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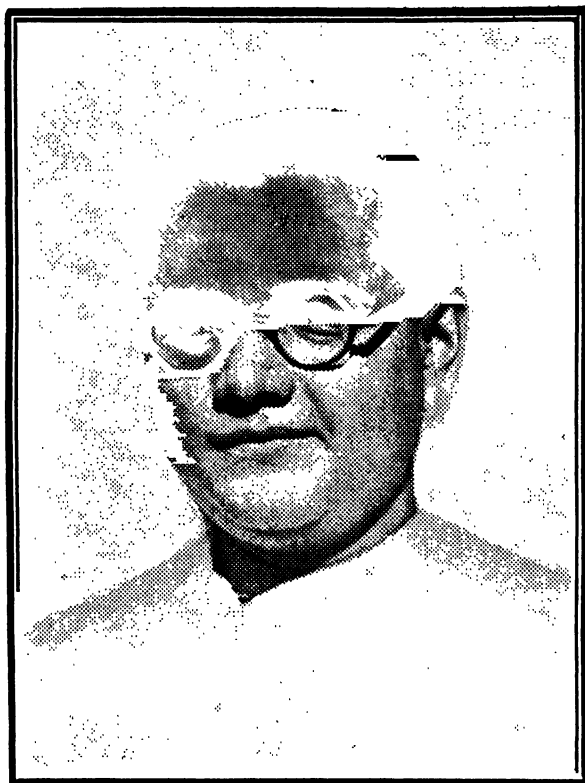
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SHRI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
President

REPORT
OF THE
51ST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
HARIPURA (DT. SURAT, GUJARAT)
1938

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VITHALNAGAR

SECTION I

PRELIMINARIES

At Faizpur Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel invited the 51st Session of the Indian National Congress to Gujarat. At that time all the Congress workers were busy with the campaign of the elections for the provincial legislatures. But as soon as the elections were over, the preparations for the Congress Session were taken up by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee in right earnest.

Gujarat had till now the good fortune of having held three Congress Sessions, all of which were held in cities; two at Ahmedabad, and one at Surat which last has become historical. This Session was, however, to be held in a village, and that too in a village which had acquired some fame for sacrifice in the Civil Disobedience movement. Moreover, all the arrangements were to be made in conformity with the Congress ideal of identification with the masses. It was therefore decided that all the food-stuffs and other things supplied should be in accordance with the principles of the All India Village Industries Association and the All India Spinners' Association. For butter, ghee and milk only cow's products were to be used.

SELECTING THE SITE

The Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee therefore appointed a Committee on 7-3-1937 to inquire and report about a place which would satisfy all the above requirements. After touring in all the districts of Gujarat, the Committee reported that either the village Ras in Kaira District, or Syadla, Afva and Haripura in Bardoli Taluka would be the most suitable. Upon this report the Provincial

Congress Committee resolved that Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel be empowered finally to select the place where the Session should be held. Sardar Vallabh-bhai after consulting Gandhiji decided that the Congress Session should be held in Bardoli Taluka in any one of the three villages mentioned above. Gandhiji on his way to Tithal spent a day at Bardoli, saw all the three sites, and after considering all the pros and cons of the different sites advised the Committee to hold the Session at Haripura on the bank of the river Tapti. The Haripura site where the Congress was held was thus finally selected in the middle of May, 1937.

At the meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee mentioned above, a resolution was passed to form a Reception Committee and to elect office-bearers from persons who enrolled themselves as members up to the 1st of August, 1937. Till then the secretaries of the G. P. C. C. were authorised to carry on the work. The secretaries of the G. P. C. C. therefore took upon themselves the task of securing lands for the Congress site. They were able to secure a large plot of land measuring about 400 acres. It should be mentioned that the owners of the lands gave them without any rent, and that of the eighteen owners thereof five were Musalmans owning 193 acres, i. e. about half of the total area. As is well known to those who have attended the Haripura Congress Session, the site selected was a very picturesque one. The whole of it was situated on the bank of the Tapti river, and a public Local Board road passed right through it. Sjt. Nandalal Bose of Shantiniketan and Mr. Kallenback, Mahatma Gandhi's intimate friend in South Africa who visited the site soon after it was selected, were very much impressed with its natural beauty and picturesque situation.

SURVEYING THE AREA

As soon as the lands were secured, the work of making a survey of the area as also of making arrangements to get materials for construction was taken up. Sjt. Ramdas Gulati B.Sc. of Satyagrah Ashram, Wardha, readily placed his services as engineer at the disposal of the Committee, and in company with Sjt. Sanmukhlal Shah, one of the Joint Secretaries, commenced the preliminary work in connection with construction. By the time the Reception Committee was formed, the area had been surveyed and interim plans were completed. The question of transporting materials for construction was also not an easy one as the nearest railway station was eleven miles away and there was no big town or bazar in the vicinity. But we had to use, as far as possible, the materials locally available, and the vicinity of Mandvi Jungles on the river Tapti afforded transport and other facilities. Thus this question was satisfactorily solved.

COMMITTEE FORMED

On 29-8-1937 a meeting of the Reception Committee was held and it elected Darbar Gopaldas Desai as the Chairman and also elected the secretaries and other office-bearers whose names are given in the appendix. A General Executive Committee was appointed for different branches of work with a director for each committee. A working committee consisting of all the office-bearers and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was also appointed to take decisions and actions in urgent cases.

The following were the Committees appointed :

1. Construction Committee.
2. Construction Material Purchase Committee.
3. General Stores and Bazar Committee.
4. Provision Supply Committee.
5. Kitchen Committee.

6. Dairy Committee.
7. Sanitation Committee.
8. Accommodation Committee.
9. Propaganda Committee.
10. Publicity Committee.
11. Hospital Committee.

The appointments of G.O.C. of volunteers and captain of lady volunteers were also made in the same meeting.

FOUNDATION CEREMONY

These committees were asked to submit their plans of work and also their budget estimates within a fortnight. After their reports and budgets were considered and passed by the General Executive Committee, the various committees commenced working. Though most of the Committees had begun their work soon after the first meeting of the R. C. was held and Sjts. Ramdas and Sanmukhlal Shah were already staying in a village near the site in connection with the work of construction, it was necessary that all the work should be done on the actual site and therefore Vijaya Dashami which fell on 15th Oct. 1937 was selected as a day for performing the foundation ceremony. The R. C. decided to name the site Vithal-Nagar after the late Shri Vithalbhai Patel. The foundation of Vithal-Nagar was laid by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in the morning of the Vijaya Dashami day, before a very large gathering of people who had come not only from neighbouring villages but also from Surat, Ahmedabad and Bombay specially for the occasion. The National Flag was hoisted on the spot where subsequently the main flag-staff was erected and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel took a salute from a band of men and women volunteers headed by their respective captains. From that day on, different office-bearers began to live in their offices on the spot.

सरदारश्री वल्लभभाई झवेरभाई पटेल



SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

RAILWAY ROUTES

An unusual attendance of delegates and visitors was expected at the Session. The nearest railway station was Madhi on the Tapti Valley line. But the T. V. Railway being a single track line, it was doubtful if it could cope with all the traffic coming by rail. There were two other stations on the B. B. & C. I. main line, viz. Kim and Navsari. But they were nearly 30 miles away from Vithal-Nagar and roads from those stations were also bad. The railways had to bring not merely passenger traffic but also a heavy goods traffic as exhibits for the exhibition and many other materials like pipes etc. for the water-works.

Negotiations were therefore started with the railway authorities to provide facilities and to see that no difficulty arose in bringing and clearing traffic of passengers and goods. The railway authorities, though they did not agree to give concessions for goods traffic except the usual ones for exhibits, decided to issue concession tickets at $1\frac{1}{2}$ fares from ten days before the Session and available for fifteen days after. Special concession tickets were also issued for workers and volunteers.

It must be said that the railway authorities did their best to cope with the situation of additional traffic. They ran special trains at the time of the Session and on special occasions. Little difficulty was experienced by persons coming through railways in getting accommodation. Higher railway officers stayed at important railway stations during Congress days, and it must be admitted that they fully co-operated with Congress authorities. So great was the traffic that the T. V. Railway had to stop goods traffic some days before the Session and convert the goods yard at Udhna into a passenger yard. They also opened a special inquiry office in the general

office's compound at Vithal-Nagar. Sjt. Mayabhai Teli was appointed as a representative of the Reception Committee to negotiate with railway companies and to deal with problems pertaining to railways. The R. C. also prepared and printed a railway route map to Vithal-Nagar. Copies of this map were freely distributed, so that intending visitors may have an idea of the easiest railway route. The R. C. appreciates the co-operation of the railway companies in this behalf.

DUST NUISANCE

The problem of traffic was, however, not to be solved by merely tackling the question of railway facilities. As already said, large distances had to be travelled from the railway stations to go to Vithal-Nagar. All these roads were in a very bad condition. Apart from the question of coping with a very heavy traffic, the problem of meeting with the dust nuisance created by this traffic was a tough one. A part of the road from Madhi to Vithal-Nagar was provincial and a part Local Board. The road from Kim to Vithal-Nagar was provincial, but the river Tapti intervened. (The road from Navsari was partly State and partly Local Board). The Government and State authorities were therefore approached and requested to put these roads in good order. The Bombay Government readily undertook to asphalt their road from Madhi and also the connecting Local Board road. Over and above they also gave a special grant to the Surat District Local Board for putting in good condition their roads which were connected with the Congress site. This made it easy for the Reception Committee to carry passengers from Madhi to Vithal-Nagar with safety and comparative comfort.

BRIDGE OVER TAPTI RIVER

The road from Kim was also repaired by the Government. The problem of bringing the passengers

across the river was tackled by the R. C. by constructing a special temporary bridge over the Tapti and making two approach roads to it from both the banks. This bridge was constructed by a local contractor, but it stood very well not only very heavy pedestrian traffic but also bus traffic of passengers and goods. The R. C. had to incur an expense of Rs. 21,620 for these roads and the bridge. But it was well compensated for, because they proved very useful to the people and were instrumental in diverting a part of the traffic as also in providing facilities to people of the area north of Vithal-Nagar. The road from Navsari, though not put in a very good condition, was also repaired by the authorities concerned as far as possible.

ROAD MAKING

Two other points were to be considered in connection with the problem of traffic. If the people residing in villages of Bardoli Taluka and other parts of the Surat District also used the above mentioned roads, the easy clearance of all railway traffic would have been difficult. The plan therefore decided upon was that the local traffic be diverted to various other roads. People residing in rural areas were therefore requested by leaflets and lectures not to use railways and buses but come either by foot or in carts. Special cart roads were made by the R. C. and a road map was prepared and its copies were circulated, showing to the people the various cart and foot ways. Signboards were also put at prominent places and turnings showing way to Vithal-Nagar. At the time of the Congress Session a very large number of villagers thus came in their carts. The R. C. provided parking ground for carts as also facilities for the supply of grass and water for the bullocks. It must be said that the people fully co-operated with the R. C. in solving the

traffic problem and they fully carried out the instructions of the Committee. The spirit of co-operation evinced by the people enabled the Committee to manage such a heavy traffic without any accident.

Some roads were to be made in Vithal-Nagar also. The work of the R. C. in this behalf was very much lightened and facilitated by Sjt. Pashabhai Patel of Baroda who was kind enough to place his brand new grader machine at the disposal of the Committee for a long time. Not only that but he sent his expert men to supervise and work the machine. The expenses of working the machine were also borne by him. It was this assistance on the part of Sjt. Pashabhai for about two months which made it possible to make the cart roads and also the roads in Vithal-Nagar. The R. C. is much obliged to him for this very important help. His men had to overwork at times even at the sacrifice of their health.

MOTOR BUSES

For motor buses the Accommodation Committee negotiated with motor-bus drivers in surrounding districts and on fixed terms requisitioned nearly 500 buses from Gujarat and Khandesh. They also arranged for the supply of petrol and fixed the rates of hire between different places. The passengers had not therefore to suffer any hardship for conveyance.

POST, TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE

Arrangements about the postal, telegraphic and telephonic facilities were thought of as soon as the R. C. was formed. In the beginning of September the Director of Government Telegraphs visited the site and all the requirements of the R. C. were explained to him and the terms settled. A camp Post Office was started at Vithal-Nagar on the 15th of November 1937 and it continued up to the 7th of March 1938.

A telegraph branch was opened on 16th December 1937, and a telephone branch on 16th January 1938. The area of Vithal-Nagar being very vast contact was established with different departments through telephones. It was possible to ring up persons in any part of the country and the world from Vithal-Nagar. The authorities gave good co-operation to the R. C. and the R. C. records its appreciation for it.

WATER-WORKS

The two most important items that engaged the attention of the office-bearers of the R. C. were water-supply and lighting. This work was specially entrusted by the R. C. to Sardar Vallabhbhai and at his request the municipality of Ahmedabad and the Hindustan Construction Company took upon themselves the work of water-supply. It was found necessary that a regular water-works like that of a small city would have to be constructed. The supply of water was to be taken from the river by percolation. For this purpose two reinforced concrete wells with a capacity of supplying a lac of gallons of water per hour were constructed. This work along with two cement concrete underground storage tanks with sump pits etc. was taken up by the Hindustan Construction Company at their own cost. They sent their men and under the supervision of Sjt. Bapubhai Patel the engineer, the work was finished. Sjt. Bilimoria of the Hindustan Construction Company inspected the operations off and on. The Company also supplied some of the pipes for water-works.

All the other items connected with water-works were taken up by Sjt. Malik, the then engineer of the Ahmedabad Municipality, on its behalf. He sent all the pumping machinery as also necessary pipes and the other materials that were required. The

whole arrangement of the water-works was executed and run by the staff of the Ahmedabad Municipality specially lent for the purpose.

The magnitude of the water-works of Vithal-Nagar will be realised when it will be known that each of the two wells constructed in the river bed had an internal diameter of 20 ft. and that it was easily able to cope with a consumption of 90 thousand gallons of water per hour. It should here be mentioned that this was the maximum consumption on the noon of the 21st day of the open Session. During the Congress week the consumption ranged from 20 to 40 thousand gallons per hour. In all 8 centrifugal pumps, four each with a capacity of delivering 40,000 gallons per hour and the other four each with a capacity of delivering 20,000 gallons per hour, were installed on the water-works though all the pumps were not required to be used. We take this opportunity of expressing thanks to the firm of Mangalbhai Jethabhai and Laxmi Vijay Iron Works, Ahmedabad, for kindly lending their engines and pumps. The total length of all the mains and pipes was 31,400 ft. i.e. about six miles. In all 1,135 taps were put for the supply of water through these pipes. The water drawn from the wells was stored in two storage tanks each of which had a capacity to store 70,000 gallons of water. These tanks also were constructed by the Hindustan Construction Company. There were two delivery mains of the diameter of 8 and 12 inches respectively laid from the wells to a delivery pit near the storage tank. In this pit the water was chlorinated and then was discharged into the tanks. Both the tanks were connected to a cement lined sump pit of 7 ft. diameter. From this sump pit the water was pumped into an iron tank of the size of 12' x 12' x 12' with holding capacity of 10,000 gallons, placed on a stand 50 ft. high. The water-works began to supply water from

18-1-1938 and it was closed on 18-3-1938. During this period the total quantity of water consumed was 1,24,00,000 gallons. Main pipes of 8" to 16" diameter were lent by the Indian Hume Pipe Company Ltd., Bombay. The laying and removing of pipes was also done by them. We express our thanks to the Company for this.

