the welfare of the people, his arduous endeavours in the fight for national autonomy—these will enshrine his memory in the grateful recollections of our people and will be a source of strength and inspiration to countless generations of our countrymen. At this crisis in the history of the nation, the Congress will sorely miss his wise, helpful and courageous leadership, the lofty inspiration of his radiant patriotism, and healing benediction of his counsel in difficulty. (Calcutta Special Session, 1920.)

This Congress records its deep sense of grief at the loss sustained by the country in the death of Dr Mahendra Nath Ghodse, a true patriot, a distinguished servant of the country, and a courageous champion of the cause of the people. (Calcutta Special Session, 1920.)

This Congress pays its homage to the sacred memory of the great Irish patriot Mac-Swiney, and sends its message of sympathy to the Irish people in their struggle for Independence. (Nagpur, Thirty-sixth Session, 1920.)

This Congress places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country in the death of Babu Motilal Ghose and offers its condolence to his family.

The Congress has learnt with grief of the death of Babu Ambikacharan Mozumdar, one of its ex-Presidents, and places on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country. (Gaya, Thirty-eighth Session, 1922.)

The Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the untimely death of Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhry a veteran congressman and an ardent social reformer, who served the motherland nobly and long, and this Congress offers its respectful and heartfelt sympathies to Srimati Sarala Devi Choudhrani and the other members of the family in their sad hereavement. (Delhi, Special Session, 1923.)

This Congress places on record its deep sense of loss at the demise of Sriyut S. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar and Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta, who had rendered invaluable services in the cause of the country.

This Congress also records with grief the death of Svt. Hardeo Narayan Singh and of Pandit Pratap Narayan Bajpeyi, who bravely suffered imprisonment imposed upon them and contracted serious illness during their incarceration and preferred death to release under dishonourable conditions.

This Congress resolves to place on record its deep sense of the loss sustained by the country by the death of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, an ex-president of the Congress. (Cocanada, Thirty-ninth Session, 1923.)

The Congress records with sorrow the deaths of Bi Amman, Sir Ashutosh Choudhuri, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, Dr. Subrahmanya Aiyer, Mr. G. M. Bhugari, Mr. Dal Bahadur Giri, Mr. Govind Vyenkates Yalgi, Mr. Waman Rao Mohariar, Mr. T. V. Gopalswami Mudaliar and Mr. C. V. P. Shivam, and also of Messrs. Rustomji Jivanji Ghorkhodu and P. K. Naidu in South Africa, and tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924.)

This Congress places on record its deep sorrow on the death of Pandit Motilal, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Maulavi Hazaral Haq, Syts. Revashamkar J. Thaveri, Shah Mahomed Juhir and V. C. Gurnutha Mudaliar, and the unknown heroes and heroines who died during the recent struggle, and tenders respectful condolence to the families of

the deceased and assures them that the whole nation shares their grief. (Belgaum, Fortieth Session, 1924.)

This Congress expresses its horror and indignation at the cowardly and treacherous murder of Swami Shradhdhananda and places on record its sense of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the tragic death of a brave and noble patriot who dedicated his life and his great gifts to the service of his country and of his faith and espoused with fearless devotion the cause of the lowly, the fallen and the weak. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926).

This Congress places on record its deep regret that the untimely death of Mr Umar Sohiani who had rendered signal services to the Congress and the country during the days of the Non-co-operation movement. (Gauhati, Forty-second Session, 1926).

The Congress places on record its profound sorrow at the untimely demise of Mr. P. C. Roy, one of the former secretaries of the Congress Committee and conveys its sympathy to his family (Madras, Forty-third Session, 1927).

This Congress records its deep sorrow at the deaths of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Lord Sinha and Lala Rajpat Rai, ex-Presidents of the Congress, and Shri Madanlal Gandhi, Shri Gopabandhu Das, Andraratna Gopalakrishna and Shri Anandi Prasad Sinha, and sends its respectful condolences to their families. (Calcutta, Forty-fourth Session, 1928).

This Congress expresses its appreciation of the supreme self-sacrifice of Jatindra Nath Das and Phoongi U. Wazaya and offers its condolence to their families and is further of opinion that the foreign Government in India is responsible for their self-immolation. (Lahore, Forty-fifth Session, 1929).

This Congress expresses its sorrow at the death of Pandit Gokarannath Misra, ex-General Secretary of the All-India Congress Congress Committee and Prof. S. M. Paranipaye and Messrs. Bhadravatsalu Naidu, Rohinikanta Hatibaru, R. K. Lahiri and Byomkesh Chakravarti. (Lahore, Forty-fifth Session, 1929).

This Congress places on record its deep sorrow on the death of Pandit Motilal Nehru, Maulana Mahomed Ali, Moulavi Mazarul Haq, Syts. Revashankar J. Jhaveri, Shah Mahomed Jubair and V C Gurnatha Mudaliar, and the unknown heroes and heroines who died during the recent struggle, and tenders respectful condolence to the families of the deceased and assures them that the whole nation shares their grief. (Karachi, Forty-sixth Session, 1931.)

A. I. C. C. passed the resolution condoling the death of the following who had been either office-bearers or members of the A. I. C. C. :—

Mr. J. M. Sengupta; Mr Vithalbhai Patel, Ex-General Secretary; Sir Sankaran Nair, Ex-President; Mr. Hassan Imam, Ex-President; Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyenger, Ex-General Secretary; Mr Phulchand Shah (Gujarat); Mr. Lalit Mohan Das (Bengal) Mr. Lakshmidhar Sharma (Assam); Mr. A. K. Gulam Jilani (Bengal); Mr. Shamlal Nehru (U.P.); Mr. Syed Zahoorul Hasan Hashmi (Bhagalpur); Gokul Krishna Roy (Purnea) and Mr. V. R. Salpekar (Chindwara), members. (Patna, A. I. C. C. Meeting, May 1934).

The Working Committee tenders its deep sympathy to Babu Rajendra Prasad and his family on the loss of his elder brother, the late Babu Mahendra Prasad, whose exceptional domestic affection had made it possible for Babu Rajendra Prasad to devote himself solely to the national cause and who was himself a silent public worker and philanthropist of a high order. (Wardha, W. C. Meeting, June, 1934).

CONGRESS IN EVOLUTION



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Examination in Economics Honours

COMPILED BY

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C. BHATTACHARYYA,
Advocate

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*1935—No Session ; 1937—No Session

CONGRESS IN EVOLUTION

CHAPTER I

Lucknow Congress Resolutions

April 12 to 14, 1936

1. Condolence

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

2. Greetings to Prisoners etc.

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

3. Shri Subhas Chandra Bose's Arrest

This Congress has learnt with indignation of the arrest under Regulation III of 1818 of Shri Subhas Bose on his return to India after long exile, when he was on his way to attend this session of the Congress. This Congress considers it a further and significant proof of how British Imperialism continues to use its full apparatus of repression to prevent normal political and personal life in India. To Shri Subhas Chandra Bose the Congress sends its warm greeting and sympathy.

4. Suppression of Civil Liberties

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

Further, the Congress deeply regrets that in the Indian States there is a similar suppression of civil and personal liberties, and, in many of them, conditions in this respect are even worse than in the rest of India and almost every kind of liberty is non-existent; that in some States even the Congress has been banned and normal peaceful work of organisation

prevented, and insult offered to the National Flag. The Congress realises that the effective power behind the States is that of the British Government and many of the States are under the direct control of British officers. Howsoever the responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs might be shared between the British Government and the Rulers of the States, the Congress declares that it can recognise no differentiation in personal, civil and democratic liberties as between the States and the rest of India.