The arrangements of the water-works were so perfect that nobody had even the slightest complaint to make about its water-supply. The whole credit of this success should go to the Municipality of Ahmedabad. As already mentioned, not only did they supply us with men and materials but they charged only moderate rates for the things supplied by them.

The R. C. cannot too adequately express its thanks to Sjt. Malik for the help rendered by him. The project of water-works was of course, carried on under his guidance and supervision. But in many other matters also he assisted the Committee by his valuable advice. We may also mention that the success of the water-works was mainly due to the sincerity and zeal with which the staff of the Ahmedabad Municipality did their work. Our thanks are also due to the Hindustan Construction Company and their staff who helped us in a number of ways.

LIGHTING

The problem of lighting was also not a less serious one. Here also, at the request of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Messrs Killick Nixon and Co. of the Surat Electricity Company Ltd. volunteered to supply electric energy upto 250 K. Wts. from their power station at Surat free of charge, and to lay down the line from Surat to Vithal-Nagar by charging only out of pocket expenses. This task also was not an easy one as a line of more than 30 miles passing through British and State territories had to be erected within a very short time. They supplied energy not

merely for electric lights in the Nagar but also to work the pumps of the water-works. The Company and its officers were put to great strain to collect necessary materials and to execute the work in time. However, the work was so well and conscientiously done that perfect satisfaction was given and the R. C. had not to complain about any interruption. The R. C. fully appreciates this, much more so when it was able to prevail upon the Company, through Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, to accept Rs. 11,000 for their bill of Rs. 18,261. The wiring of the Nagar was done by the Excelsior Co., Bomay. This also was a very big work, as 9,112 lights in an area two miles long and three fourths of a mile in breadth were put. They also did their work sincerely and satisfactorily. During the Congress Sessions there was a terrible wind and dust storm for two days, but the staff of Killick Nixon Company and the Excelsior Electric Company did work with such wonderful care and alacrity that nowhere the current failed. Roof mats were blown away from a number of huts, but the electric wires were promptly removed from such places and no case of any hurt or damage occurred. The whole electric department was under the supervision of Sjt. Nandlal Shah whose expert knowledge was of considerable help in facilitating this work. Over and above this arrangement, we had to resort to the use of patromax lamps for out of the way places due to long distances in the Nagar. About 200 patromax lights were used.

DAIRY (COWS)

Arrangements about cow's milk, butter and ghee were entrusted to Sjt. Narhari Parikh who is in charge of the Gaushala at Sabarmati. He with the help of Sjts. Dinkar Pandya and Panalal Zaveri, both of whom had very good knowledge and experience of dairy work, began this work from May 1937. It was found that

cow's ghee was not available in the Surat District and also that there were not enough cows in Bardoli Taluka to supply the required quantity of milk. They therefore decided to purchase cows and induce the village people to buy and keep them. For milk and ghee the exclusive use of cow's products was decided upon as a propaganda for cow-keeping. It was contemplated that the milk of cows, purchased by the people would be available at the time of the Congress Session. They also decided that 500 cows should be purchased on behalf of the R. C. and that a regular exhibition should be made of them, showing all the improved methods of cow-keeping and the different uses of milk. An appeal for fifty thousand rupees for this work was issued under the signatures of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Darbar Gopaldas, a person giving one hundred rupees to be considered to have donated one cow. On the whole Rs. 37,934-10-9 were subscribed towards this. It was mentioned in the appeal that the amount of sale-proceeds of the cows purchased for the Congress Dairy would be utilised for the improvement of cow-breed and other cow-service work in Gujarat.

On account of bad agricultural season, the response of the village people to purchase cows was not adequate. So the R. C. began to purchase cows, on their own behalf, from November. By the end of January the full number of five hundred was completed. It was not easy to get good cows in required numbers. So workers with knowledge of the quality and type of cows were sent to purchase cows from all parts of Gujarat. They toured all parts of North Gujarat and Kathiawad where good cows are available, and after a search of about three months secured the requisite number of cows.

The milk of these cows was converted into ghee for being used at the time of the Congress. It

should be mentioned that a kitchen for workers was started in the beginning of November, and only cow's products were used therein. The number of workers in this kitchen began with 150 and rose to 9,000 at one time. Later on it was thought that perhaps the quantity of milk produced from these cows would not suffice for the Congress Session. Condensed milk was therefore made from this milk and tinned. 300 tins of 48 lbs. each of condensed milk were thus kept ready. The yield of milk from these cows during Congress days was from 4,500 to 5,000 lbs. a day. Not only was this milk used in the Congress kitchen, but it was also sold to delegates and others who wanted it. To tackle the problem of ghee, besides turning all the surplus milk of the Congress dairy into ghee, we opened a centre in Matar Taluka where cow's milk was purchased and turned into ghee. Thus we had about 120 tins of 36 lbs. each of cow's ghee manufactured under our direct supervision. But this quantity was far short of our estimated requirement. So workers were sent to Kathiawad and North Gujarat to purchase cow's ghee, with instructions to take all possible precautions to get genuine cow's ghee. In order that no adulterated stuff may creep in, they purchased ghee directly from the producers i. e. such herds-men and peasants who kept cows only, to the exclusion of buffaloes and goats. Cow's ghee being not a readily available article in the market and apprehending any shortage, we thought it safe to keep an extra stock, and for that purpose our representative was sent to Rajputana and the Punjab to make additional purchases. Thus we could freely use cow's ghee in the Congress kitchen from the very beginning up to the end. We take this opportunity of expressing our thanks to various states of Gujarat and Kathiawad which allowed cows and cow's ghee to be exported from their territory free of export duty.

Cows began to attract good attention from the time they were kept on the Congress site. The Cow Exhibition attracted a large number of peasants and awakened in them a keen interest for cow-breeding. As the cow serves a dual purpose in as much as it supplies bullocks as well as milk, cow-keeping is more in confirmity with the village economy than buffalo-keeping. After the session was over these cows were sold to *bona fide* agriculturists throughout the district. The R. C. realised Rs. 13,110 from the sale of these cows. This amount together with donations of Rs. 3,402 in kind, i.e. in all a sum of Rs. 16,512 is set apart for the improvement of the cow-breed and other cow-service work in Gujarat.

FOOD SUPPLY — PREPARATIONS

The problem of using all the articles in the kitchen in accordance with the principles of the All India Village Industries' Association was also not easy, on account of the very heavy rush that was expected. Preparation of these also was, therefore, taken up early. Food-stuff like rice, wheat, sesame (*Til*), pulses and even condiments were, therefore, purchased in large quantities and husked, grounded or pressed through hand-processes on the spot, under the supervision of trained Congress workers. Nearly 4,200 maunds of rice, 4,000 maunds of wheat flour, 1,150 maunds of pulses, 1,275 maunds of oil, and 400 maunds of condiments were thus prepared. Over and above these, some additional stock was prepared and stocked elsewhere. To meet any emergency three flour-mills worked by bullocks were purchased and kept working in the Cow Exhibition area. They are all sold off and many enquiries are made as to where such ones could be got from. In one of the *ashramas* of Bardoli Taluka (at Madhi) some oilmen were prevailed upon to bring their *ghanis*. It was a sight worth seeing; the *ghanis* being worked by bullocks

with the National Flag on their horns. Many press correspondents who visited Vithal-Nagar where the work was proceeding were greatly attracted by them and took photographs and published them in newspapers. Many people thronged in large numbers at Vithal-Nagar when the work was going on. Thus this work on the spot acted as a propaganda. Besides, a very large number of labourers who would have had no work in that off season got employment here. In all Rs. 7,000 were distributed as labour charges in this department. Gandhiji suggested that in all the hotels and tea-stalls in the Nagar, only cow's milk and ghee and provisions prepared according to Village Industries principles should be used. If this suggestion was to be put into practice, it was necessary that the provisions and milk etc. should be supplied to all the hotels by the R. C. This was a difficult and risky job, as it was very difficult to ascertain the requirements beforehand. To keep control over all the hotels and shops and to prevent smuggling was even more difficult. So after full deliberation the R. C. decided to confine the restriction only to the Congress kitchens.

KITCHEN

It is necessary to give here some idea of the Congress kitchen. The Congress site was so situated that it would not have been possible for any person visiting the Congress Session, to get boarding and lodging facilities anywhere else. This contingency was foreseen and it was intended that facilities for both should be made available to as many persons as possible. The kitchen was so constructed that the dining halls were kept on both sides of the cooking place. There were 18 halls in all, parallel to each other. Each of the halls could accommodate five hundred persons at a time. So in the Central kitchen nine thousand persons could take their food

simultaneously. In the Peasants' kitchen there was similar accommodation for 8,000 persons. To give facilities to persons of other provinces a Madrasi and a Punjabi kitchen were also opened. The total number of meals served by the kitchen comes to five lacs. The highest number that dined on one day at one time was 25,000, though we should say that the number that took advantage of the kitchen was far short of our expectation. This may be due to the fact that the kitchen was at a considerable distance from the Congress pandal and the Exhibition grounds. The kitchen had to be thus located because the Congress site was lengthwise; but our experience is that it is convenient in a number of ways to keep the kitchen as near as possible to the Congress pandal and the Exhibition grounds. The kitchen arrangements were entrusted to Sjt. Ravjibhai Manibhai Patel of Kaira.

Mention must here be made of a bakery that was started at Vithal-Nagar. This work was taken up by the managers of Anavil Bakery of Surat. Varieties of biscuits, bread, *khatai*, cakes and other things were made in this bakery from hand-pounded flour and without the use of any animal or intoxicating ferment. The products of this bakery were highly appreciated by all the Congress leaders as well as the general public. The products of this bakery were given for breakfast and with tea. The Anavil Bakery of Surat must be thanked for enabling the R. C. to prove that it was possible to run a bakery with hand-made products.

It has been our experience, and we think it is the experience in all previous Sessions, that the job of catering for the varied dietary tastes and requirements of persons from all provinces of India is a really trying one. In spite of considerable expense and trouble on the kitchen, people do not get proper satisfaction. Two remedies suggest

themselves to us. One is to provide separate kitchens for different provinces. The other is to invent a common diet, which should be ideal from the point of view of its nutritive value, should be, in the matter of cost, commensurate with the economic condition of our people, and should comprise of such articles to which persons from different provinces might find it easy to adjust their tastes. We may call such diet a national diet and once it is fixed persons who have to attend national gatherings can cultivate a taste for that.

NATIONAL DIET

The first remedy of providing separate kitchens does not commend itself to us. But we feel it is high time that we evolve a national diet for us. If a committee of expert dieteticians is appointed by the A. I. C. C. to solve this problem it will be a veritable boon to the inviters of Congress Sessions in future and to all organisers of national gatherings.

ACCOMMODATION

Over and above delegates and workers, whose number alone was above ten thousand, accommodation was provided for a very large number of visitors. Facilities were given to get a block reserved for six persons, so that those who wanted to stay together could do so. Some blocks were reserved for persons coming with families. Accommodation began to be reserved from the month of December and information was given by post, of the number of the block or blocks reserved for them. Offices of the accommodation department were opened at the entrance of the Nagar on both the sides as also in the middle to direct the visitors. Thus no visitor was put to any hardship in finding his or her place of residence in the Nagar. Responsible workers and volunteers worked at Madhi, Bardoli, Kim, Navsari and Vyara stations to direct the visitors and to get

seats for them in the buses. Every block was supplied with an electric light, two mats and an earthen vessel for keeping drinking water. Baths were provided between a certain number of blocks and hot water was also provided. Responsible office bearers of the R. C., members of the legislature, and responsible Congressmen were placed in charge of looking to the comforts of delegates and visitors. As the Nagar was rectangular and very long, a special bus service was run in the Nagar. On the whole nearly 17,000 (delegates and visitors) persons were accommodated. This department was in charge of Sjt. Kalyanji V. Mehta, and he managed it very efficiently.

Besides visitors' and delegates' quarters there were 225 family huts. Each hut had two rooms of 12'x12', a verandah of 12'x6' and a bath-room of 6'x6' with a separate latrine. More than six persons were not allowed to stay in one such hut. Cooking was strictly prohibited in delegates' and visitors' camp as also in the family huts: but it was found necessary to give some facility for preparing special food for persons of delicate or indifferent health. So 40 extra family huts were constructed with kitchen arrangements. The rent for such a hut was fixed at Rs. 150 whereas for ordinary family hut the rent was Rs. 100. It goes without saying that all these huts were occupied and there was demand for many more. The total income derived from the rent of all residential quarters was Rs. 96,000 and odd. Special huts were prepared for Gandhiji, the Congress President, members of the Working Committee, provincial ministers and other distinguished visitors. A small kitchen was also run in this area for them.

VILLAGERS' CAMP AND KITCHEN

A special feature of the Haripura Session was its Villagers' Camp and kitchen. If the object of holding Congress Sessions in villages was to be fulfilled, it

was necessary that cheap residential and dining facilities should be given to the people of villages. Sjt. Ravishanker Vyas, a veteran worker of Gujarat, volunteered to undertake this work. He toured in the villages of the Surat District, prevailed upon the cultivators to contribute at least one maund (40 lbs.) of hand-pounded rice and 10 lbs of hand-husked pulses each, towards this kitchen. He was thus able to collect 5,000 maunds (one maund—40 lbs.) of rice and pulses. In his tour he also secured a good number of peasants to work as volunteers in this kitchen. He thus ran this kitchen for three days of the Session and supplied food at a cheap rate of one anna and six pies for a meal. The food given consisted of rice, dal, vegetable and ghee. Peasants, coming not only from Gujarat but from other provinces also, took advantage of this kitchen.

Similarly in the Villagers' Camp residential accommodation was provided for about twenty thousand persons. At first nothing was intended to be charged for it. But subsequently, for the sake of management, it was decided to reserve a block accommodating two hundred persons on fifty rupees only i. e. four annas per head. Separate blocks were therefore reserved for a taluka, district or province in the name of the Congress Committee. All possible facilities, such as of light, water, mats etc. were provided for in this camp.

DRINKING WATER STANDS

Though there were water taps at many places it was thought necessary to provide cool drinking water to visitors moving about in the Nagar. An appeal was made for donations for hundred such water stands to supply cool drinking water. The amount fixed being Rs. 25 for each stand, the response was prompt and full.

BAZARS

There were three bazars in the Nagar, one in the Zanda Chawk, one opposite the Exhibition and the pandal and one opposite the delegates' and visitors' camp. There were in all 375 shops in these bazars, selling a good variety of things. Even food was available to those who did not want to avail themselves of the Congress kitchen. There was a hotel for non-vegetarians also in the bazar. In some shops good residential facilities were provided. Washermen and barbers were specially requisitioned and they had also their shops in the bazar.

SANITATION

Whenever there is to be a large gathering of people arrangements have to be made for preserving proper hygienic and sanitary conditions. The arrangements made in this behalf at all Congress Sessions have been highly spoken of. The problem at Vithal-Nagar was, however, peculiar. In the first place the area was about six times larger than that ordinarily occupied at previous Sessions. This area again was lengthwise. Great distances had to be travelled. There was a creek on the southern side of the Nagar. This creek, though it proved very useful for the discharge of the drain water, had one serious defect. Its water remained stagnant after monsoon, and was a breeding place for mosquitoes. Besides, a fairly large population of workers and labourers began to stay in the Nagar so early as November. So the sanitary work had to be commenced early.

This department was in charge of Sjt. Jugatram Dave, a well-known Congress village worker of long standing. He collected volunteers of whom 110 were women and 1,254 were men. We are glad to note that the bulk of these volunteers came from educational institutions of Gujarat; 711 being students, 114 being teachers. Some of them were

graduates. Backward communities like the Raniparaj, Halpaties and Harijans also contributed their mite. Their number was 202 men volunteers and 42 women volunteers. A majority of them were of course from villages. At all Congress Sessions, the work of scavenging is not done through paid workers, but is done by volunteers. To achieve success, the workers must be actuated by a real sense of service. They must also have a keen sanitary sense. The committee, therefore, paid attention to these requisites in selecting volunteers and emphasised them in the course of their training. The efficient sanitary arrangements testified that the workers were possessed of these qualities and were imbued with a spirit of service.

PROPAGANDA

No sanitary work is possible without the active co-operation of the people. At a place where a large majority of people are to come from villages, amongst whom sanitary sense is not fully awakened, the difficulty is greater. It was therefore thought necessary to appoint a separate committee with Sjt. Chimanlal Bhatt as its director, to educate the people about sanitary principles as also to acquaint them with the Congress activities and do other propaganda for the coming Session. The committee moved in the villages of the Surat District, explained to them the benefits of observing sanitary rules and how to observe them. The committee also spent some time at night with the labourers who stayed at Vithal-Nagar for this. The work of propaganda was very well conceived and it was instrumental in no small degree for the preservation of proper sanitary conditions at the time of the session.

The latrine arrangements were the usual trench ones. Trenches were dug and removable structures

made of *ballies*, bamboos and bamboo mats placed over them. Heaps of dry earth were kept near the trenches. As soon as a trench was full at a particular place, the structure was removed to another place. Early every morning, the volunteers examined all the urinals and latrines, put additional dry earth near them and removed those that had their pits filled up. Bleaching powder also was used as a germicide. Latrines were put at corners in different camps, while urinals were put throughout the Nagar at short distances. One latrine for 25 staying or 50 floating population and one urinal for 50 staying or 100 floating population were provided for. Scavenging was done during small hours of the early morning and finished before daybreak.

The work of the committee began as early as November when some workers and labourers began to stay on the site. It began by clearing of the shrubs and herbs round about the creek mentioned above and destroying of mosquito beds. Crude kerosine oil mixed with carbonic acid and other germicide was thrown over the stagnant water of the creek. The committee was thus able to destroy mosquitoes completely. In the beginning there were some attacks of malaria. The committee was assisted in its work by the Health Department of the Surat Municipality. The R. C. fully appreciates this help. A number of posters, handbills and pamphlets giving instructions about proper observance of sanitary rules were printed and posted at prominent places in the Nagar and freely distributed amongst the visitors. Some of the work that sanitary volunteers had to do was such as would impair their health. Particularly the work of keeping the creek free from pollution and also safe from breeding mosquitoes was risky.

Regular gargle drill of salt water and other antiseptics was practised daily in the camp and the motherly care of Smt. Gangaben Vaidya of the Vallabh

Vidyalaya, Bochasan, who was in charge of sanitary volunteers' camp hospital, stood them in good stead.

During the Congress week, these volunteers had to exert themselves beyond their normal capacity. Even during the duststorm that attacked the Nagar during the week, they had to work in the early morning and late at night and this resulted in throat affection in case of almost all. But their high sense of duty made them stick to their posts and they kept the Nagar quite clean and decent against heavy odds.

DRAINAGE

A regular drainage was constructed in the Nagar for carrying away dirty water. Cement concrete pipes were specially prepared for this. These pipes and also some stone-slabs were prepared on the spot by Sjt. Ashabhai Lallubhai of Ras, another veteran Congress worker of Gujarat. They were made from cement and thin gravel. The gravel was available in the bed of the river. Cement concrete pipes of the length of 7,000 running feet and various sizes ranging from 4" to 12" in diameter were laid underground and open channels for drainage were in all 75,000 feet long. The Associated Company was kind enough to give free of charge 220 tons of cement. It was from this cement that besides these pipes and stoneslabs the supply wells and storage tanks of the water-works were also constructed. The R. C. is highly obliged to the Associated Cement Company for this contribution.

HOSPITAL

The R. C. had from the beginning decided to arrange for the best possible hospital and medical arrangement. A regular camp hospital was built with an accommodation for sixty indoor patients with two wards, one for 50 men and another for 10 women. A separate isolation ward was also built as also

residential quarters for doctors, nurses, compounders etc. The hospital was fitted with the best possible equipment. There was arrangement even for minor operations. The Surat Municipality kindly placed its ambulance car at the disposal of the Congress and a corps of eight with Sjt. Bhasker Rao Setalwad as captain came from Ahmedabad and volunteered their services. This corps and the car were very useful for bringing patients from various camps to the hospital and also for taking them to some railway station in case they needed to be removed to a regular city hospital. Ayurvedic and homoeopathic sections were also attached to the hospital.

A committee consisting of two, Dr. Ghia as the medical officer in charge and Dr. Apte as director was appointed to organize and look to this department. They were able to secure honorary services of 33 doctors and Vaidyas and 15 compounders. They also secured the services of two consultants from Bombay, Dr. K. G. Munshiff F. R. C. S. (London) and Dr. M. J. Shah, M. R. C. P. (London). They gave their services to the hospital for one week from the 15th to 22nd February. The nurses, clerks, ward keepers, both men and women, were taken from the two volunteer organizations—sanitary and general. The committee also secured a good stock of medicine free of charge.

A cold wave and duststorm came during this period. The cold wave resulted in attacks of influenza. These attacks were not restricted to Vithal-Nagar but were found throughout Gujarat and Bombay. On account of this the pressure on the hospital increased and it was thought advisable to put some competent person in charge of the nursing section. Sjt. Parixital Majmudar, the secretary of the Gujarat Harijan Sevek Sangh was requested to take up this work. He willingly did so. Sjt. Parixital is a very well known, old Congress social worker. By h

amiable nature and winning manners and love of service, he endeared himself to all and gave a touch of love and sympathy to the whole work. All those who took advantage of the hospital had nothing but praise and blessings for Sjt. Parixital and his band of workers. Their contribution towards the success of the hospital was not small.

It is already mentioned that some people began to stay at Vithal-Nagar from November. As the number increased a need for temporary hospital was felt. It was therefore started in the beginning of January. Dr. Padhya L.C.P.S. worked as a resident doctor from January upto the end. The R. C. records its appreciation of his services.

In addition, the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works offered their services and two first aid hospitals: one at C bazar near the villagers' camp and opposite the camps of delegates and visitors, and the other in the Zanda Chawk, were opened by them under the Congress Camp Hospital. They also sent two of their doctors, Dr. Choudhary and Dr. Munshi to work in these hospitals and also to assist in the general medical relief work. These hospitals and doctors proved very useful. The R. C. is specially thankful to the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works for a very large quantity of medicines and injections supplied by them free of cost, for the use of the Congress hospital. Some of these were of their make and others they purchased for the R. C. The R. C. on the whole got free medicines worth about four thousand rupees. From this, medicines worth Rs. 2200 were received from the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works alone. They also lent their furniture worth nearly Rs. 1500 for the use of the Congress hospital. The help of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works was highly appreciated by the R. C. The R. C. is indeed obliged to them for lightening their burden.

The work of medical relief on such an extensive scale was successfully carried out because of the selfless work and real zeal for service on the part of doctors and other workers who were kind enough to give their services to the R. C. Had it not been for that we would not have been able to give adequate relief. The R. C. fully appreciates their services. The R. C. is specially obliged to the two Bombay consultants, who at the sacrifice of their lucrative practice, spent a week at Vithal-Nagar at a time when they were most needed. Thanks are also due to the members of the Ahmedabad ambulance corps. The total number of patients treated at the out door was 23,597 at the Allopathic dispensary, 399 at the Homeopathic dispensary, and 762 at the Ayurvedic dispensary. The total number of indoor patients treated was 178.

Dr. Jivraj Mehta of Bombay and the Hon. Dr. Gilder, minister for public health, Govt. of Bombay, visited the hospital and were completely satisfied with the arrangements.

SAD DEATHS

We must here make a note of some sad deaths that took place during the period. A sad incident took place of a boy volunteer Natvarlal of Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad who was drowned while taking his bath in the river Tapti. Efforts were immediately made to save him, but they proved futile. Strict precautions were taken afterwards. The whole bank of the river was guarded, marks showing danger line were put in the river and guards were kept with instructions to see that no person crossed the danger line.

Unfortunately the cold wave that swept over Gujarat and Bombay took its toll in the Nagar. The first victim was Pandit Narayan Moreswar Khare of the Sabarmati Ashram. Panditji had come to Vithal-Nagar in connection with music arrangements.

He was suffering from acute bronchitis and a weak heart when he came to the Nagar from Sabarmati. He was caught by influenza here which developed into pneumonia, and in spite of the best medical and nursing assistance collapsed. Panditji was the representative of national music in Gujarat. The loss that Gujarat suffered by his death is irreparable. Another death took place of Sjt. Navnitlal who had come to work as compounder. Sjt. Venilal Balubhai, one of the hon. treasurers of the R. C., was also attacked by pneumonia. He was removed to Surat where he subsequently died at the young age of thirty seven. In Sjt. Venilal the Reception Committee and the District lost a very young energetic and promising worker. He had taken upon himself the work of collecting funds for the R. C. in Surat city and looked to its account side. Over and above these the following got attacks and died either at Vithal-Nagar or at their homes after leaving Vithal-Nagar.

1. Sjt. Dhirubava Ishwarbava of Vansda.
2. Sjt. Gopalji Bhanabhai Desai of Vyara.
3. Sjt. Rasvan of Vedchhi.
4. Sjt. Ghelabhai Kasanji of Tarbhon.

The R. C. takes this opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the selfless services of these workers who died in harness, and offers their hearty condolences to the friends and relatives of the deceased in their bereavement.

VOLUNTEERS

The volunteers' organisation is a very important one at all Congress Sessions. Two types of volunteers are generally required, one general and the other sanitary. The R. C. of the Haripura Congress, however, decided to create a third type also, viz. that of kitchen volunteers. At its first meeting, the R. C. appointed Sjt. Harivadan Thakor as the

G. O. C. and Shrimati Mridula Sarabhai as the captain of lady volunteers. Both these are young, energetic and enthusiastic Congress workers of Gujarat for a long time.

No sooner was the appointment made, the G. O. C. together with the captain of the lady volunteers drew up a scheme of recruitment and training. It was estimated that about six thousand volunteers would be required, three thousand for general work, one thousand for sanitary work and two thousand for kitchen work. The actual number came to 6,652. A majority of these volunteers were recruited from villages and the Surat District contributed nearly half the force. We had also decided to set up this organization with as little cost as possible. The first rule, therefore, that was made was that every volunteer had to pay for his or her uniform and to bear the expenses of travelling. The railway authorities agreed to issue concession tickets for volunteers at $1\frac{1}{2}$ fares for both journeys.

The volunteers needed training, but the expenses and trouble of training all the volunteers at one particular place would be prohibitive. A batch of hundred persons was therefore trained as instructors who would give training to the volunteers at different centres. Such a class was opened on the 21st of November 1937 at Rayam in Bardoli Taluka, at the hands of the Hon. Sjt. Morarji Desai, Revenue Minister to the Government of Bombay. Sixty men and thirty women instructors were trained in this class by qualified experts in this work. This class was closed in the middle of December.

A pledge was drawn up for those who wished to be enrolled as volunteers and applications invited. Training centres numbering about 100 were opened throughout Gujarat and Kathiawar where a fortnight's training was generally given. Training was imparted

to 2,600 men and 800 women volunteers. This work lasted upto the middle of January. During this period the G. O. C. and the captain of the lady volunteers constantly toured the area and inspected training centres. They also did recruiting work. A few volunteers came from other provinces of India and they formed into an inter-provincial batch. Barring this number the total number of general volunteers was 2,800 men, 880 women. The above figures show that the bulk of volunteers received previous training. The R. C. had not to incur any expenses on that score. They were borne by the local people.

The mobilization of volunteers began from the 1st of February. By the tenth most of them had joined their duties. The delegates' and visitors' camp was declared open from the 11th February.

The work that the volunteers had to cope with was tremendous. They had to guard a site which was two miles long and half a mile in breadth. They had to guard from abuse and pollution the bed of the river equally vast. They had to look after the Exhibition. They had to attend at the four railway stations. The bridge also was in their charge. They had to see that proper cleanliness and sanitary conditions were preserved in all bazars. The control of traffic in the Nagar was also in their charge.

The efficient way in which the volunteers did their work was evident from the fact that though there was an unprecedented traffic not a single accident took place during the whole period. Another instance is that of theft and pickpocketing. In the beginning for about a day and half many cases of pickpocketing took place. But the volunteers cleverly traced out all the pickpockets and kept such a close watch upon them that their trade became impossible. They were also able to restore

most of the stolen property. It may be mentioned that the head-quarters of the police were two miles distant from the Nagar. We had decided that the entire management in the Nagar should be in the hands of the volunteers without the assistance of the police in any way. And the volunteers did their labour of love so efficiently that not a single policeman had any occasion to enter the Nagar during the whole period of the Session.

LADY VOLUNTEERS

A special word must be said about the lady workers of Gujarat. Three prominent ladies of Gujarat held the position of vice-chairman of the R. C. They rendered good assistance in the provision supply and kitchen department. About 100 ladies worked as volunteers in the kitchen department; an equal number worked in the sanitation department. Under the able captainship of Shrimati Mrudula Sarabhai the General Lady Volunteer Corps rendered good account of themselves. It may be noted here that lady volunteers' camp was a model of perfect arrangement and efficiency. Apart from the general duty, lady-volunteers were mainly in charge of the Subjects Committee pandal and leaders' quarters. The major part of the Exhibition was also in their charge. They proved that if given proper opportunity ladies show remarkable capacity both for organization and sustained work.

CONSTRUCTION

Of all the works the first brunt fell upon the construction department. The gigantic nature of construction can only be realised by those who had visited Vithal-Nagar. Apart from the work of surveying and planning, a vast area of about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a sq. mile was to be cleared. Huge quantities of materials

were to be collected at a place where they were not ordinarily available. The problem of procuring labourers, artisans etc. was not small. No skilled labour was available in the vicinity of Vithal-Nagar.