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

5. Foreign Department

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

6. Romain Rolland's Invitation to the World Peace Congress

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

7. War Danger

The Congress, at its session held in Madras in 1927, drew the attention of the country to the danger of imperialist war and the possibility of India being made a tool in such a conflict for imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any

such war without their express permission. That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of Fascist Dictatorships, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great Imperialist Powers, and the feverish growth of armaments, and vast and terrible war threatens the world. In such a war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage and for the benefit of British Imperialism. The Congress, therefore, reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against this danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war.

8. Sympathy for Abyssinia

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

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

9. Government of India Act

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

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

of the Indian people and calls upon its representatives and members in Legislatures and outside to work for the fulfilment of this demand.

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

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

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

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

10. Indians Abroad

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

such action as may be within its power to ameliorate their condition.

11. Congress and Mass Contacts

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

12. Agrarian Programme

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

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

placed before the All India Congress Committee having particular regard to the following matters :—

1. Freedom of organisation of agricultural labourers and peasants.
2. Safeguarding of the interests of peasants where there are intermediaries between the State and themselves.
3. Just and fair relief of agricultural indebtedness including arrears of rent and revenue.
4. Emancipation of the peasants from feudal and semi-feudal levies.
5. Substantial reduction in respect of rent and revenue demands.
6. A just allotment of the State expenditure for the social, economic and cultural amenities of villages.
7. Protection against harassing restrictions on the utilisation of local natural facilities for their domestic and agricultural needs.
8. Freedom from oppression and harassment at the hands of Government officials and landlords.
9. Fostering industries for relieving rural unemployment.

13. Indian States

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

14. Amendments of Constitution

A number of amendments to the Congress Constitution were passed.

15. Next Session

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

CHAPTER II

Faizpur Congress Resolutions

December 27 & 28, 1936

1. Condolence

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Dr. M. A. Ansari ; Shri Abbas Tyabji ; Dr. M. K. Sambasivam ; Shri V. O. Chidambaram Pillai ; Shri Krishna Kumar Mitra ; Dr. B. Subramaniam ; Pandit Pyarey Mohan Dattatreya and Shri Waman Rao Naik.

2. World Peace Congress

The Congress, having considered the report of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon on the World Peace Congress, records its appreciation of the part he took in this Congress, as its representative. It supports whole-heartedly the objective of the Peace Congress to ensure world peace by removing the causes of war, and offers its full co-operation to it in this urgent and vital task. The National Congress will willingly associate itself with the organization which the Peace Congress has established in this behalf. The Congress, however, wishes to emphasise that imperialism itself is a continuing cause of war and its elimination is essential in the interests of world peace. The President is authorised and directed to take necessary steps in this behalf.

3. Burma

The Congress directs the All-India Congress Committee to consider what, if any, changes in the Congress Constitution are necessitated by the political separation of Burma from India. The fate of the two countries has been linked together for ages past by strong cultural bonds, and for many years they have struggled together for freedom against British Imperialism. The political separation that is being enforced now against the wishes of a large body of Burmese opinion and in the interests of British Imperialism, cannot weaken the old bonds and must not be permitted to come in the way of our joint struggle. Any decision about the place of Burma in the Congress Constitution must be arrived at after consultation with the people of Burma, and for this purpose the Working Committee should arrange for a representative to visit Burma.

In the event of any changes in the Constitution in regard to Burma being considered desirable, the All-India Congress Committee is authorised to incorporate them in the Constitution and to give effect to them.

4. Spain

The Congress has followed with the deepest sympathy and anxiety the struggle that is going on in Spain between the people of Spain and a military group aided by foreign mercenary troops and Fascist powers in Europe. The Congress realises that this struggle between democratic progress and Fascist reaction is of great consequence to the future of the world and will affect the future of Imperialism and India. The Congress has noted without surprise that in this struggle the policy of non-intervention followed by the British Government has been such as to hamper in many ways the Spanish Government and people in fighting the Fascist rebels, and has thus in effect aided these rebels who are being openly backed and helped by the Fascist Powers.

The Congress, on behalf of the people of India, sends greetings to the Spanish people and the assurance of their solidarity with them in this great struggle for liberty.

5. Excluded Areas

This Congress is of opinion that the creation of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas and Chief Commissioners' Provinces, including British Baluchistan, from the 1st January, 1937, and covering the area of 207,900 square miles and inhabited by 13 million people is yet another attempt to divide the people of India into different groups with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment and to obstruct the growth of uniform democratic institutions in the country.

This Congress is further of opinion that the separation of these Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas is intended to leave a larger control of disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas and keep the inhabitants of those areas apart from the rest of India for their easier exploitation and suppression.

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

6. Natural Calamities

The Congress has noted with deep sorrow that an unprecedented number of natural calamities has ravaged our country during the past year and flood and drought and famine and cyclone have brought intense suffering to vast numbers of our people, whom poverty and unemployment have already reduced

to such dire straits. The Congress expresses its deep sympathy with the victims of those calamities and its appreciation of the fortitude displayed by the people in facing them.

It congratulates those individuals and non-official agencies who, by their loving service and assistance, have helped to alleviate distress.

The Congress feels that no sufficient effort has been made so far by the Government to institute scientific inquiries into the causes of the floods, which are becoming more frequent and wide-spread, and that it should certainly be possible to control such floods to a large extent, or prevent waters from accumulating, by measures taken in that behalf, especially by an examination of the effect of building numerous Railway embankments without a sufficient number of culverts to allow free passage of water.

The Congress is of opinion that the wide-spread misery caused by the various calamities should be relieved by State action on an adequate scale, in particular, by a total remission of rent and revenue and water and other rates of the current year in the worst affected area ; and a substantial reduction in the partly affected area ; and by a moratorium of arrears of rent, revenue and agriculturists' debts. Interest-free loans and other help, free or at reduced rates, should also be given to enable those, who have been rendered destitute, to start life afresh.

7. War Danger

The Congress has drawn repeated attention in the past to the danger of Imperialist war and has declared that India can be no party to it. Since the last session of the Congress the crisis has deepened and Fascist aggression has increased, the Fascist powers forming alliances and grouping themselves together for war with the intention of dominating Europe and the world and crushing political and social freedom. The Congress is fully conscious of the necessity of facing this world menace in co-operation with the progressive nations and peoples of the world and especially with those peoples who are dominated over and exploited by Imperialism and Fascism. In the event of such a World War taking place there is grave danger of Indian man power and resources being utilised for the purposes of British Imperialism; and it is, therefore, necessary for the Congress to warn the country again against this and prepare it to resist such exploitation of India and her people. No credits must be voted for such a war and voluntary subscriptions and War Loans must not be supported and all other war preparations resisted.

8. Frontier Policy

In the opinion of the Congress the policy pursued by the Government of India on the North-West Frontier has been a total failure and has caused great injury both to the interests of India and the trans-border tribes. This policy has been pursued in the interests of Imperialism and mostly with the object of justifying the heavy military expenditure in India and of providing training under semi-war conditions for otherwise idle troops maintained for imperial purposes. Any policy that necessitates inhuman and barbarous methods, like bombing from the air, and which leads to frequent military raids across the Frontier is to be condemned. In addition to this, the policy has signally failed in establishing peace on the Frontier and has often resulted in making friendly trans-border tribes unfriendly and hostile.