It is not an exaggeration to say that such a well-planned Nagar was possible to be constructed on account of Sjt. Ramdas Gulati, who, as has been already mentioned, readily agreed to undertake the work and was in harness from May 1937 to the end of February 1938. He had to so over-work himself that his health suffered. He endeared himself to all by his sociability and amiable manners. His devotion to duty was an object lesson to all workers. The R. C. cannot thank him too much for his contribution towards the success of the Haripura Congress.

Sjt. Sanmukhlal Shah, one of the joint secretaries, was in charge of the construction department. He helped Sjt. Ramdas from the very commencement and continued till the work of dismantling the Nagar and disposing of materials was finished in April 1938. Sjt. Ramdas was assisted by Sjt. Kanjibhai H. Patel in the engineering department. The R. C. thanks Sjt. Kanjibhai for his sincere assistance.

The work of procuring materials had also to be attended to very early. A very large quantity of *bullies*, bamboos and bamboo-mats was required. In the absence of any bazar near by, the problem of getting these materials cheap was not small. The committee thought over this question and decided to get materials from the forest area in the vicinity of the Mandvi Taluka opposite the Nagar. The committee was able to arrange it through Sjt. Premshanker Bhatt, a leading Congress worker of Mandvi. A major portion of *bullies* and bamboos were procured in that way and they were brought along the river Tapti in rafts. The sight of these rafts coming floating in huge quantities along the river was a sight worth seeing and many visitors took

photographs of it. For other materials the committee was assisted by Sjt. Maganbhai Shankarbhai Patel, another known worker of Gujarat,

The construction committee had also to look to the construction of water-works, and the drainage system of the Nagar. They had also to clear the area and cover it with roads. Such huge work was not possible without a large number of selfless workers. The committee was fortunate in getting such workers, their number being 173. They began the work as early as the middle of November. We had decided to employ indigenous labour, belonging to the *Raniparaj* (Forest tribes) community residing in the surrounding country-side. They were not accustomed to such sort of work and were unskilled. But the workers overcame this difficulty by first training the labourers and then giving work to them on piece-work basis. If this course were not followed the cost of construction would have been much greater. In all Rs. 55,717-10-8 were distributed as labour charges in construction, bulk of which went to *Raniparaj* people. It may be noted here that meetings were often held in the labourers' camps explaining to the labourers the value of abstinence from drink, observance of cleanliness and use of Khadi. Over and above this, these people got by way of labour a very large amount of money in road repairs done by Public Works Department and Local Boards. According to the lowest estimate the labourers must have earned more than a lac of rupees from various works.

The construction of all the camps and the bazars was planned in such a way that ideal sanitation may be easily observed. To prevent any insanitation round about the Nagar no person was allowed to have any shop or make any construction within a distance of about two miles from the Nagar. We have already mentioned that proper precautions

were taken to guard the vast area of the bed of the river from pollution.

NAND BABU

The artistic side of construction was also not neglected. When in May Sjt. Nandlal Bose of Shantiniketan visited and saw the site he was requested to come over and stay in the Nagar and look to and manage the decorative and artistic side of construction. Sjt. Nand Babu came with his band of workers from the middle of December and stayed upto the end of the Session. Designing of the gates and general decoration of the Nagar was in his charge. The Nagar had in all fifty one gates all tastefully planned. Seven main gates were fine specimens of pure Indian architecture revealing artistic talent of a high order. On all gates Nand Babu had put significant paintings which in artistic merit and numbers were such as would, by themselves, make a remarkable picture art gallery. The R. C. was simply fortunate in getting Nand Babu's services for so long a time. It cannot adequately convey its sense of obligation for Nand Babu's and his co-workers' services.

It is not possible except for those who visited Vithal-Nagar to have a correct conception of its vastness. Suffice it to say that a huge Nagar over an area $\frac{3}{4}$ th of a mile in breadth and two miles in length, accommodating a residential population of more than 50,000 and a floating population of over two lacs, with all the convenience and comforts of a big city, like water-works, drainage, electricity, telegraphs, post, telephone, roads etc., was constructed mainly from rafters, bamboos and bamboo and date-mats. An indented parapet wall, of course of bamboo matting, but looking like battlements of a fortified city, was constructed round the whole Nagar. The Zanda Chowk in the centre of which the national tri-colour flag of the size of 9' x 13½' was flying on an artistically

designed pole 85 feet high, was big enough to accommodate two lakhs of persons standing. The Nagar gave a very beautiful and picturesque appearance, and it was remarkable that all the decorative and artistic work was done from quite cheap and common materials locally available. Sjts. Ravishanker Raval and Kanu Desai also assisted the Committee in this work. The R. C. is also obliged to them.

VITHALBHAII'S STATUE

The R. C. would be failing in its duty if it did not mention here that Sjt. Karmarkar of Bombay 'Sculptor Studio' presented it with a cement statue of the late Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel. This statue was placed in the Zanda Chowk. It was unveiled by the President of the Indian National Congress. This statue also added to the attractions of Vithal-Nagar and the R. C. is thankful to Sjt. Karmarkar for his present. This statue is now given to the inhabitants of Kadod, a small town in the vicinity of Vithal-Nagar, in memory of the Haripura Congress. Sjt. Pendhe of Khamgaum National School also volunteered his services. He came with a batch of his students and made on the spot some clay statues. They were also very attractive. A clay statue of the late Sjt. Vithalbhai Patel made by Sjt. Pandhe is preserved at the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram.

GARDENS

Though it was not possible to have gardens on an extensive scale in the Nagar, an attempt was made to have small gardens on a modest scale. Two such gardens, one in the general offices compound and the other near the leaders' camp, were specially attractive. Over and above this, pots of ornamental plants were placed and green lawns made at various places in the Nagar. An appeal was issued to nursery firms to send seeds and plants and this

appeal was well responded to. A very good stock was received from the botanical garden of Bangalore. Similar stock was received from other places also. Some private nursery firms of Surat Dist. even lent their plants for the Session. The R. C. was able to secure voluntary services of Sjt. Ambalal Patel B. Ag., who has a private nursery at Udwada in Surat District. He spent more than a month at Vithal-Nagar for this work. He did his work zealously and well. He was also very useful in giving advice to the Agricultural section of the Exhibition. He was assisted in this work by Sjt. Mohansing Chauhan of Bilimora.

FIRE EXTINGUISHERS

Precautions were also taken against any accidents of fire. The Surat Borough Municipality had lent two watering lorries which served to water the roads in the Nagar and could be used in case of mishap of fire. Some fire extinguishers also were kept. The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works had brought with them eight fire extinguishers. They were placed at different points in the Nagar and an equal number was supplied by the Minimax Co. of Ahmedabad. These extinguishers were put in the Exhibition. The manager of the Minimax Co. was kind enough to send Sjt. S. Desai to give training to our volunteers in using the extinguishers. It must be noted here that a small fire accident did take place at the Exhibition, but the volunteers were able to extinguish it soon with the help of a fire extinguisher of the Minimax Company.

PUBLICITY

The publicity work was entrusted to a committee with Sjt. Valji Desai as its head. The publicity was done in English, Gujarati as well as Hindustani. Many newspapers of India sent complimentary copies of their papers to the publicity department.

The Haripura Congress Guide prepared by Sjt. Valji Desai makes a permanent contribution to literature. Sjt. Narsinhprasad Bhatt of Dakshina Murti of Bhawanagar, a very well known educational worker of Gujarat, was also requested to work in this department. He did work there but the pressure of other works compelled the executive committee to request Sjt. Bhatt to look to other items of general management, specially the kitchen. Sjt. Narsinhprasad by his tactful and conciliatory way of working was very useful in this respect.

VITHAL MUDRANALAYA

As there were no printing facilities near Vithal-Nagar the Committee had decided to have a press of their own. This work was entrusted to Sjt. Jivanji Desai of the Navajivan Karyalaya. The press was named 'Vithal Mudranalaya'. All the printing for the Congress was done in this press. The press with its accessories was sold away after the Session. It fetched nearly half the cost price.

GENERAL STORES

All the purchases except those relating to the construction and dairy departments were made through a special department created for the purpose. This department was known as the General Stores Department and was placed in charge of Sjt. Laxmidas Purshottam Asar of the Sabarmati Ashram. He made purchases in a manner very favourable to the R. C. and managed to get some articles even free. Sjt. Laxmidas was useful to the Committee in more ways than one. He was also entrusted with the work of the Nagar bazars. The problem of supplying cots was also handled by him. He also attended to the preparation of rice, flour etc. His services were thus varied and very helpful.

INQUIRY OFFICE

As usual in a Congress Session, an inquiry office for the Nagar was also instituted. It was in charge of Sjt. Arjunlal Lala and his band of workers. On account of the vastness of the area and an unprecedented number of visitors to the Congress Session, the work of the Inquiry office was very heavy. Yet it was able to give satisfaction to all.

BANK

Arrangements for banking facilities were also made. The Executive Committee of the R. C. had appointed the Bank of India Ltd., Surat, as their Bankers. To give facilities to the R. C. as also to those who came to Vithal-Nagar, the Bank started a temporary camp office at Vithal-Nagar. It was possible to cash cheques as also to deposit money in this branch office. The branch was started from the 7th of February and closed on the 23rd of February.

EXHIBITION

A Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition has been, in recent years, a common feature of a Congress Session. Such an exhibition is held under the supervision of the All India Spinners' and All India Village Industries' Associations. The R. C. has very little to do with it except supplying space and giving such other facilities as would be required. But here the R. C. had taken upon itself, by mutual agreement with the above mentioned associations, full financial responsibility of the Exhibition. The R. C. has great pleasure in announcing that the Exhibition was a great success.

The exhibition contained the following sections·

1. Khadi section.
2. Village Industries section.
3. Agricultural section.
4. Art section.
5. Constructive Activities section.
6. Entertainment section

The chief attraction of the Khadi section was a big khadi court 106' long and 76' broad in which numerous varieties of khadi were exhibited to demonstrate the progress that the khadi had achieved during the last twenty years. This court was artistically decorated by Sjts. Nand Babu and Ravishanker Raval. The arrangement of the exhibits was tastefully done by Mrs. Vakil of Santa Cruz. In this court beautiful exhibits of village crafts were also displayed. Khadi worth nearly a lac was sold in the exhibition.

Another special feature of this section was the spinning competition. 43 persons took part in it. The highest record of spinning reached was 660 yds. per hour of 55 count.

In the Village Industries section all the processes of tanning, soap manufacture, paper manufacture, *tad-gur*, bee-keeping, hand-grinding mills and a bullock mill, oil mill and rice husking were also demonstrated. The process of bottling of lemon-juice attracted many spectators.

The Agricultural section was organised by Rao Bahadur Tamhane of the agricultural department of Govt. of Bombay. The assistance rendered in this section by Sjt. Ambalal Patel of Udwada Nursery was very valuable. An attempt was made to show what improvements in agriculture were possible under the present condition of the Gujarat agriculturists.

The Art Court contained excellent specimens of ancient art demonstrating the glory that was Gujarat. These specimens were collected with great labour by Sjt. Rajendra Surkantha of Surat and Sjt. Ravishanker Raval and they spared no pains in arranging them in such a way as would show the articles in broad and attractive relief. A picture gallery decorated by Sjt. Nandlal Bose was characteristically his.

In the Constructive Activities section, the Harijan movement, women's movement, infant education, labour organization, prohibition, public health and

hygiene, economic and social problems, library movement, Hindi literature and medicinal herbs used as home remedies were properly represented. Economic and social problems of our country were shown not by charts giving dull figures but by interesting pictures and sarcastic cartoons prepared by Sjts. Raval, Kanu Desai and their co-workers. In the Entertainment section programmes for music, folk songs, *ras*, *garba* and sports and games were arranged. Pandit Khare had taken upon himself, as a labour of love, the responsibility of organizing this section. But his sad death in Vithal-Nagar cast a gloom over the atmosphere.

Though we had restricted our insistence of using cow's milk and ghee and provisions prepared according to village industries principles, to the Congress kitchen, the kitchen department organized a nice restaurant in the Exhibition compound, wherein those restrictions were strictly observed. This restaurant was quite a success.

The whole exhibition was, from the point of view of popular education, a wonderful object lesson showing how our village life can be made happier and richer. The total number of persons who visited the Exhibition was about three lacs, the highest number daily being 36,000 on the 19th February, 1938. The total proceeds from the sale of tickets was Rs. 29,603-0-0.

CONGRESS WEEK

The Congress week is generally considered to begin from the day the Working Committee of the Congress begins its work. At Haripura the Working Committee began its work from 14th of the February, and the Subjects Committee from the 19th. Therefore 14th to 21st February can fairly be said to be the Congress Week. Ordinarily people begin to collect in the Congress Nagar from the date of the Subjects

Committee. Large crowds of people, however, began to visit Vithal-Nagar from the middle of January, and the residential population began to come from the 10th of February. The office of the A. I. C. C. was opened at Vithal-Nagar on 13th February 1938. Mahatma Gandhi came on the evening of the 9th. The Exhibition was opened by him on the morning of the 10th. From that date on, Vithal-Nagar began to bristle with people.

PRESIDENT'S ARRIVAL

The President of the Congress arrived on the 13th. So great was the rush of the people to see and join the presidential procession that people began to come from the evening of the 12th. The railway authorities had to run special trains from Ahmedabad and Bombay. Special trains ran between Madhi and Surat at an interval of one hour between two trains. The President came via Bombay and alighted at Udhna where he was received by the Chairman and the General Secretary of the R. C. From Udhna he was brought to Bardoli by a special train arranged by the Railway. At Bardoli he was received by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the G. O. C. and other officers of the R. C.. From Bardoli he was taken in a car to Haripura. People of various villages garlanded him on the way. From Haripura, he was taken in procession in a chariot drawn by 51 bullocks to Vithal-Nagar. All the newspapers of the day gave vivid description of this procession. It was a reception which came spontaneously from the hearts of a loving country-side. The procession took more than two hours to reach Vithal-Nagar, a distance of only two miles from the point it started. It should be stated here that the chariot in which the President was taken was kindly lent by His Highness the Maharaja of Bansda and the charioteer was a satyagrahi farmer of Bardoli Taluka, Sjt. Chhitabhai

Bhikhabhai, who has lost all his property, movable and immovable, house and lands, during the last Satyagraha movement, and is under a vow not to enter Bardoli Taluka till all the confiscated lands are restored. Though he is staying out of the Taluka, he was prevailed upon to come specially for this occasion.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE

The retiring President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came on the morning of the 14th. As the Working Committee was meeting from that date most of the members of the Working Committee as also some other Congress leaders arrived by that date. For the first time in the history of the Congress it formed the Government in seven provinces. Some of the ministers were also delegates and members of the A. I. C. C. Ministers from all the Provinces except N. W. F. P. attended the Session. Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sjt. Rajagopalachari were unable to come on account of illness. The people missed their presence very much. The R. C. had constructed special residential quarters for the members of the Working Committee, ministers, some Congress leaders and distinguished guests. It also ran a separate small kitchen for them. Swami Anand was placed in charge of looking to their comforts, conveniences and necessities. As Madhi, the principal railway station at which most of them detrained, was 11 miles from the Congress site, the problem of conveyances to bring them to the Nagar was also to be handled. Sjt. Dahyabhai Vallabhbhai Patel of Bombay arranged with some motor firms of Bombay and Ahmedabad to lend some touring cars to Vithal-Nagar, free of charge. The 'Ford Motor Company of India' accordingly sent 6 cars from Bombay, and the 'Bombay Garage' from Ahmedabad sent 8 cars with their chauffeurs and placed them at the disposal of the R. C. Together

with some other private cars the R. C. had, at their disposal, some 18 cars for this purpose. Thus no difficulty was experienced by any of the leaders in coming to and going from Vithal-Nagar. The above-mentioned companies fulfilled a real need and the R. C. is thankful to them for it. The railway authorities also had opened an inquiry office in the Nagar. It was connected by a telephone with the other stations. This also proved very useful.

LOUD SPEAKERS

Radio and loud speaker arrangements have now-a-days become a necessity of the Congress Sessions. The Chicago Radio Company of Bombay undertook these arrangements. A special feature in this connection at Haripura was that they had also brought their motor lorry. As the Nagar was very big, various programmes and important information and instructions were announced by means of this motor lorry. This lorry was subsequently presented to the Congress Committee of N. W. F. P. on behalf of the A. I. C. C., in memory of the Haripura Congress. Of course, at all the meetings loud speakers were installed and they gave complete satisfaction. The Company's representative, Sjt. Nanak Motwane, discharged his duties efficiently.

TALKIE FILMS

Various talkie film companies made offers to take a picture of the Haripura Session. A contract for this was finally made with the Wadia Movietone Company of Bombay. They took the picture and this film is being exhibited by them throughout India.

OTHER FUNCTIONS

Along with the main work of a Congress Session other minor functions and meetings also generally take place. We have already alluded to the unveiling of the bust of the late Vithalbhai Patel. This ceremony was performed by the President in the morning

of the 16th., before a large gathering. A very vast rally of agricultural labourers (*Halies*) of the Bardoli Taluka was organized on the morning of the 17th, and the Hon. the Prime Minister of Bombay and the Excise and the Revenue Ministers addressed them. A Hindi Prachar Sammelan was held on 20-2-1938. The Zakir Hussein Education Committee held their meetings at Vithal-Nagar. The Political Prisoners' Conference was held in the Subjects Committee Pandal on the 20th.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS

Amongst the chief distinguished visitors to the Congress were Lord Samuel of England and some foreign journalists. All of them were very much impressed by the Session as is evident from their letters to the general office after they left. A deputation from South Africa also came and so also some fraternal delegates from Ceylon.

THE SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

The Subjects Committee met from the 16th of February. Its pandal was a commodious one beautifully constructed and gaily decorated and fitted with electric fans. It had a capacity of accommodating from 8 to 10 thousand persons. Every day the Subjects Committee pandal was full. Rs. 10/ were charged as the fee for attending the meeting of the Subjects Committee. The R. C. had given a concession of Rs. 5/ to delegates and members of the R. C. Many availed themselves of this concession. The Subjects Committee was to meet for three days, 16th, 17th and 18th; but had to continue also on the 19th and 20th.

OPEN SESSIONS

As usual, the opening day of the Session began with hoisting the National Flag by the President of the Session. He performed this ceremony at 8 a. m. on the 19th of February, before a huge gathering in the Zanda Chowk. The space reserved

for the Zanda Chowk had a capacity of accommodating about 2 lacs of people. Most of the space was occupied at the time of the ceremony. The Open Session began at 5 o'clock in the evening, with the arrival of the President and the singing of the National Song by the Bengal Musical Party of ladies and gentlemen who had specially come for the purpose. A space of about sixteen acres was occupied for the Pandal. The ground of the Pandal made a natural amphitheatre enabling any person in the Pandal to have a complete view of the platform where the President and other leaders were seated, as also of the rostrum. The rostrum was the result of the artistic talent of Syt. Nand Babu. It was very handsome and attractive and made wholly of bamboo chips. The whole Pandal was fitted with loud speakers. This arrangement was so elaborate that it was possible to hear fully the various speeches delivered in the Pandal, at the Zanda Chowk and even at a place far more distant. It is estimated that 75,000 persons attended the session each day and half that number more preferred to hear at the Zanda Chowk rather than purchase the tickets. On the last day of the Session all were admitted free and the Session closed at 10 p. m. on the 21st. The Pandal management during the Congress Session was in charge of Sjt. Jivanlal Diwan, one of the joint secretaries, who managed things efficiently.

VOLUNTEERS' RALLY

Mahatma Gandhi left on the morning of the 22nd. That morning there was a rally of all the volunteers in the Zanda Chowk before the President and the members of the Working Committee. In the afternoon the President and the members of the Working Committee partook of a dinner with the volunteers, workers and office bearers of the R. C. From the evening of that day the leaders began to

leave for their respective places. The President left the Nagar on the night of the 23rd. Thus came the Haripura Session to a close.

DISMANTLING

The work of dismantling the Nagar and disposing of the materials had to be properly organized. The various offices were continued at Vithal-Nagar for some time and the principal workers also stayed there. It is gratifying to state that with the co-operation of the people the workers were able to dispose of every article favourably. This has enabled the R. C. to show some saving. Nothing remained to be disposed of by the middle of May. The office of the General Secretary was removed to Bardoli Swaraj Ashram on 26th March and the construction branch closed its office at Vithal-Nagar from 1st May, 1938. The lands were handed back to their owners in May, 1938. The R. C. takes this opportunity of thanking all those who assisted it in this work of dismantling and disposing of the materials.

FINANCE

Finance, in any such enterprise, always occupies the first place; we have not yet alluded to it nor to the General Secretary's department.

It was settled that members of the R. C. should be enrolled in large numbers throughout Gujarat and from the Gujaratis residing outside. A regular campaign in this behalf was therefore started as soon as the G. P. C. C. fixed the amount of fee for R. C. membership and resolved to form a Reception Committee. All the district and taluka Congress committees of Gujarat were asked to take up this work. According to the resolution of the G. P. C. C. the office-bearers of various committees of the R. C. were to be appointed from persons enrolled as members upto 1st of August, 1937. By that date more than 1200 members were enrolled

of whom nearly a thousand were naturally from the Surat city and the villages of the Surat district.

Four treasurers were appointed by the R. C. They were in charge of the work of enrolment of members. In the beginning the work was concentrated in the Surat district alone. Sjt. Chhotubhai Marfatia and Sjt. Dahyabhai L. Mehta worked in Bardoli Taluka and the area round about it, Sjt. Mayabhai Teli in Jalalpure Taluka and Sjt. Venibhai Balubhai in the city of Surat. All the District Congress Committees of Gujarat assisted the R. C. in their respective area in the work of enrolment. The R. C. is specially thankful to the Ahmedabad District Congress Committee for enrolling a big number. On the whole, the R. C. was able to enrol more than 5,000 members.

It was believed that it would be possible to meet all the expenses from the R. C. membership fees and the sale proceeds of the tickets of the Exhibition, the Subjects Committee, the open Session, as also the rental of shops in the bazar.

But two difficulties were experienced. The work of enrolment of members did not proceed at the expected pace. Besides, some unexpected expenses also had to be incurred. Mr. Chhotubhai Bhaidas Marfatia, therefore, went to Bombay and Mr. Dahyabhai Mehta to Ahmedabad to canvass for the sale of special tickets as also for enrolling more members. They worked there for more than a month. Darbar Gopaldas, the chairman joined Shri Chhotubhai at Bombay at a later stage. The response both at Bombay and Ahmedabad was good. Many congress friends assisted at both the places. The R. C. here take this opportunity of expressing their appreciation of the valuable help given by these friends.

It is already said that the bazar was entrusted to Sjt. Laxmidas Asar. A good amount by way of rent was received from it. The accommodation department

was very ably managed by the accommodation committee and the income derived from that department also was big. The work of sales of tickets of the Exhibition, the Subjects Committee and the open Session was given to Sjt. Jethalal Gandhi of the Gujarat Vidyapith. This work was very efficiently managed by him. Had it not been for him and his efficient band of workers it would have been difficult for the R. C. to manage without difficulty the department of selling tickets. The work of the staff and students of the Gujarat Vidyapith was not confined to this department only. They were helpful in many ways. They supplied able and efficient workers for other departments also, viz., Sanitation, Exhibition, Accommodation and the Press.

Though no donations were sought, the R. C. got about Rs. 20,000 by way of donations and there is a saving also of about Rs. 20,000. Thus it can be said that all the expenses were met with from the income derived from R. C. membership fees, sale of tickets and accommodation charges. In the beginning small loans were taken from congress-minded private friends without interest, but large amounts were required as the work proceeded. A loan of more than a lac of rupees had therefore to be taken from the G. P. C. C. These loans were paid up soon after the Session.

SOUTH AFRICAN HELPERS

Before closing, mention must be made of the voluntary and unsolicited financial help that continued to come from the Indian residents of South Africa. The help came specially from the inhabitants of Bardoli Taluka doing some business in Africa. As soon as they came to know that the Congress Session was to be held in Bardoli Taluka, they began to send their contributions either towards the cow fund or as general donations or as members of the R. C.

The R. C. must also here note with regret the death of Shri Kalubhai Fakirbhai of Haripura. He was in raptures that the Congress Session was to be held in his village. As soon as the choice was made, he worked hard for it. He had to go to Africa but yearned to return at the time of the Congress. Unfortunately his wish was not fulfilled. He died at Johannesburg (South Africa) after a few days' illness. The R. C. lost in Shri Kalubhai a very enthusiastic helper.

GENERAL OFFICE

Immediately after the R. C. was formed, a general office was started at Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli. In the beginning of November it was shifted to Vithal-Nagar. The R. C. had decentralised different works and it is fortunate that in Gujarat Gandhiji and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel have created a band of selfless workers who know how to work as a family team. It was this team spirit on the part of workers that greatly lightened the burden of the General Office. It had however to co-ordinate all the departments as also to solve questions that cropped up from day to day. But no difficulty was experienced on account of all the workers working as members of a family.

Besides this, there were a number of items which were not entrusted to any committee and which, therefore, naturally fell on the General Office. The general accounting was one such. And every one knows that it is a taxing work involving heavy responsibility. The treasurers, of course, looked to it; but it is already mentioned that in the beginning they had to spend a great part of their time outside. But the General Office was able to secure the services of some competent workers. Shri Manibhai Vaghjibhai of the Ahmedabad Municipality, who stayed for nearly six weeks, looked to this work. The honorary auditors also were very public-spirited. They stayed for

a considerable period at Vithal-Nagar inspecting and auditing the accounts. The accounting work was thus much facilitated. The Committee takes this opportunity of expressing their sense of obligation for the work done by the auditors at personal sacrifice and purely with an idea of service.

It is superfluous to mention the various other works connected with the General Office. It was able to cope with them on account of a band of very able, efficient and selfless workers it was able to secure. Sjt. Uttamchand Dipchand Shah of the Swaraj Ashram, Bardoli, was placed in charge of this office from its start and worked upto the end. His experience in such a work greatly eased the working of the General Office. He was later joined by Shri Gordhandas Chokhawala, the secretary of the Surat District Congress Committee. Besides these two, many known office-bearers of various congress committees worked in this office. Sjts. Narhari Parikh and Bhogilal Lala, both joint secretaries, also worked in this office. The chairman of the R. C. stayed at Vithal-Nagar from the middle of January and he too kept an eye over and advised the general work. It was on account of the selfless and very able work of such well known veteran workers that the General Office was able to discharge its responsibilities. It hardly needs to be said that behind it all was the guidance and advice of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who kept himself informed of all the details and advised all of us wherever necessary.

Such a huge and tremendous work was possible because of the congress-mindedness on the part of the people. Everybody was eager to assist the Committee in all ways he could. Some mention of it is made in the body of the report. Much has remained unmentioned. The Committee takes this

गांधीजी



GANDHIJI

opportunity of expressing their hearty thanks to these helpers as also to those who helped us as workers.

CONCLUSION

This is, in brief, the story of Vithal-Nagar and the Haripura Congress. Thirty six years have rolled by since a Congress Session was first held in Gujarat. From a tiny organization, the I. N. Congress has, during this period, developed into a gigantic all India mass organization. Gujarat too made its humble contribution towards this achievement. The task of holding the Haripura Congress was stupendous. However, by the mercy and kindness of the Almighty God, the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi and the organizing genius of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the R. C. was able to carry through the biggest Session in the history of the Congress.

KANAIYALAL N. DESAI
General Secretary

THE SESSION

SECTION II

दरबारश्री गोपालदास देसाई
स्वागतप्रमुख



DARBAR GOPALDAS DESAI
Chairman, Reception Committee

THE OPENING DAY

19th February, 1938

The fiftyfirst Session of the Indian National Congress commenced under the presidentship of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose at Vithal-Nagar at 5-30 P. M. on February 19, 1938.

The presidential procession was composed of Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Moulana Abulkalam Azad, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai, Acharya J. B. Kripalani, Sjt. Jairamdas Daulatram, Sjt. Shanker-rao Deo, Acharya Narendra Deo., Sjt. Achyut Patwardhan and Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Mahatma Gandhi came in a car immediately after.

The proceedings began with the Vande Mataram song.

Darbar Gopaldas Desai, Chairman of the Reception Committee, then delivered his welcome speech.*

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose then addressed the gathering in Hindi :

“ मैं सब से पहले आप की सेवा में कुछ निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ । मेरा जो भाषण हिन्दी में छपा है वह अंग्रेजी में लिखित भाषण का अनुवाद है । इस लिए उसमें कई त्रुटियाँ रह गयी हैं । आप इनका संशोधन कर लीजिए । मैं चाहता हूँ कि सब से पहले मैं आपकी सेवा में हिन्दी में कुछ निवेदन करूं । अन्त में चन्द बातें अंग्रेजी में कहूँगा ।

Then the President read his written address. (see sec. III of the report). And at the end, referring extempore to the political situation that had developed following the resignations of

* See section III for this speech.

Congress ministries in Bihar and the U. P., the Congress President said :

" There is one development which has occurred during the last few days to which I should like to draw your attention and in regard to which I should like to say a few words.

" I shall not go over all the facts with regard to the crisis in the U. P. and Bihar, with which you are all familiar. I shall only say this. On this question of crisis the Congress is entirely in the right. The Governor General and the Governors are entirely in the wrong. You will remember that before the Congress Ministers took office they were given definite assurances that there would be no interference in their day to day administration. The recent action of the Governor General and at his instance of the Governors of these two provinces, constitutes a violation of that assurance. And what is more, the application of section 126 (5), which has been quoted by H. E. the Viceroy and Governor General in support of his stand, is in my personal judgment and I believe in your judgment as well, based on an entire misconception of that section of the Government of India Act. (cheers).