Both the foreign and domestic interests of India require peace on the Frontier and friendship with our neighbours. And the Congress believes that these friendly relations and peace can be established without much difficulty if the trans-border tribes are treated as friends and good neighbours and are not interfered with on the pretext of spreading civilization, or by making military roads under the guise of rendering economic assistance, or otherwise. If such a policy is pursued they will become a valuable source of strength and lessen the burden of military expenditure of India. The Congress believes that the charge laid against the Frontier Pathan tribes as being untamed, fierce, truculent and aggressive is without foundation and appears to be made with the object of justifying unwarranted interference and a heavy permanent military expenditure.

The Congress declares that the people of India desire the friendship of all their neighbours and are willing to co-operate with them in the great tasks which promote peace and human well-being.

The Congress condemns the last punitive measures in the trans-frontier area which seem to be yet another instance of the futile and dangerous experiments of the Government of India on the North-West Frontier which lead only to suffering and leave a trail of ill-will behind them.

In the opinion of the Congress the right way to deal with the Frontier situation is for an inquiry to be made into the economic, political and military situation with a view to settle finally and peacefully the problem of the Frontier in co-operation with the border tribes.

9. Detenus

The Congress records its emphatic condemnation of the unjust and inhuman policy of the British Government in India

in keeping thousands of Indians in detention for indefinite periods without charge or trial and holds that this policy has been resorted to with the object of paralysing the national movement of freedom. The Congress voices the demand of the Indian people that the persons now in detention without charge or trial be released forthwith and the various orders of restraint withdrawn. The Congress sends its warm greetings and sympathy to the detenus who have been suffering in silence and with brave endurance in the cause of India's freedom.

The Congress has learnt with alarm and concern that three detenus in Bengal have committed suicide within the last four weeks. The Congress considers that the fact that such acts of suicide have taken place is a significant indication that the conditions in which they are kept are intolerable and scandalous. The Congress demands a public enquiry into the causes which led to the said acts of suicide as well as into the conditions in which the detenus are being kept. The Congress sends its condolences to the bereaved families of the three detenus.

The Congress records its condemnation of the action of the Government in preventing any non-official and independent enquiry into the conditions in which the detenus are kept, like the one proposed by the Committee appointed by the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly.

The Congress condemns the revival of the prison in the Andamans which had been abandoned as a result of its condemnation by a Committee appointed by the Government. In the opinion of the Congress, the conditions prevailing therein, particularly those relating to interviews with prisoners, segregation and lack of facilities for intellectual entertainment of educated political prisoners, are intolerable, and the transportation of political offenders to the Andamans should be discontinued and those already transported should be brought back to India forthwith.

10. Indians Overseas

The Congress sends greetings to our fellow-countrymen overseas and its assurance of sympathy and help in their distressful condition and in the continuing deterioration in their status in the territories in which they have settled. The Congress is ready and willing to take all action within its power to ameliorate their condition, but desires to point out that a radical amelioration in their status must ultimately depend on the attainment by India of Independence and the power effectively to protect her nationals abroad.

11. Colliery Disasters

The Congress notes with sorrow and alarm the frequent occurrence of accidents in the collieries of Bengal and Bihar, resulting in every case in the loss of numerous human lives, wide-spread misery among survivors and irreparable waste of a great deal of India's mineral wealth. In the opinion of the Congress such accidents are preventible and demonstrate the inefficiency of the State, and utter incompetence of the owners and managers of these collieries and their indifference to human suffering. It is necessary that effective measures be immediately undertaken by further legislation and the stricter and more vigilant enforcement of rules and regulations to prevent such accidents. The owners of collieries should be made liable to exemplary damages to be paid to sufferers from such accidents and their heirs.

12. B. N. Railway Strike

The Railway workers on the State-owned Railways, and their organisations supported by the public have been demanding a Court of Inquiry into the question of Railway retrenchment in general and the question of the reduction of the pay of the lower grades of Railway service in particular. The Government and the Railway Board have persistently ignored this just and legitimate demand. This Congress is of opinion that even now if such a Court of Inquiry is instituted the present strike on the B. N. Ry. can be amicably settled.

This Congress congratulates the workers on the B. N. Ry. on their solidarity and the brave stand they have made against the repeated invasions on their rights. The Congress hopes that public will extend to the strikers their full support and sympathy.

13. The Congress Constitution and Mass Contacts

The Congress wishes to stress again the desirability of increasing the association of the masses with the Congress organization and of giving opportunities to the primary members to initiate and consider Congress policies and programme. With a view to bring this about, a Committee consisting of the President, Shri Rajendra Prasad, Shri Jai Ramdas Doulatram, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, and the General Secretary is appointed, with the General Secretary as convener, to consider the introduction of suitable changes in the Constitution, and to report to the A. I. C. C. by the 30th April, 1937. This Committee will consider, inter alia, the report of the Mass Contacts Committee of the Lucknow Congress.

The Congress is of opinion that, even pending such re-organisation, Provincial Congress Committees should organise their provinces on the following basis :—

1. Primary Committees should, as far as possible, be established in villages and in Mohallas or Wards of towns
2. Members of Primary Committees should meet together at least twice a year to review their own work, consider local problems and grievances and further to consider the policy and programme before the Congress and send their report and recommendations to their higher Committees. A specified number of members of Primary Committees should further have the right to requisition a meeting of the Primary Committee to consider a specific question.
3. The subscription of four annas per annum may be collected locally in kind.

In order to give effect to the above directions and further to make the Congress organisation more efficient and more responsive to the needs and desires of the masses, the Congress directs the Working Committee to appoint an Organising Secretary, and each Provincial Congress Committee also to appoint such Organising Secretaries. The Congress trusts that Congressmen in general will co-operate fully in this task of bringing our national organisation in close touch with the daily lives and struggle of the people.

14. Authority to All India Congress Committee

The A. I. C. C. is authorised, if it so chooses, to make changes in the Congress Constitution to enable the next session of the Congress to be held in a month other than December.

15. Suppression of Civil Liberties

The Congress again draws attention to and condemns the suppression of civil liberties in India, which continues intensively and prevents normal public life, interferes even with personal liberties, and crushes the present generation in India. Hundreds of Congress Committees continue to be banned, as also labour and peasant unions and other organisations; the Ordinance laws function in addition to the widespread and punitive use of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure to suppress public activities and even the expression of opinion; the press laws and censorship muzzle the newspapers; books and periodicals are banned or stopped under the Sea Customs Act; free movements are restricted by externment and internments; concentration camps of detenus detained without trial continue; the Criminal Tribes Act is a menace to peaceful citizens, and further, this Act as well as the Foreigners Act are applied to political workers; passports are not issued to Indians for the purpose of going abroad, and many Indians in

foreign countries are not allowed to return home and have to live in exile. In Bengal and the N. W. Frontier Province additional restrictions put an intolerable burden on public work and private activities.

The Congress further deeply regrets to note that many of these, and in some cases additional disabilities and suppression of civil liberties prevail in the Indian States.