" It is for the ministers and for the ministers alone to assume the fullest responsibility for law and order, and when the Congress cabinets of the U. P. and Bihar were fully prepared to accept responsibility for law and order to release the political prisoners, surely neither the Governor General nor the Governors had any right to interfere. (cheers.)

" I shall not go into this question at length. You will have before you the resolution of the Working Committee on this question. I shall add only one word in support of what the Working Committee has told you. It is this. The recent action of the Congress ministries in these two provinces has made it perfectly clear that our

ministers are there for the good of the people. They are there to strengthen the Congress organizations throughout the country. They are not there for the sake of office. (cheers.) Not only is that the attitude of our ministers, but it is the attitude of the Working Committee, it is the attitude of the A. I. C. C., and I believe, it is the attitude of every Congressman in the country. (cheers.)

"There can, therefore, be absolutely no apprehension that the Working Committee will at any time in future show a weak attitude in facing the challenge of British Imperialism. I would, therefore, beg of you to give the fullest support to the lead that the Working Committee has decided to give you, and the lead which it will give you in the near and distant future.

"Friends, I have done. In conclusion I would remind you that we are faced with a serious situation to-day. Inside the Congress there are differences between the right and the left, which it would be futile to ignore. Outside, there is the challenge of British Imperialism which we are called upon to face. What shall we do in this crisis? Need I say that we have to stand four-square against all the storms that may beset our path and be impervious to all the designs that our rulers may employ? The Congress to-day is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its right block and its left --- but it is the common platform for all anti-imperialist organizations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us, therefore, rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress. I would appeal specially to the leftist groups in the country to pool all their strength and their resources for democratising the Congress and reorganizing it on the broadest anti-imperialist basis. In making this appeal, I am greatly encouraged by the attitude of the leaders of the British Communist

Party whose general policy with regard to India seems to me to be in keeping with that of the Indian National Congress.

"In conclusion, I shall voice your feelings by saying that all India fervently hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many, many years to come. India cannot afford to lose him and certainly not at this hour. We need him to keep our people united. We need him to keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of Indian independence. What is more—we need him for the cause of humanity. Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism, but against world Imperialism as well, of which the former is the key-stone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone, but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved. "Bande Mataram."

Then beginning the work of the Session, the President said in Hindustani :

श्री सुभाषचन्द्र बोस—हमारे भाई जो विदेश से आये हैं, आपकी सेवा में कुछ संदेश सुनायेंगे ।

आचार्य कृपालानी—सब से पहले श्री समरकोटि (सिलोन) संदेश देंगे । (संदेश अंग्रेजी में पढ़ा गया । परिशिष्ट देखिए ।)

पूर्व आफ्रिका और केनिया से आये हुए श्री शमशुद्दीन ने अपना संदेश अंग्रेजी में सुनाया । (परिशिष्ट देखिए ।)

आचार्य कृपालानी—अब लन्दन की Friends of India Society के प्रतिनिधि मि० दामनकर अपना संदेश अंग्रेजी में देंगे । (संदेश अंग्रेजी में पढ़ा गया । परिशिष्ट देखिए ।)

Pandit Sahadevji from Mauritius then gave his message as follows;—

सभापतिजी और भाइयो !

सभी जानते हैं कि मैं आपके सामने उन बातों को सुनाने के लिए खड़ा हुवा हूँ जिनको सुनकर दुःख होगा परन्तु उसे सुन के

उपरान्त सुख होगा। भारत के सब प्रान्तों के हिंदू भाई करीब ३ लाख उस उपनिवेश में वसते हैं। सब उपनिवेशों में रहनेवाले हिंदूओं की संख्या करीब २०-२५ लाख है। मगर उनकी स्थिति ऐसी नाजुक और शोचनीय है कि उसका वर्णन करनेसे एक बड़ा इतिहास बन जायगा। हम दो वर्षों से सुन रहे हैं कि कांग्रेस उपनिवेशों के गरीबों को सहायता पहुँचाने की कोशिश कर रही है। इसको सुनकर मैं उनकी तरफ से आपको संदेश सुनाने आया हूँ। हम आशा करते हैं कि कांग्रेस, जिसके साथ हमारी सहानुभूति है, हमें सुखी बनायेगी। हम चाहते हैं कि भारत स्वतंत्र हो क्योंकि भारत के स्वतंत्र होनेसे हमें भी आज़ादी मिल सकती है।

Then Acharya Kripalani, the General Secretary, read messages from Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sjt. Vijayaraghavachari, Sjt. Shiva Prasad Gupta, Sjt. Shri Prakash, and Lala Hardayal, from among many more that had been received, blessing the Session and wishing it all success. (For a short resume of the same see the appendix at the end of the report.)

श्री सुभासचन्द्र बोस—

दोस्तो,

अब मैं आपके सामने कई प्रस्ताव रखना चाहता हूँ। ये सब विषय समिति से मंजूर हुए हैं। मैं समझता हूँ इनमें से कम से कम ११ प्रस्ताव ऐसे हैं जिन पर मतभेद न होगा।

Accordingly, the following resolutions (for their text see Sec. III of the report) were moved from the Chair and carried unanimously :

1. Condolence
2. Guidallo of Assam
3. British Guiana
4. Indians Overseas
5. Zanzibar (Indians in Zanzibar)
6. Ceylon (Indians in Ceylon)
7. China
8. Palestine

With the consent of the delegates the name of Sjt. Sadashiv Rao Kamat was added to the resolution.

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose was next going to move the resolution on Foreign Policy and War Danger when Sjt. Kumaranand intimated that he would move an amendment.

Acharya J. B. Kriplani then formally moved the resolution and Acharya Narendra Deo formally seconded it.

Sjt. Kumaranand moved an amendment that any imperialist war in which Great Britain is involved should be utilised to advance the cause of India's freedom. (The mover made a speech in Hindi in support of his amendment).

भाइयो,

जो प्रस्ताव आपके सामने पेश है उसके बारे में मेरा यह संशोधन है कि जब कोई (Great war) बड़ा युद्ध हो अगर कोई साम्राज्यवादी लड़ाई हो जिसमें ग्रेट ब्रिटेन फँसा हो तो उस समय सभी हिन्दुस्तानी कांग्रेस के झण्डे के नीचे अपने अधिकार प्राप्ति की लड़ाई लड़ें। (Enemy's danger is our opportunity) शत्रु का संकट हमारे लिए सुअवसर है। अंग्रेज हमारे शत्रु हैं इसलिए जब शत्रु किसी युद्ध में लगे तो हमें उसके विरुद्ध युद्ध करना चाहिए। इसलिए under the flag of the Indian National Congress we should march ahead.

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru made a vigorous speech in Hindusthani, opposing the amendment. He said,

आज मैंने एक नयी बात सुनी है। आपमें से कुछ साहबान यह समजते हैं कि हमारा देश आज़ादी की लड़ाई लड़ता है और दुनिया की कोई लड़ाई होगी तो वह अपनी लड़ाई बन्द कर देगा, तो यह ठीक नहीं है। अगर दुनिया में लड़ाई चलेगी तो उस समय हमारा यह फ़र्ज होगा कि हम अपनी लड़ाई को पूरी ताकत के साथ चलाएँ। इसलिए मैं इस तरमीम का विरोध करता हूँ। यह बिल्कुल अदना बात है। और

इस पर इस वक्त बहस करना बिल्कुल फिजूल है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप भी इसको नामंजूर करेंगे।

The amendment on being put to vote was rejected by the house and the original resolution as moved by Sjt. Kripalani was carried by an overwhelming majority.

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose then moved from the Chair, the resolutions on Excluded Areas and Commissioners' Provinces and Ajmer Merwara and the Indian States, both of which were carried unanimously.

Then amidst loud applause from the house, Pt. Govind Ballav Pant rose to move the resolution on Federation, in support of which he spoke in Hindi.

सभापतिजी,

मैं आपके सामने बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण और ज़रूरी प्रस्ताव पेश करने के लिए आया हूँ। इस प्रस्ताव को विषय समिति ने मंजूर कर लिया है और मैं इसको आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। (श्रीयुत् नरेन्द्रदेवजी ने प्रस्ताव को पन्तजी की ओर से पढ़ा।) जैसा मैंने आपसे यहाँ आते ही कहा था कि यह प्रस्ताव बड़ा ज़रूरी है। इस प्रस्ताव का सबसे ज़रूरी हिस्सा वह है जो इसमें आखिर में पढ़ा गया है। वह फिडरेशन के सम्बन्ध में है। उससे आप में से बहुत से भाई अच्छी तरह से परिचित होंगे और जानकारी रखते होंगे। इसकी चर्चा हमारे मुल्क में करीब दस साल से चल रही है। और आखिर में कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमिटी ने एक प्रस्ताव फिडरेशन के बारे में आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमिटी में पेश किया। और कांग्रेस के इजलास में इसके बारे में घोषणा हो चुकी है। हाल ही में आपको मालूम होगा कि कांग्रेस के हुक्म के मुताबिक यह प्रस्ताव व्यवस्थापक सभा में पेश किया गया। इस मसले पर सबों की एक राय है।

फिडरेशन के बारे में चर्चा उठ रही है। हिन्दुस्तान में चाहे हम और राजनीति के मसलों पर भले ही मतभेद रखते हों पर जहाँ तक फिडरेशन का सम्बन्ध है इस विषय में हम सब एकमत हैं। सभी हिन्दुस्तानियों की राय है कि फिडरेशन को दफ़नाना चाहिए।

जहाँ तक फिडरेशन का सम्बन्ध कांग्रेस से है हम पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता चाहते हैं। कोई चीज़ जो मुकम्मिल आज़ादी से कम हो वह कांग्रेस को संतोष नहीं दे सकती। कांग्रेस का यह दृढ़ निश्चय है कि वह इसे स्वीकार नहीं कर सकती। कांग्रेस फिडरेशन का साथ नहीं देना चाहती। जब तक कि कान्स्टिटुएन्ट असेम्बली (Constituent Assembly) न बने, कांग्रेस अपने निश्चय पर दृढ़ है। कांग्रेस तो करीब २०-२२ वर्ष से अपने आत्मनिर्णय के सिद्धान्त पर चली आती है। सन १९१४ से १९३० के बीच में हमारे देशने अंग्रेजों को यह बता दिया कि राजनीति के बारे में निर्णय करने का हमें पूरा अधिकार है, हम अपने इस हक में किसी दूसरे को सादिल नहीं कर सकते और न शरीक करने की गुंजाइश ही है। हम खुद स्वराज्य हासिल करेंगे। इस फिडरेशन में हमें काफ़ी नहीं मिला है। अगर कुछ मिला होता तो भी हम इसे कबूल नहीं करते। हम इस फिडरेशन को थोड़ी देर के लिए भी सहन नहीं कर सकते हैं। हम उस फिडरेशन का विरोध करते हैं जो कि Government of India Act के मुताबिक़ कायम किया जा रहा है। इस हालत को देखते हुए हमने यह दृढ़ निश्चय कर लिया है कि हम इसको कभी भी हिन्दुस्तान में न आने देंगे। हमें तो इसे अभी से झुका हुआ मरा हुआ समझना चाहिए। हम पूर्ण आज़ादी चाहते हैं। इसलिए हमें फिडरेशन को ठुकराने के लिए वे सभी तरीक़े काममें लाने चाहिए जिससे हम फिडरेशन को निकाल कर ही दम लें। हम सारे भारत को आज़ाद करना चाहते हैं और यही हमारी माँग है। हमें फिडरेशन के नाम से विरोध नहीं है। हम फिडरेशन चाहते हैं जिसमें भारत के प्रत्येक हिस्से की राजनीतिक अवस्था एक सी हो। हम ऐसा फिडरेशन पसन्द करेंगे जिसके हाथ से सेना का नियंत्रण हो। हम विदेशी व्यापार के आयात निर्यात पर अपनी राय के मुताबिक़ टैक्स लगा सकें और जिसक अनुसार हमें मुद्रा नीति पर पूर्ण अधिकार हो। रेल, विदेशी व्यापार और पर-राष्ट्रनीति के बारेमें हमें पूर्ण आज़ादी हो। हिन्दुस्तानी रियासतों में रहनेवाले लोग अपनी राय देने में पूर्ण स्वतन्त्र हों। पुराने कानून के अनुसार हमें यह अधिकार प्राप्त है कि हम अपनी राय, सेना और विदेशी व्यापार के बारे में

दे सकते हैं। परन्तु हिन्दुस्तान में फिडरेशन के जगह होने से किसी हिन्दुस्तानी को यह अधिकार न रहेगा कि वह इनके बारे में कुछ भी कह सके। हम सारे हिन्दुस्तान को और उसके भीतर जो देशी रियासतें हैं उन सबकी दशा एक ही देखना चाहते हैं। हम सब हरेक-भारत-वासियों के साथ में चाहते हैं। यह विदेशी सरकार जब तक हमें यह हक नही देती हमें उसके लिए जहाना होगा। हम इन तक़ीदों में फसनेवाले नहीं हैं। वह संमाना गया जब हिन्दुस्तानी अपनी नाद में नहीं उठे थे। अब तो सारा भारत पूर्ण आजादी चाहता है। हम तो पराधीनता की बंधनों को टूटने टूटने करके का संकल्प कर चुके हैं। हमें तो फिडरेशन का काम एक विश्वीय के काम के समान मान्य पड़ता है। हम उसकी देखने के अलावा कुछ कर नहीं सकते। जहाँ तक बड़ी बड़ी सेनाओं का, विदेशी व्यापार, मुद्रा, कोरेसी का संबंध है हम उसमें किसी भी प्रकार का हस्तक्षेप नहीं कर सकते हैं। आजकल हमको सेना और मुद्रा नीति पर राय प्रकट करने का अधिकार है, पर फिडरेशन में वह अधिकार भी नहीं रहेगा। व्यवस्थापक समाम में प्रतिनिधि सेवकों का बनना को अधिकार है, पर फिडरल असेम्बली में हमें वह अधिकार नहीं है। उसका इलेक्शन (direct election) न होगा। जनता जो प्रतिनिधि प्रांतीय समाम में चुनकर भेजती उन प्रतिनिधियों को अधिकार होगा कि वे अपने में से प्रतिनिधि चुनकर फिडरल असेम्बली में भेजें। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि फिडरल असेम्बली का चुनाव बड़े-बड़े (Basis) पर होगा। इस साम्यवादीयकता और बड़े-बड़े प्रतिनिधियों के नये-नये अधिकार दिया गया है कि वे अपने प्रतिनिधि स्वयम् चुनकर भेजें। इसका परिणाम जो होगा वह आम पढ़ने से समझ सकते हैं। राजा अपने पिछुओं को ही फिडरल असेम्बली में भेजेंगे। वे देशी रियासतों के सत्त्व प्रतिनिधि नहीं हो सकते, न वे जनता की भावों के बारे में कभी सोच सकते हैं। जब तक कि फिडरेशन का स्वरूप ऐसा नहीं बनता कि हम अपने अधिकारों को प्राप्त करने के लिए उसका उपयोग कर सकें जब तक फिडरेशन सकल नहीं हो सकता। वृद्ध और बालों के मिलने से फिडरेशन सकल नहीं हो सकता। वृद्ध और बालों के मिलने से फिडरेशन सकल नहीं हो सकता। वृद्ध और बालों के मिलने से फिडरेशन सकल नहीं हो सकता।

नहीं चल सकता । फिडरेशन की कार्यवाही नुमाइशी है । और उसमें जो हाथ डालेगा वह जल जायगा ।

इसमें हिंदू मुसलमान के भेद का कोई सवाल नहीं है । फिडरेशन के सम्बन्ध में हिंदू मुसलमान दोनों एक हैं । उनका यह कहना है कि हम इसे हरगिज़ मुल्क में न आने देंगे । अगर हिंदुस्तान की मिली हुई आवाज़ को न मानकर कार्य किया जायगा तो कांग्रेस का यह निश्चय है कि वह इसके बारे में सत्याग्रह करेगी । और सचार्ड तथा इमानदारी के साथ सत्याग्रह द्वारा फिडरेशन को रोकने का प्रयत्न करेगी । इस प्रस्ताव के तीसरे हिस्से में यही कहा गया है । मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, जो प्रस्ताव आपके सामने रखा गया है वह इसी लिए है कि अगर कभी किसी समय हमारे सर पर फिडरेशन लादा जायगा तो हम आज यह संकल्प कर लें कि उसे इस मुल्क से निकालने के लिए हम पूर्ण कोशिश करेंगे । हमें फिडरेशन को हटाने के लिये पूरा यत्न करना होगा । देश की स्वतंत्रता का युद्ध हमारे आचार व्यवहार और ऋढ़ संकल्प पर निर्भर करता है । हमें विश्वास है कि हम पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता के युद्ध में प्रयत्नशील होंगे और हमें अपने उद्देश्य में काफी सफलता मिलेगी । ”

Sjt. Bhulabhai Desai made a Gujarati speech in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was carried without any amendments being moved. The president adjourned the Session at 9-15 p. m. to reassemble at 5-30 p. m. on the next day.

THE SECOND DAY

20th. Feb., '38

The second day's sitting of the open Session of the Congress commenced at 5-45 p. m. on February 20, 1938 with Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose in the chair.

After three national songs, two Bengali and one Gujarati, were sung, the President read to the house two messages, one from Vienna and the other from San-Francisco, greeting the Session and wishing it all success. Then the resolutions on Indians in Kenya and Midnapore Congress Organizations were proposed from the chair and carried unanimously.

Sjt. Purushottamdas Tandon next moved the resolution on National Education. (The mover spoke in Hindi in support of the resolution).

सभापतिजी, देवियो और भाइयो,

जो प्रस्ताव अभी सभापतिजी ने आपके सामने अंग्रेजी में पढ़ा है मैं उसका हिन्दी अनुवाद आपके सामने रखता हूँ। (The resolution was read in Hindi.) सज्जनो, श्री. भुलाभाई देसाई इस प्रस्ताव को, जिसे मैंने हिन्दी में सुनाया है, आपके सामने गुजराती में पढ़ेंगे। फिर मैं आपकी सेवा में कुछ शब्द कहूँगा। (Sjt. Bhulabhai, read the same in Gujarati.) सज्जनो, जैसा कि इस प्रस्ताव में कहा गया है हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा का प्रश्न स० १९०६ से उठा हुआ है। जिन लोगों को कांग्रेस के पुराने इतिहास का कुछ ख्याल होगा कि पुराने समय में यानी सन् १९०५-६-७ में कांग्रेस की शक्ति में बड़ा परिवर्तन हो रहा था। उस समय कांग्रेस का एक पुराना युग खतम हो रहा था और एक नया युग सामने खड़ा हुआ दिखाई दे रहा था। उस समय जो बातें नये युग को पुराने युग से अलग कर रही थीं उनमें राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा का विषय एक बड़ा भारी प्रश्न था। जो लोग गरम दल के कहे जाते थे उनकी तीन चार माँगें थीं। उन माँगों में से एक बड़ी

राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध में थी । और दूसरी मॉग बायकाट की थी । इन दोनों पर कुछ मतभेद होने के कारण कांग्रेस में मुख्यतः दो दल हो गये । उस समय बंगाल में एक राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा काउन्सिल (National Education Council) बनी थी । श्री. अश्विनी कुमार दत्त उसके एक बड़े कार्यकर्ता थे । राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा का विषय हमारी राष्ट्रीय लड़ाई का एक अंग है । इस लिए लड़ाई के शिथिल होने के साथ साथ वह भी शिथिल हो गयी । फिर १९२० में जब महात्मा गांधी राष्ट्रमंच पर हमारे सामने आये और उन्होंने अपना कार्यक्रम हमारे सामने रखा तो उसके स्वरूप में राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा एक महत्त्वपूर्ण अंग था । विलायती कपड़े के बहिष्कार के साथ साथ सरकारी शिक्षालयों का बहिष्कार भी था । साथ ही साथ जगह जगह पर बड़े बड़े राष्ट्रीय विद्यालय भी स्थापित किये गये । उस समय के राष्ट्रीय विद्यालय ज्यादातर तिलक विद्यालय के नाम से सामने आये । बंगाल में नैशनल कालेज, यू० पी० में हिन्दी विद्यापीठ और काशी विद्यापीठ, बिहार में बिहार विद्यापीठ और गुजरात में गुजरात विद्यापीठ स्थापित हुए । जिन लोगों को हमारे राष्ट्रीय शिक्षालयों से परिचय है वे इस बात को नहीं भूल सकते कि हमारे आन्दोलन में इन विद्यालयों द्वारा कितना काम हुआ है । मौलिक शिक्षा जो हम अपने बच्चों को देते हैं उसका हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन से कितना सम्बन्ध है इसका परिचय आपको गत वर्षों की लड़ाई से प्राप्त हुआ होगा । उसका परिणाम आपके सामने है । एक ओर तो कालेज के विद्यार्थी थे जिन्होंने सरकारी कालेजों में बी. ए. और एम. ए. की शिक्षा प्राप्त की थी । उनमें से ज़रूर थोड़े से हमारी लड़ाई में आये, लेकिन वे कितने थोड़े थे । उस समय हुक्म दिया गया था कि सरकारी शिक्षालयों का बहिष्कार होना चाहिए और राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा का प्रचार आवश्यक है । उस समय उनमें से बहुत थोड़े विद्यार्थी हमारे राष्ट्रीय मैदान में आये और हमारे राष्ट्रीय कार्य में हमारे मददगार हो सके । दूसरी तरफ इन राष्ट्रीय संस्थाओं की ओर ध्यान दीजिए, १९२० के आन्दोलन पर ध्यान दीजिए, '३०-३४ के आन्दोलनों को देखिए । तब आप देखेंगे कि स्वाधीनता की लड़ाई में किस निभीकता से उनके विद्यापीठों के नवयुवक आगे आये । हमारी

राष्ट्रीय लड़ाई का नेतृत्व इन छोटे छोटे विद्यार्थियों ने बड़ी बहादुरी से किया और हमारी जो सफलता हुई है उसका बहुत बड़ा श्रेय इन राष्ट्रीय शिक्षालयों को है। बात यह है कि यदि आप राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं का देश में प्रचार करना चाहते हैं तो उसके लिए यह ज़रूरी है कि आप अपने बच्चों को शुरू से राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा दें और उनको राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं से ओतप्रोत कर दें, जिससे बड़ा होने पर उनमें वह भावना पूर्ण रूप से जागृत हो जाय जो आज आपके दिलों में हिलोरें मार रही है। भविष्य में राष्ट्रीय संग्राम हमारे बालकों द्वारा चलाया जायगा और यही बालक आन्दोलन में शामिल होंगे। इस लिए हमें यह आशा है कि कांग्रेस देश की राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा पर पूरा ध्यान देगी। मुझे इस प्रस्ताव को आपके सामने रखते हुये पूर्ण आशा है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति इसको समझेगा कि इस बात की हमें आवश्यकता है कि हम अपनी गवर्नमेन्ट द्वारा राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा को एक नये सूत्र में बाँधें और पुराने इन्टरमिडियेट बोर्ड जो गवर्नमेन्ट द्वारा चलाये जा रहे हैं उनको खतम करें। मैं आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि आप इस मौलिक बात पर ध्यान दें। राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि वह अपने आदमियों के हाथ में होना चाहिए। सच्चे नागरिक बनने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि शिक्षा राष्ट्रीय हो।

यदि केवल शिक्षा की दृष्टि से देखा जाय तो प्रचलित शिक्षा-प्रणाली में बहुत खामियाँ हैं। हमें उनको दूर करना होगा। इस प्रस्ताव में एक और मुख्य सिद्धांत बताया गया है वह यह है कि हमारी शिक्षा का माध्यम हमारी मातृभाषा हो। सात वर्ष की शिक्षा अनिवार्य हो। इस विषय पर बहुत दिन हुए मि० गोखले ने उस समय की लेजिस्लेटिव काउन्सिल में एक प्रस्ताव रखा था कि बच्चों की शिक्षा अनिवार्य कर दी जाय। लेकिन उनकी बात गवर्नमेन्ट की समझ में न आई और उसने इसको मंजूर नहीं किया। इस पर उन्होंने दुःख के साथ कहा कि हम लोग चाहे जितना अच्छा कार्य करें, चाहे जितनी अच्छी बात कहें, गवर्नमेन्ट उसको मंजूर नहीं कर सकती। भारत में शिक्षा-प्रचार करना गवर्नमेन्ट का ध्येय नहीं था। गवर्नमेन्ट का यही ध्येय था कि अंग्रेजी शिक्षा से थोड़े से ऐसे आदमी तैयार किये जायें जो

उसका काम चलाने में सहायक हों। उसका मकसद यह न था कि जनता शिक्षित हो और अनिवार्य शिक्षा का प्रचार हो। संसार में जो स्वतंत्र देश हैं, जैसे इंग्लैन्ड, जर्मनी इत्यादि, उनमें अनिवार्य शिक्षा प्रचलित है। अनिवार्य शिक्षा के लिए दो बातों पर ध्यान रखना ज़रूरी है। एक तो यह कि कुछ वर्षों तक शिक्षा दी जाय, दूसरी बात यह कि शिक्षा हमारी मातृभाषा में हो; आजकल हमारे यहाँ शिक्षा का ध्येय यह है कि हम अंग्रेजी भाषा अच्छी तरह बोल सकें। स्कूल और कालेजों में अंग्रेजी पढ़ानेवाला प्रोफेसर ६-७ सौ रुपया माहवार पाता है, जब कि हमारे देश का अच्छे से अच्छा पण्डित ७०), ८०) पाता है। यह ७०), ८०) रुपया उसे अब मिलने लगा है। मेरे कहने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि आप अंग्रेजी भाषा न पढ़ें। परन्तु मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इसको दूसरी भाषा के रूप में पढ़ें। हमारी शिक्षा का माध्यम मातृभाषा होना चाहिए। सात वर्ष की अनिवार्य शिक्षा के बारे में यह कहा गया है कि यह शिक्षा मौलिक हो। हमारी शिक्षा की दूसरी सीढ़ी ऐसी हो कि जो उच्च शिक्षा दी जाय वह हमारी ही भाषा में हो। यदि आज कोई इंग्लैन्ड में जाय और कहे कि उसकी शिक्षा जर्मन भाषा द्वारा होनी चाहिए तो कभी उसे अंग्रेज मंजूर न करेंगे। अंग्रेजों को अपनी भाषा का अभिमान है। वे उसे कभी स्वीकार न करेंगे। चाहे जर्मन भाषा का साहित्य कितना ही ऊँचा और प्रौढ़ क्यों न हो। आप में से जो भाई राजनीति में हिस्सा लेते हैं उनको याद होगा कि जो बोअर युद्ध हुआ था उसके होने का एक बहुत बड़ा कारण बोअर भाषा थी। हमारी भाषा हिन्दी, मराठी, गुजराती, तामील, तेलुगु, बंगला के मुकाबले बोअर भाषा एक गवारी भाषा है। हमारी भाषा उससे कहीं अधिक महत्त्व रखती है। लेकिन बोअर लोग इसके लिए अंग्रेज से लड़े। आपको मालूम होगा कि कितने दिन तक लड़ते रहे और इसका अन्तिम परिणाम क्या हुआ। आपको पोलैण्ड की कथा याद होगी। उसकी कथा बड़ी दर्दनाक है। पिछली लड़ाई के बाद उसको स्वतंत्रता मिली है। एक बार मैं एक पोलैण्ड की महिला से मिला था उसने मुझे बताया कि जब उसके मुल्क के तीन टुकड़े हो गये थे उस समय रूसी लोग उन बच्चों को जो जर्मन पढ़ते थे कोड़े से मारते थे। उस

वक्त भी उन्होंने आपनी भाषा को कायम रखा । आप देखेंगे कि जब विजेता पोलैन्डवासियों को विदेशी भाषा पढ़ाने की कोशिश करते थे तो भी पोलैन्डवाले अपनी मातृभाषा पर ज़ोर देते रहे । लेकिन हमारे देश में इसका उलटा है । हमारे यहाँ के पढ़े लिखे लोग यह कोशिश करते हैं कि अंग्रेजी पढ़ायी जाय । नतीजा यह होता है कि अंग्रेजी भाषा बोलते हैं पर उनके बिचार प्रौढ़ नहीं होते । जैसे बच्चा गाय के दूध से उतना प्रौढ़ नहीं होता जितना अपनी माता के दूध से होता है । जब कि हमें राष्ट्रीय संगठन की आवश्यकता है तब हमें मातृभाषा पर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिए । हम राष्ट्रीय युद्ध को आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं । इस लिए हमें यह चाहिए कि हम अपनी राष्ट्रीय भाषा का प्रचार करें । ऐसी हालत में हमें अपनी प्रान्तीय असेम्बली के सब काम हिन्दी भाषा में करना चाहिए । हमें उचित है कि हम कांग्रेस के मंच पर से इस को राहबरी करें । मैं अपने बुजुर्गों से हाथ जोड़ कर कहता हूँ कि आप देशकी राहबरी करें और बतायें कि राष्ट्रभाषा कैसी हो सकती है । सन् १९२५ में हमने यह तय किया था कि हम हिन्दी को अपनी राष्ट्रभाषा मान लें । लेकिन आज भी हममें कमी है । हमारे कुल काम हिन्दी में नहीं होते । वर्किंग कमिटी का कुल काम हिन्दी भाषा में होना चाहिए । आल इन्डिया कांग्रेस कमिटी का कुल काम हिन्दी में होना चाहिए । विद्यापीठों से स्नातक निकलते हैं और निकले हैं उनमें से कुछ असेम्बली में गये हैं । वे हिन्दी अच्छी तरह जानते हैं । हम यदि उनसे यह आशा करें कि वे अंग्रेजी में भाषण करें तो यह उनके साथ एक प्रकार का अन्याय होगा । मैंने देखा है कि किसी भी विद्यापीठ के शास्त्री अपने विषय के अच्छे से अच्छे विद्यार्थी से मुकाबिला कर सकते हैं । Government of India Act जो आपके सामने है, हमें उससे लड़ाई करनी होगी । और हमारी लड़ाई यह है कि अंग्रेजी भाषा देशमें नहीं रह सकती । हमें इस कानून को और अंग्रेजी भाषा को देश से निकालबाहर करना है । साथ ही राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा हमारा साधन होगी और राष्ट्रभाषा इसकी नींव होगी । इसके बाद जो स्नातक इनमें से पढ़कर निकलेंगे उनसे इसका फैसला हो जायगा । तीसरी बात यह है कि जो