The Congress stands for full personal, civil and democratic liberties in the whole of India including the States and will continue to struggle for the establishment of such liberties. But the Congress realises that political freedom is essential for this purpose and the nation's energies must therefore be directed to the attainment of independence.

16. Elections & Constituent Assembly

This Congress reiterates its entire rejection of the Government of India Act of 1935 and the Constitution that has been imposed on India against the declared will of the people of the country. In the opinion of the Congress any co-operation with this Constitution is a betrayal of India's struggle for freedom and a strengthening of the hold of British Imperialism and a further exploitation of the Indian masses who have already been reduced to direct poverty under imperialist domination. The Congress therefore repeats its resolve not to submit to this Constitution or to co-operate with it, but to combat it, both, inside and outside the legislatures, so as to end it. The Congress does not and will not recognise the right of any external power or authority to dictate the political and economic structure of India, and every such attempt will be met by organised and uncompromising opposition of the Indian people. The Indian people can only recognise a Constitutional structure which has been framed by them and which is based on the Independence of India as a nation and which allows them full scope for development according to their needs and desires.

The Congress stands for a genuine democratic State in India where political power has been transferred to the people as a whole and the Government is under their effective control. Such a State can only come into existence through a Constituent Assembly, elected by adult suffrage, and having the power to determine finally the Constitution of the country. To this end the Congress works in the country and organizes the masses, and this objective must ever be kept in view by the representatives of the Congress in the legislatures.

The Congress endorses the Election Manifesto of the A. I. C. C. and calls upon all candidates, standing on its behalf, to carry on their election campaign strictly on its basis and

after election, to conduct their work in the legislatures in accordance with it. Congress members of the legislatures should take the earliest opportunity to put forward in the new Assemblies the demand for a Constituent Assembly, elected by adult suffrage, and this demand should be supported by a mass agitation outside to enforce the right of the Indian people to self-determination.

The question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office by Congress members elected to the legislatures under the new Constitution will be decided by the A. I. C. C. as soon after the Provincial Assembly elections as is practicable. Immediately after the elections the various Provincial Congress Committees will take steps to consult their district and other local Committees and send their own recommendations on this subject, so that the A. I. C. C. may be assisted in deciding this issue by the opinion of the mass of Congressmen and the country.

17. Convention

This Congress resolves that after the elections to the provincial legislatures a Convention shall be held consisting of Congress members of the various Provincial and Central legislatures, the members of the All-India Congress Committee, and such other persons as the Working Committee might decide upon. This Convention shall put the demand for the Constituent Assembly in the forefront, shall determine all feasible methods for ending the Constitution in the provinces and for opposing the introduction of the Federal structure of the new Act, and will consider what other steps should be taken in the legislatures to give effect to the policy laid down in the Congress Election Manifesto, Congress resolutions, and the decisions of the All-India Congress Committee.

The Working Committee shall take all necessary steps for the calling of this Convention and shall lay down the procedure governing it.

18. Appeal to Voters

The Congress invites the attention of the Nation to the general election that will take place soon in all the provinces, and in which over one thousand Congress candidates have been put up to uphold Congress principles and programme in accordance with the policy laid down in the Election Manifesto. In this contest the Congress has to face the opposition of reactionary and imperialistic forces and groups entrenched in places of power and possessed of vast material resources. The Congress appeals to the millions of voters, men and women, to vote for the candidates standing in its name and for the

Independence of India, and trusts that they will stand for this great cause in the elections and in the greater struggle to follow.

19. Agrarian Programme

The Congress, at its last session, being fully conscious of the fact that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make recommendations to enable the All-India Congress Committee to draw up an All-India Agrarian Programme. Many P. C. Cs have not yet submitted their recommendations for such programme. The Congress regrets this delay but realises that the subject is a vast and intricate one, requiring close study and investigation. It trusts that such P. C. Cs as have not reported so far will take early steps to send in their recommendations.

The Congress is convinced that the final solution of this problem involves the removal of British Imperialistic exploitation and a radical change in the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems. It feels, however, that the deepening crisis has made the burden on the peasantry an intolerable one and immediate relief is urgently called for. Pending the framing of an All-India Agrarian Programme, therefore, the following steps are necessary :

1. Rent and revenue should be re-adjusted having regard to present conditions and there should be substantial reduction in both.
2. Uneconomic holdings should be exempted from rent or land tax.
3. Agricultural incomes should be assessed to income tax like all other incomes, on a progressive scale, subject to a prescribed minimum.
4. Canal and other irrigation rates should be substantially lowered.
5. All feudal dues and levies and forced labour should be abolished, and demands other than rent should be made illegal.
6. Fixity of tenure with heritable rights along with the right to build houses and plant trees should be provided for all tenants.
7. An effort should be made to introduce co-operative farming.
8. The crushing burden of rural debt should be removed. Special tribunals should be appointed to inquire into this and all debts, which are unconscionable or beyond the capacity of

peasants to pay, should be liquidated. Meanwhile a moratorium should be declared and steps should be taken to provide cheap credit facilities.

9. Arrears of rent for previous years should generally be wiped out.

10. Common pasture lands should be provided, and the rights of the people in tanks, wells, forests and the like recognised, and no encroachment on these rights should be permitted.

11. Arrears of rents should be recoverable in the same manner as civil debts and not by ejectment.

12. There should be statutory provision for securing a living wage and suitable working conditions for agricultural labourers.

13. Peasant unions should be recognised.

20. Non-Participation in the Coronation and other Imperialist Functions

The Congress, pledged as it is to the Independence of India and the elimination of all imperialist control and exploitation of the Indian people, has for many years consistently followed a policy of not participating in any function or activity which is meant to, or which tends to, strengthen the hold of British Imperialism or add to its prestige. This policy must be adhered to by all Congressmen. In particular the Congress wishes to declare that Congressmen cannot participate in any way in any celebrations or functions that might be held in India in connection with the new King's Coronation and trusts that the Nation will abstain from participation in all such functions. The Congress, however, desires to make it clear that this is in no way intended to express any ill-will or discourtesy to the King's person.

21. Hartal on April 1, 1937

In order to demonstrate effectively the will of the Indian people to resist the imposition of the unwanted Constitution and as an earnest of their determination to launch a powerful mass-movement for its destruction, the Congress issues a call for a nation-wide hartal or general strike on April 1, the day on which the new Constitution is to be inaugurated.

22. Next Congress

Resolved that the next Session of the Congress be held in Gujarat.

CHAPTER III

Haripura Congress Resolutions

February 19 to 21, 1938

1. Condolence

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

2. Guidallo of Assam

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

3. British Guiana

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

4. Indians Overseas

This Congress views with alarm the rapidly growing deterioration in the status, position and rights enjoyed by the Indians in South and East Africa including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and also in the islands of Mauritius and Fiji.

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

This Congress whole-heartedly associates itself with the struggles of overseas Indians to maintain even their present

position and status in the territories in which they have settled.

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

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

5. Indians in Zanzibar

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

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

6. Indians in Ceylon

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

Congress hopes that such measures will not be undertaken and that any legislation that has created such a feeling will be so modified as to make India feel that, in spite of being separate governments, Ceylon and India are one and inseparable so far as the people are concerned.

7. China

The Congress has viewed with anxious concern the aggression of a brutal imperialism in China and the horrors and frightfulness that have accompanied it. In the opinion of the Congress this imperialist invasion is fraught with the gravest consequences for the future of world peace and of freedom in Asia. The Congress sends its deepest sympathy to the people of China in their great ordeal and expresses its admiration for the heroic struggle they are conducting to maintain their freedom and integrity. It congratulates them on achieving national unity and co-ordination in the face of danger, and assures them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in the common task of combating imperialism and achieving freedom.

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

8. Palestine

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

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

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

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

9. Foreign Policy and War Danger

In view of the grave danger of wide-spread and devastating war which overshadows the world, the Congress desires to

state afresh the policy of the Indian people in regard to foreign relations and war.

The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries, and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others, and to build up their strength on the basis of international co-operation and goodwill. Such co-operation must be founded on a world order and a free India will gladly associate itself with such an order, and stand for disarmament and collective security. But world co-operation is impossible of achievement so long as the roots of international conflict remained and one nation dominates over another and imperialism holds sway. In order, therefore, to establish world peace on an enduring basis, imperialism and the exploitation of one people by another must end.

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

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

10. Excluded Areas and Commissioners' Provinces

A. This Congress reaffirms its opinion that the creation of Excluded and Partially Excluded areas and Chief Commissioners' Provinces, including British Baluchistan and Coorg under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 obstructs the growth of uniform democratic institutions in integral parts of India covering an area of over 207,900 miles and inhabited by over 13 million people.

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

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

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

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

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

11. Ajmer-Merwara and the Indian States

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

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

12. Federation

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

her in subjection to Imperialist domination. This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of Government.

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

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

13. Kenya

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

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

14. Midnapore Congress Organisations

The Congress strongly deprecates the continuance of the ban on about 110 Congress organisations in the district of Midna-

pore imposed by the Government of Bengal and is of opinion that the plea put forward by the Government to the effect that the Congress Committees are limbs of a terrorist organisation is entirely unjustified.

15. National Education

The Congress has emphasized the importance of national education ever since 1906 and during the Non-co-operation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices. The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper organisation of mass education and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objective of the education that is provided for the people. The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed. Its objectives have been anti-national and anti-social, its methods have been antiquated, and it has been confined to a small number of people and has left the vast majority of our people illiterate. It is essential therefore to build up national education on a new foundation and on a nation-wide scale. As the Congress is having new opportunities of service and of influencing and controlling State education, it is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them. The Congress is of opinion that for the primary and secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles :

1. Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.
2. The medium of instruction must be the mother tongue.
3. Throughout this period education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

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

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

16. Minority Rights

The Congress welcomes the growth of anti-imperialist feeling among the Muslims and other minorities in India and the growing unity of all classes and communities in India in the struggle for India's independence which is essentially one and indivisible and can only be carried on effectively on a united national basis. In particular, the Congress welcomes the large numbers of members of the minority communities who have joined the Congress during the past year and given their mass support to the struggle for freedom and the ending of the exploitation of India's masses.

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

17. Indian States

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

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

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

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

The Congress therefore directs that, for the present, Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch on direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organisations should be started and continued where they exist already within the States.

The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest

in and sympathy with their movement for freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant.

18. Ministerial Resignations in U. P. and Behar

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

The experience of office by Congress Ministers in the Provinces has shown that at least in two provinces, the United Provinces and Behar, there has in fact been interference in the day to day administration of provincial affairs as shown hereafter. The Governors, when they invited Congress members to form Ministries knew that the Congress Manifesto had mentioned the release of political prisoners as one of the major items of the Congress policy. In pursuance thereof the Ministers began the release of political prisoners and they soon experienced delay, which was sometimes vexatious, before the Governors would endorse the orders of release. The way releases have been repeatedly delayed is evidence of the exemplary patience of Ministers. In the opinion of the Congress, release of prisoners is a matter coming essentially within the purview of day to day administration, which does not admit of protracted discussion with Governors. The function of the Governor is to guide and advise Ministers, and not to interfere with the free exercise of their judgment in the discharge of their day to day duty. It is only when the time came for the Working Committee to give an annual account to the Congress delegates and to the masses of people backing them, that the Committee had to instruct Ministers, who were themselves sure of their ground, to order release of the political prisoners in their charge and to resign if their orders were countermanded. The Congress approves of and endorses the action taken by the Ministers of the United Provinces and Behar and congratulates them on it.

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

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

The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis which may involve non-violent Non-cooperation and direct action consistent with the Congress policy of truth and non-violence. The Congress is therefore at present reluctant to instruct Ministers in other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor-General's action, and invites His Excellency the Governor-General to reconsider his decision so that the Governors may act constitutionally and accept the advice of their Ministers in the matter of the release of the political prisoners.

The Congress regards the formation of irresponsible Ministries as a way of disguising the naked rule of the sword. The formation of such Ministries is calculated to rouse extreme bitterness, internal quarrels and further deepen the resentment against the British Government. When the Congress approved of acceptance of office, with great reluctance and considerable hesitation, it had no misgivings about its own estimate of the real nature of the Government of India Act. The latest action of the Governor-General justifies that estimate and not only exposes the utter inadequacy of the Act to bring real liberty to the people, but also shows the intention of the British Government to use and interpret it not for the expansion of liberty, but for its restriction. Whatever, therefore, may be

the ultimate result of the present crisis, the people of India should realise that there can be no true freedom for the country so long as this Act is not ended and a new Constitution, framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise, takes its place. The aim of all Congressmen, whether in office or out of office, in legislatures or out of legislatures, can only be to reach that goal even though it may mean, as it often must mean, sacrifice of many a present advantage, however beneficial and worthy it might be for the time being.

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

The Congress has given during the past few months ample evidence of its desire to take severe notice of indiscipline and breach of the code of non-violence that the Congress has laid down for itself. Nevertheless the Congress invites the attention

of Congressmen to the fact that indiscipline in speech and action, calculated to promote or breed violence, retards the progress of the country towards its cherished goal.

In pursuit of its programme of release of political prisoners the Congress has not hesitated to sacrifice office and the opportunity of passing ameliorative measures. But the Congress wishes to make it clear that it strongly disapproves of hunger-strikes for release. Hunger-strikes embarrass the Congress in pursuit of its policy of securing release of political prisoners. The Congress, therefore, urges those who are still continuing their hunger-strike in the Punjab to give up their strike, and assures them that whether in provinces where Congressmen hold ministerial offices or in other provinces Congressmen will continue their efforts to secure the release of detenus and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful means.

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

19. Kisan Sabhas

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

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

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

Constitutional Changes

Certain changes were introduced in the Constitution at the open Session. These changes were incorporated in the new Constitution published after Haripura. The Congress also passed the following resolution appointing a Constitution Committee.*

20. Constitution Committee

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

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

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

*Congress Constitution with amendments upto June, 1939, is given in Appendix II.

CHAPTER IV

Tripuri Congress Resolutions

March 10 to 12, 1939

1. Condolence

This Congress expresses its sense of sorrow and loss at the deaths of Maulana Shaukat Ali, Sir Mohammed Tqbal, Begam Ansari and Shris K. Raman Menon, G. S. Khaparde, B. Raja Rau, Nathuji Jagtap, Thakur Gulzar Sinha, Rajaram Shukla, Devi Prasad Shukla, K. K. Bhat, Dhundiraj Mahadeb Naik, Abdul Wahid, Balwantrai P. Thakore, Mahesh Prasad Nigam, Pandit Mahabir Prasad Dwivedi, Upendranath Mukerji, Jwala Sing, K. Nageshwar Ran, Rajab Ali Patel, Ghaltu Venkat, Chaturanan Das, Banchhanidhi Mahanti, Giriya Bhusan Datt, 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 Indian solidarity with China.

4. The National Demand

The Congress has for more than half a century striven for the advancement of the people of India and had 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 circumscribed 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 the 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 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. The 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 her-

self with the progressive peoples of the world and thus aid the cause of democracy and freedom.

• With a view to a speedy realisation of the Congress objective and in order to face effectively the national and international crises 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 co-ordinating the activities of the Provincial Governments with the work outside the legislatures, and by strengthening the organisation so as to make it a still more effective organ of the people's will.

5. Congress Machinery

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.

6. Re-affirmation of Congress Policy

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.

7. 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 deplores 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.

8. 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.

9. 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 required the ending of both of 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.

10. 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 Sahib of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on

the one hand, and Sardar Vallabhbhai 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 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 Governments 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 the 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.

11. Indians Overseas

This Congress notes with grave concern and anxiety the rapidly deteriorating positions 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.

12. Next Congress

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

CHAPTER V

Ramgarh Congress Resolution

March 19 & 20, 1940

INDIA AND THE WAR-CRISIS

CALL TO THE NATION

This Congress, having considered the grave and critical situation resulting from the war in Europe and British policy in regard to it, approves of and endorses the resolutions passed and the action taken on the war situation by the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee. The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation of India's resources in this war, as an affront to them, which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can accept or tolerate. The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that Great Britain is carrying on the war fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, which is based on the exploitation of the people of India, as well as of other Asiatic and African countries. Under these circumstances it is clear that the Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, be party to the war, which means continuance and perpetuation of this exploitation. The Congress therefore strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the war. Neither the recruiting nor the money raised in India can be considered to be voluntary contributions from India. Congressmen, and those under the Congress influence, cannot help in the prosecution of the war with men, money or material.

The Congress hereby declares again that nothing short of complete independence can be accepted by the people of India. Indian freedom cannot exist within the orbit of imperialism, and dominion or any other status within the imperial structure is wholly inapplicable to India, is not in keeping with the dignity of a great nation, and would bind India in many ways to British policies and economic structure. The people of India alone can properly shape their own Constitution and determine their relations to the other countries of the world, through a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

The Congress is further of opinion that while it will always be ready, as it ever has been, to make every effort to secure

communal harmony, no permanent solution is possible except through a Constituent Assembly, where the rights of all recognised minorities will be fully protected by agreement, as far as possible, between the elected representatives of various majority and minority groups, or by arbitration if agreement is not reached on any point. Any alternative will lack finality. India's Constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity, and the Congress repudiates attempts to divide India or to split up her nationhood. The Congress has always aimed at a Constitution where the fullest freedom and opportunities of development are guaranteed to the group and the individual, and social injustice yields place to a juster social order.

The Congress cannot admit the right of the Rulers of Indian States, or foreign vested interests to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people, whether in the States or the Provinces, and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital interests. The Congress holds that the difficulty raised in regard to the States is of British creation and it will not be satisfactorily solved unless the declaration of the freedom of India from foreign rule is unequivocally made. Foreign interests, if they are not in conflict with the interests of the Indian people, will be protected.

The Congress withdrew the Ministries from the Provinces where the Congress had a majority in order to dissociate India from the war and to enforce the Congress determination to free India from foreign domination. This preliminary step must naturally be followed by Civil Disobedience, to which the Congress will unhesitatingly resort as soon as the Congress organisation is considered fit enough for the purpose or in case circumstances so shape themselves as to precipitate a crisis. The Congress desires to draw the attention of Congressmen to Gandhiji's declaration that he can only undertake the responsibility of declaring Civil Disobedience when he is satisfied that they are strictly observing discipline and carrying out the constructive programme prescribed in the Independence Pledge.

The Congress seeks to represent and serve all classes and communities without distinction of race or religion, and the struggle for Indian independence is for the freedom of the whole nation. Hence the Congress cherishes the hope that all classes and communities will take part in it. The purpose of Civil Disobedience is to evoke the spirit of sacrifice in the whole nation.

The Congress hereby authorises the All-India Congress Committee and in the event of this being necessary, the Working Committee, to take all steps to implement the foregoing resolution, as the Committee concerned may deem necessary.

APPENDIX I*

Resolutions passed at the 46th Session of the Indian National Congress ; April 24, 1932, Delhi.

1. This Congress re-iterates Complete Independence as its goal and re-affirms the resolution on Independence adopted at its Lahore Session. •
2. This Congress fully and whole-heartedly endorses the decision reached by the Working Committee at its last sitting in Bombay and fully supports the lead given by it to the country in the revival of Civil Disobedience.
3. This Congress congratulates the Nation on its splendid response to Mahatma Gandhi's call to the struggle for freedom and expresses its complete faith in his leadership.
4. This Congress re-affirms its deep faith in non-violence and congratulates the country particularly the brave Pathans of the Frontier Province upon their general adherence to it inspite of grave provocation.

Resolutions passed at the 47th Session of the Indian National Congress ; March 31, 1933, Calcutta.

1. This Congress re-affirms the resolution passed at its 44th session at Lahore in 1929 declaring Complete Independence as its goal.
2. This Congress holds Civil Disobedience to be a perfectly legitimate means for the protection of the rights of the people for the vindication of national self-respect and for the attainment of national goal.
3. This Congress re-affirms the decision of the Working Committee arrived at on 1st January, 1932. On a careful survey of all that has happened during the past fifteen months, the Congress is firmly of opinion that, in the situation in which the country is placed, the Civil Disobedience movement should be strengthened and extended ; and the Congress, therefore, calls upon the people to pursue the movement with greater vigour on the lines laid down by the Working Committee in its aforesaid resolution.
4. This Congress calls upon all classes and sections of the people in the country to completely eschew foreign cloth, to give preference to Khaddar and to boycott British goods.
5. This Congress holds that no Constitution framed by the British Government, while it is engaged in conducting a campaign of ruthless repression, involving the imprisonment and internment of the most trusted leaders of the Nation and thousands of their followers, suppression of the Fundamental Rights of free speech and association, stringent restraint on the liberty of the press and replacement of the normal civil law by virtual martial law, deliberately initiated by it on the eve of Mahatma Gandhi's return from England with a view to crush the national spirit, can be worthy of consideration by or acceptable to the people of India.
- The Congress is confident that the public will not be duped by the scheme outlined in the recently published White Paper which is inimical to the vital interests of India and is devised to perpetuate foreign domination in this country.
6. This Congress offers its congratulations to the country on the successful termination of Mahatma Gandhi's fast of September, 1932, and hopes that untouchability will before long become a thing of the past.
7. This Congress is of opinion that, to enable the masses to appreciate what "Swaraj", as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. With this object in view it reiterates Resolution No. 14 of the Karachi Session of the Congress of 1931. (Resolution on Fundamental Rights).

* Resolutions of these two sessions not being available at the time could not be included in the main book.

APPENDIX II

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(As amended at the Bombay Meeting of the A.I.C.C., June, 1939)

Article I. The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by the people of India of Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Article II. The Indian National Congress will comprise :—

- (1) Primary members enrolled under Article III;
- (2) Village, Ward, Town, Taluka, Thana, Mandal, Tahsil, Subdivison, District or other local Committees;
- (3) Provincial Congress Committees;
- (4) Annual Session of the Congress;
- (5) All India Congress Committee;
- (6) Working Committee;

and may comprise (a) committees or associations directly organised by the All India Congress Committee or the Working Committee and (b) committees organised by any provincial Congress Committee in accordance with the rules framed by it in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee.

Article III. (a) Any person of the age of 18 years and over who believes in Article I shall, on making a written declaration to that effect attested by a witness and presenting an application in Form A annexed hereto and on payment of four annas, become a primary member of the Congress and be entitled to be placed on the register of Congress members kept at any office duly authorised in that behalf within the district in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business :

Provided that no person shall be a primary member of more than one committee at the same time.

(b) The application shall be handed in personally or sent by post or messenger.

(c) It shall state the full name, father's name, or in case of a married woman husband's name, age, sex, and occupation of the applicant, as also the village, the Taluka, the district and the province in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

(d) The official receiving the application shall note on it the date of receipt, serial number and such other particulars as may be prescribed and shall send it to the office of the District Congress Committee concerned for record.

(e) The applicant, on being enrolled, shall receive certificate of membership as per Form C, annexed hereto, either in the language and script of the province in which he resides or in the Hindustani language written in Devanagari or the Urdu script.

(f) Unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee the year for the membership fee shall be reckoned from January 1 to December 31 and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the course of the year,

Article IV. (a) A member of the Congress enrolled as per Article III shall continue to be a member of the Congress until he resigns or is expelled therefrom, provided he renews his application and pays on or before the 31st of August of every subsequent year the annual membership fee of four annas and obtains a certificate of membership. The application for renewal shall contain the name, the father's name or in case of a married woman husband's name and the place of residence of the applicant in the prescribed Form B. The official receiving such application for renewal and subscription shall make a note to that effect in the Register of members.

(b) The name of any member failing to make the application and to pay the annual membership fee within the prescribed time shall be removed from the register of members.

Article V. Every District Congress Committee shall maintain a permanent register of members enrolled for each constituency within the district showing the names and other particulars required by Article III (e) in which shall be noted from year to year the fact whether a renewal application has been made or not and the membership fee paid or not.

Article VI. (a) The following shall be the provinces with the head quarters mentioned against them :

Provinces	Language	Headquarters
(1) Ajmer-Merwara ..	Hindustani ..	Ajmer
(2) Andhra ..	Telugu ..	Madras
(3) Assam ..	Assamese ..	Gauhati
(4) Behar ..	Hindustani ..	Patna
(5) Bengal ..	Bengali ..	Calcutta
(6) Bombay (City) ..	Marathi and Gujrati ..	Bombay
(7) Delhi ..	Hindustani ..	Delhi
(8) Gujrat ..	Gujrati ..	Ahmedabad
(9) Karnatak ..	Kannada ..	Dharwar
(10) Kerala ..	Malayalam ..	Calicut
(11) M a h a k o s h a l	Hindustani ..	Jubbulpore
(12) Maharashtra ..	Marathi ..	Poona
(13) Nagpur ..	Marathi ..	Nagpur
(14) N. W. F. Province	Pushtu ..	Peshawar
(15) Punjab ..	Punjabi ..	Lahore
(16) Sindh ..	Sindhi ..	Karachi
(17) Tamil Nadu ..	Tamil ..	Madras
(18) United Provinces ..	Hindustani ..	Lucknow
(19) Utkal ..	Oriya ..	Cuttuck
(20) Vidharbha (Berar)	Marathi ..	Akola

(b) A Provincial Congress Committee with the previous sanction of the Working Committee shall have the power to change its headquarters from time to time.

(c) The Working Committee may, after ascertaining the wishes of the Provincial Congress Committee or Committees concerned, constitute a new province or assign to a province, a district or portions of a district from another province as also assign an Indian State or States or part or parts thereof, to any province.

Article VII. (a) No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for 12 months prior to the date of the election and only on production of a certificate of membership :

Provided however that in the case of elections to the newly formed Primary Congress Committees, a member shall be entitled to vote, even if he has been a member only for three months, for the election of the committee's office-bearers.

NOTE—The condition of 12 months continuous membership will not apply to voters in the current year i.e., 1939. To them will apply the old condition of three months continuous membership prior to the date of the elections.

(b) No member even if he is qualified under clause (a) hereof, shall be eligible for election to an office of any primary committee or to membership of any elective committee, unless he is a habitual wearer ^{wholly} of handspun and handwoven Khaddar, provided that at the time of offering himself for such elections he is not a member of any parallel committee ;

(c) No member even if he is qualified under clauses (a) and (b) shall be eligible as a delegate to the Congress or as a member of a Provincial or a District Congress Committee, unless he has been a member of the Congress for three consecutive years at the time of the election, provided that at the time of offering himself for such election he is not a member of any other parallel committee :

Provided further that it shall be open to the Executive of the Provincial Congress Committee to grant an exemption in favour of any person regarding the aforesaid qualification for elections in 1939 and 1940

(d) No person who is a member of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in the opinion of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict with those of the Congress, shall be eligible for election to any office or membership of any elective Congress Committee.

Article VIII. (a) The Executive of the Provincial Congress Committee shall unanimously or by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members, appoint yearly a Provincial Election Tribunal, no member of which shall stand as a candidate for election as a delegate or to any office or membership of an elective Congress Committee in the province, during the term of his office. The Provincial Election Tribunal shall appoint one or more persons to constitute a District Tribunal in each district, to receive and decide disputes relating to enrolment of members, preparation or maintenance of register of members and election of delegates and office-bearers and members of elective committees, provided that no person so appointed shall be a candidate for election during his term of office :

Provided that it shall not be necessary to appoint a District Tribunal in the provinces of Bombay, Delhi and Ajmere Merwara and provided further that if there is no District Tribunal appointed in any other province for any reason whatsoever, objections will be filed before and disposed of, by the Provincial Election Tribunal,

(b) If any provincial executive fails to appoint by a date specified by the Working Committee, the Provincial Election Tribunal, the Working Committee shall appoint one.

(c) No person who is a dealer in foreign cloth or British goods or who carries on trade in liquor or who is addicted to drink shall be eligible for election to an executive office or elective committee of the Congress.

Article IX. (a) The Register of members shall be brought up-to-date on or before the 15th of September every year and shall be open to inspection by any member of the Congress at the office where it is kept from 16th to 23rd September.

(b) Any person whose name is omitted from the Register of members, or who objects to the entry of any name therein, may submit an objection in writing stating the reasons for challenging such entry or omission to the District Tribunal, on or before the 20th September.

(c) The District Tribunal will, after hearing the objection and any other party concerned, may direct any name to be entered into or omitted from the Register as the case may be, on or before the 10th October

(d) The District Tribunal shall maintain a record of all proceedings before it and a copy of its order directing any amendment in the Register shall be forwarded by it to the District Congress Committee concerned and the District Congress Committee shall amend the Register where required in accordance therewith. The Register after such amendment if any, shall be final, except for any change rendered necessary by disciplinary action taken against any member by a competent authority.

Article X. (a) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall prepare a roll of its primary members qualified to vote and shall send to the A.I.C.C. Office a statement in regard to it on or before a date fixed by the Working Committee. This statement shall be in the form prescribed by the A.I.C.C. Office and shall give separately the number of urban and rural members in each district.

(b) Members included in the said roll shall alone be entitled to vote at the election of delegates in that province.

(c) In the event of a Provincial Congress Committee failing to furnish the statement in time, the province concerned may be disentitled to elect its delegates.

(d) On receipt of the aforesaid statement, the Working Committee shall fix the date by which the election of delegates must be held.

(e) Provincial Committees shall divide the Province into fixed territorial constituencies.

(f) Every province shall be entitled to return a number of delegates at the rate of one delegate for every one lac of the inhabitants of such province including the Indian States or agencies therein, or a fraction thereof, in accordance with the last Census.

Proviso I. Bombay (City) shall have a maximum quota of 25 delegates, and the province of Delhi shall have a maximum quota of 15 delegates.

(g) (i) Each district shall be entitled to elect not more than one delegate, for each lac of its population provided that for every delegate to be elected, there are not less than 500 primary members enrolled during the year.

(ii) The number of delegates remaining unallotted to the constituencies on account of the inclusion of the population of Indian States in any Province, shall be distributed by the executive of the P.C.C. concerned, in such manner as in its opinion would meet the requirements of the case, subject to the rule of minimum enrolment of 500 primary members for each delegate.

(h) The province which has not completed its election, on or before the date appointed by the Working Committee, may at the discretion of the Working Committee be disentitled to be represented at the Annual Session.

(i) A certified list of delegates shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(j) Every delegate so elected shall, on payment of a fee of Rs. 5/- at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee of his province, receive a certificate in accordance with Form D hereto annexed, duly signed by one of its Secretaries. No delegate who has not paid the fee, shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions.

Article XI. (a) It will be open to any member of the Congress within a constituency to lodge a complaint about an election within the constituency before the District Tribunal within seven days of the declaration of the result of such election and the District Tribunal shall decide the complaint.

(b) Until the election is set aside by the District Tribunal the person elected shall be deemed to have been duly elected.

(c) An appeal shall lie to the Provincial Election Tribunal against any order passed by the District Tribunal within seven days of the passing of such order. The order of Provincial Election Tribunal shall be final.

(d) The Working Committee may lay down rules for the conduct of elections and lodging and disposal of objections and complaints and appeals.

(e) The Provincial Tribunal shall on its own motion or on report by a District Tribunal, have the power to direct that any person found guilty of misconduct in connection with enrolment of members, maintenance of register of members, election or lodging of a false objection or complaint, knowing it to be so, shall be disqualified from standing as a candidate for election or be expelled from the Congress for such period as it may consider just and proper. An appeal shall lie to the Working Committee from any order passed by the Provincial Election Tribunal under this clause.

Article XII. (a) The delegates in every province shall assemble in a meeting to elect from among themselves, one-eighth of their number, as representatives of the province, on the All India Congress Committee; provided that no Province shall have less than five representatives on the All India Congress Committee, except Delhi which shall have four.

(b) The election in Sub-clause (a) shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(c) The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All India Congress Committee to the persons elected to it.

Article XIII. (a) The Provincial Congress Committee in each province shall consist of the delegates from the province. In case, the number of such delegates is less than 30, any number required to make the number of members of the Provincial Congress Committee 30, will be elected in such manner as the constitution of the province may determine, provided that in the case of Sindh and Nagpur the number may be increased by the P.C.C. to not more than 50 and in the case of Vidharbha 45 and Delhi 40. In addition to these, the President and ex-Presidents of the Congress, resident in the province and duly qualified under Articles III and VII, shall also be members of the Provincial Congress Committees.

(b) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall,

(i) subject to the general control and supervision of the All India Congress Committee, be in charge of the affairs of the Congress within its own province and to that end frame rules

- (ii) Any substantive motion not included in (i) and which 25 delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided, however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

Article XVIII. (a) The Working Committee may upon its own motion, or shall upon a joint requisition addressed to it, as provided in Article XIX (c), convene a meeting of the All India Congress Committee for considering a resolution for holding a Special Session. Such resolution shall be effective if passed by the two-thirds majority of the members present. Thereupon the Working Committee shall summon a Special Session of the Congress, at such time and place as it shall determine and the Articles of Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the Working Committee may consider necessary, provided that the delegates of the preceding session shall be the delegates for such Special Session.

(b) The President of a Special Session shall be elected by the delegates in the manner prescribed in Article XV.

Article XIX. (a) The President of the Annual Session, members of the All India Congress Committee, elected under Article XII and the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are qualified under Article III and VII, and the Treasurer of the Congress shall constitute the All India Congress Committee.

(b) The All India Congress Committee shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from session to session and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office.

(c) The All India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules, not inconsistent with this Constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress.

(d) The President of the Annual Session shall be the Chairman of the All India Congress Committee.

(e) The All India Congress Committee shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee, by not less than 24 members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the All India Congress Committee. At such meeting additional items of business may be brought up for consideration, provided due notice thereof has been given to the members. At least one full day shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by members of the A. I. C. C. in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(f) Forty or one third of the total number of members whichever is less, shall form the quorum.

(g) The All India Congress Committee shall hold office till the meeting of the new All India Congress Committee immediately before the next Annual Session.

(h) The All India Congress Committee may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such organisations as it may deem necessary, provided such organisations are calculated to further or assist the objects of the Congress.

(i) Every member of the All India Congress Committee, *ex-officio* or elected, shall pay an annual subscription of Rs 10 payable at or before the first meeting of the All India Congress Committee. Members in

default will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the All India Congress Committee, the Subjects Committee, or in any Session.

Article XX. (a) The Working Committee shall consist of the President of the Congress, thirteen members including not more than three General Secretaries appointed by the President from amongst the members of the All India Congress Committee, and a Treasurer appointed by him from amongst the delegates.

(b) The Working Committee shall be the executive authority and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the All India Congress Committee and the Congress, and shall remain responsible thereto.

(c) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting and shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the All India Congress Committee, other than those of the Working Committee, in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(d) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more inspectors to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress organisations, which shall furnish all information and give to the inspectors access to all offices and records.

(e) The Working Committee shall have the power .

- (i) to frame rules and issue instructions for the proper working of the Constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for,
- (ii) to superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees,
- (iii) to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default.

(f) The Working Committee shall pay to the Provincial Congress Committee convening the Annual Session, one-fifth of the fees recovered from the delegates, within a fortnight of the termination of the session.

(g) The Working Committee shall take steps to have a regular audit of the accounts of Provincial Congress Committees.

Article XXI. The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure.

Article XXII. (a) The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee.

(b) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the Annual or Special Session in co-operation with the Provincial Committee concerned. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the Session.

(c) The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee during their period of office and submit it, with a full account of the funds which may have come into their hands, to the meeting of the All India Congress Committee immediately before the Annual Session.

Article XXIII. The office of a delegate or a member of the All India Congress Committee or a Provincial Congress Committee shall be vacated by resignation, death or prolonged absence from India and such vacancy shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned in the

same manner in which the vacating member was chosen. A vacancy on the Working Committee shall be filled by the President.

Article XXIV. Where there is a question of considering the value of fractions, a fraction of one-half or more shall be treated as one, and less than one-half as zero.

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

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

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