शिक्षा स्कूलों में हो उसमें दस्तकारी जरूर हो और उसका माध्यम हिन्दी हो जिससे आगे चलकर हम उसके द्वारा अपने बच्चों को सब प्रकार की शिक्षा दे सकेंगे । जो दूसरी बात इस प्रस्तावमें रखी गयी है वह यह है कि इसके लिए एक बोर्ड बनाया गया है । जिसके मंत्री डॉ० झाकिर हुसैन साहब हैं; इसमें और दो सज्जन हैं । इसकी रिपोर्ट हमारे देश की शिक्षाप्रणाली में परिवर्तन करने जा रही है । यह बोर्ड हमारे देश के पूज्य नेता महात्मा गान्धीजी की सलाह के अनुसार कार्य करेगा । हमें अपने देशका भविष्य उज्ज्वल दिखाई पड़ता है । हम लोग जो आज आपके सामने काम कर रहे हैं, जब बूढ़े होंगे, हमारे हाथ से राष्ट्रीय झण्डा खसकने लगेगा, उस समय तक राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा द्वारा ऐसे जवान नेता तैयार होंगे जो आगे बढ़कर इस झण्डे को संभालेंगे और देश की आज़ादी के युद्ध को आगे बढ़ावेंगे । राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा इसका मूलमंत्र है । मैं इस प्रस्ताव को इन शब्दों के साथ आपके सामने उपस्थित करता हूं ।

Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghose seconding the resolution said :

Mr. President and brother delegates,

I rise to second the resolution that has been moved by Mr. Tandon. It does not require a big speech from me to convince you that the present system of education in the country has failed. After 180 years of British rule only a very small percentage of our people are literate. There is, therefore, the standing need for reforming our education. So far as the present resolution is concerned, it is composed of five parts. The operative portion consists of four of them.

We want that our boys and girls are educated at least up to the Matriculation standard, that is, the standard which is in vogue in almost every independent country. The second demand that we want to make is that the education of our boys and girls should be through the medium of the mother tongue. While a student in the college I learnt that

Perkin discovered 'magenta' while he was 18. It is impossible for Indians to do researches in Chemistry and make discoveries at the age of 18, if English is the medium of instruction. But if Bengali is the medium of instruction for Bengali students, Marathi for Maharashtrians and Hindi in Hindi-speaking tracts, it would be quite possible for our boys and girls to do researches in Chemistry even at the age of 18.

The third point that we insist on is that education should be so arranged as to centre round a handicraft. This has given rise to certain misconception that we want our boys and girls to be turned into mere carpenters and weavers. That is not the position. We want to produce all-round good citizens. We want every one of our boys to read up to the Matriculation standard minus the English language. It is an absolute misreading of the resolution to say that we want to take up seven years of our boys and girls to produce carpenters and smiths.

We do not disregard those professions. The nation has need of good carpenters and smiths. We think that to be thorough and complete education should be centred round some handi-craft. Supposing spinning is the handi-craft round which education is to be centred, students are to be taught about the different varieties of cotton available, their distribution and the amount of rainfall necessary for the satisfactory production of a particular variety and so on and so forth. If a student is given instruction through a handi-craft all his faculties will be properly developed. It is again said that we want to produce only technicians and not scientists like Raman and Shah. Certainly we want many more of them and even greater scientists than they are. The proposed system will be the foundation for that.

The fourth part of the resolution deals with the appointment of a Board of Experts, who are expected to go into the whole question. It will be formed under the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. Both the names that are in the resolution for the purpose have given much of their time over the question and I can assure you that experts as they are they will be able to give you a complete scheme of national education.

With these few words I commend this resolution to your acceptance.

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose: Mr. Kapadia has sent notice of an amendment to the resolution, which is not in order. It ought to have been sent to the Subjects Committee. Any amendment sent at this stage will not be in order.

Some members: Why should it not be in order?

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose: I have gone into the matter carefully. Under the present constitution I must hold it out of order. A substantive motion can be brought up, if twentyfive delegates give notice. But the matter cannot come up through an amendment unless notice of it is given in the Subjects Committee.

The amendment being ruled out of order the original resolution was carried unanimously.

Amidst loud cheers Pt. Jawaharlal next rose to move the resolution on Minority Rights and made a forceful speech in Hindustani:

सभापतिजी, बहनो और भाइयो,

मैं अंग्रेजी में इस प्रस्ताव को पढ़ता हूँ ।

(After Panditji finished reading the resolution in English, Acharya Narendra Deo read it in Hindi and Sjt. Bhulabhai in Gujarati.)

हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति के मामलात में अक्सर अक्सरियत (Majority?) और अकलियत (Minority?) का सवाल उठता है। देशवाले

इस सवाल को एक अजीब निगाह से देखते हैं और एक दूसरे से डरते हैं । सोचने विचारने पर लोगों की समझ में नहीं आता कि सवाल क्या है । किस कारण से एक दूसरे से आपस में डरते हैं । आपने देखा होगा कि पिछले कई वर्षों से हिन्दुस्तान में कई बातें हुई हैं उनमें से एक यह है कि अकसरियत ने कांग्रेस की तरफ कदम बढ़ाया है । पिछले २० वर्षों में काफ़ी तादाद में हमारे मुसलमान भाई आज़ादी के लिए लड़े । सन २१ से ऐसे कई मौक़े आये जब कि हमारे मुसलमान भाई लाखों की तादाद में हमारे साथ रहे । सन १९३०-३१ के अन्दोलन में १०, १५ हजार मुसलमान भाई सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन में जेल गये थे । पिछले वर्ष बहुत अधिक मुसलमान कांग्रेस में आये । खाली मुसलमान ही नहीं ईसाई, यहूदी भाई और भी तरह तरह के जो अल्पसंख्यक भाई हमारे देश में हैं कांग्रेस में आये । इस प्रस्ताव में हमने यह खुशी जाहिर की है कि वे कांग्रेस में आये । हमारी कोशिश अब जारी है । हम चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के हर जमात के लोग इस लड़ाई में शरीक हों । आपको याद होगा कि लखनऊ कांग्रेस में यह प्रस्ताव पास हुआ था और एक प्रोग्राम मास कान्टाक्ट (Mass Contact) का हमारे सामने रखा गया था । जिस समय से गांधीजीने कांग्रेस को एक नया रंग दिया तब से हम इस मसले पर विचार कर रहे हैं । हमने लखनऊ कांग्रेस में इसका विचार किया था । हमने यह कहा था कि हमारा मक़सद Mass Contact है । हमने फैज़पुर में इसी बात पर ज़ोर दिया था कि कांग्रेस का सन्देश हिन्दू मुसलमान सब के घर घर पहुँचाया जाय । पिछले चुनाव में हमारी कोशिश थी कि हम हर एक कौम के लोगोंमें यानी हिन्दू मुसलमान, ईसाई सब के घर घर कांग्रेस का सन्देश पहुँचावें ।

हमने सन्देश सब के यहाँ पहुँचाया । कांग्रेस की तरफ़ से मुसलमानों में काफ़ी काम हो रहा है और इसका नतीजा अच्छा हुआ है । फिर भी कुछ लोगों ने एतराज़ किया है । वे कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस को क्या अधिकार है कि वह मुसलमानों में काम करे । इसी तरह दूसरा पूछ सकता है कि कांग्रेस को सिक्खों में काम करने का क्या अधिकार है । हिन्दू पूछ सकते हैं कि कांग्रेस को हिन्दुओं

में काम करने का क्या अधिकार है। पर उनकी समझ में यह नहीं आता कि कांग्रेस फिरकेवाराना जमात नहीं है। कांग्रेस एक राजनीतिक संस्था है जिसका ध्येय पूर्ण आज़ादी है। साथ ही हमारा मुल्क बड़ा गरीब है। हमें इसकी गरीबी दूर करनी है। हमें इस मुल्क की गरीबी और गुलामी दूर करनी है। जहाँ तक राजनीतिक और आर्थिक सवाल है कांग्रेस सब की मदद के लिए तैयार है। उसका दरवाज़ा सब के लिए खुला है। हम फिरकेवाराना तौर पर इन सवालों को हल नहीं कर सकते। अगर आज कांग्रेस न होती तो हमें आपको और सब को मिलकर एक ऐसी संस्था बनानी पड़ती जिसका दरवाज़ा हरएक के लिए खुला रहता। अगर हम फिरकेवाराना तरीके पर अलग अलग आवाज़ उठाये तो उससे कोई फ़ायदा न होगा। कांग्रेस का दरवाज़ा हरएक हिन्दुस्तानी के लिए खुला है। वह केवल उसके लिए बन्द है जो पूर्ण स्वराज्य नहीं चाहता। और जो पूर्ण स्वराज्य चाहता है उसके लिए कांग्रेस का दरवाज़ा खुला है। फिर भी यह प्रश्न बार बार उठता है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद हुआ तो वह केवल किसी एक जाति के लिए होगा। पर यह ठीक नहीं है। हिन्दू राज्य या मुसलमान राज्य ऐसा तो केवल बेवकूफ़ या बेअह्म आदमी ही सोच सकता है। ऐसा तो कोई राज्य हो ही नहीं सकता। अगर कुछ होगा तो हिन्दुस्तानी राज्य होगा। आज हमें यह देखना है कि कांग्रेस में कौन ऐसी बात है जिससे मुसलमान या ईसाई भाइयों के स्वार्थ में धक्का पहुँच सकता है। स्वराज्य तो अमीर गरीब सभी के लिए है।

अब मैं आपसे अपने प्रान्त के चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहूँगा। हमारे यहाँ के किसान बहुत दुःखी हैं। ख़्वाह हिन्दू हो या मुसलमान दोनों कर्ज़ के बोझ से लदे हुए हैं। आपको मालूम हैं कि पंजाब में हिन्दू मुसलमान का प्रश्न बहुत टेढ़ा है। फिर भी किसानों और छोटे ज़मींदारों में साम्प्रदायिकता नहीं है। वे यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे कर्ज़ का बोझ कम हो। सब के सवाल एक हैं।

आप लोगों को यह बात समझ लेनी चाहिए कि जहाँ तक

धार्मिक मामलों का सम्बन्ध है सबको पूरी आज़ादी होनी चाहिए । हर एक शास्त्र को धार्मिक स्वतन्त्रता होनी चाहिए ।

दूसरी बात यह है कि लोगों को हर एक कौम की सभ्यता, तहज़ीब और बोली का ख्याल रखना चाहिये । राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा पर लम्बे लम्बे व्याख्यान हुवे हैं उसका क्या नतीजा है । हमें अपनी बोलचाल की भाषा को तरक्की देनी चाहिये । हमें एक हिन्दुस्तानी बोली कायम करनी चाहिए । इसके मानी यह नहीं है कि आप गुजराती हैं तो आपका सब काम गुजराती में न होगा । बल्कि गुजरात में गुजराती, मद्रास में मद्रासी को तामिल तेलुगू को, फ्रन्टीयर में पश्तो को, सब लोगों को अपने प्रांत में अपनी भाषा में काम करने की पूरी आज़ादी होगी । यह भी हमें समझ लेना चाहिए कि लोगों की तहज़ीब और शिक्षा के बारे में पूरी आज़ादी होगी । इसमें किसी किस्म की लड़ाई न होनी चाहिए । राजनीतिक विचारों में मतभेद हो सकता है । लेकिन जहाँ तक आर्थिक सवाल से सम्बन्ध है, ज़मींदार और किसानों का सवाल है, मज़दूर और कारखाने के मालिकों का सवाल है, ये सवाल साम्प्रदायिक सवाल नहीं हो सकते । हो सकता है कि ज़मींदार और किसान में झगड़ा हो, मिलमालिक और मज़दूर में झगड़ा हो, पर यह हिन्दू मुसलमान के झगड़े नहीं हो सकते । फिर भी जाहिल लोग इसको हिन्दू मुसलमानों का झगड़ा कहते हैं और आपस में एक दूसरे का सर फोड़ते हैं । यह कोई सिद्धान्त की बात नहीं है । सिद्धान्त से तो हम सबको आज़ादी होनी चाहिए कि हम जो चाहें सो करें । बदकिस्मती से हमारे देश में काफ़ी बेवकूफ हैं और उनमें ज़्यादातर पढ़े लिखे लोग होते हैं जो सियासी मसलों पर बहस करते हैं और अक्सर उन्हीं से झगड़े शुरू होते हैं । पंजाब के सूबे की असेम्बली में ज़्यादा मुसलमान हैं । फिर भी वहाँ झगड़ा क्यों होता है । आप गौर से देखेंगे कि जहाँ हिन्दू मुसलमान का सवाल आता है उसको कुछ ऊपर के लोग ही उठाते हैं । मिडिल क्लास का इससे कोई फ़ायदा नहीं होता । उनका तो नुक़सान होता है । बड़े लोग छोटी छोटी बातों पर, मसलन् सरकारी नौकरी, कौन्सिल की मेम्बरी के लिए झगड़ा करते हैं । आजकल एक नया सवाल और उठा है । वह है मिनिस्ट्री

का । लेकिन यह मुन्नीभर आदमियों का सवाल है । यह ऊपर के आदमी अपने फ़ायदे के लिये हिन्दू मुसलमान ईसाई को अपने फ़ायदे के लिए धोखा देकर लड़ाते हैं । हमारे मुल्क में एक अजीबो-गरीब बात हुई है । मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि मुस्लिम लीग ने अपना ध्येय पूर्ण आज्ञादी घोषित किया है । लेकिन इनकी और बातों से मालूम होता है कि उसने महज़ कांग्रेस को गाली देने और बदनाम करने की नीति अख्तियार की है । पर यह बेजा है । कांग्रेस पिछले १८-२० साल से एक शानदार जमात है और इसके लाखों मेम्बर हैं । मुस्लिम लीग में इस तरह के लोग हैं जो अच्छी तरह पढ़े लिखे हैं । पर चन्द ही महीनों में इनकी तकरीरों को सुनकर मैं हैरान हो गया हूँ । मैंने कई बार यह समझने की कोशिश की कि आखिर मामला क्या है । इसमें कोई बुनियादी बात है या नहीं । यह क्या कहना चाहते हैं ? आमतौर से इनकी शिकायतें कांग्रेस मिनिस्ट्री के बारे में हैं । भाषा के बारे में है । उर्दू जवान के बारे में सवाल उठाते हैं । इन्होंने अब एक और नया सवाल उठाया है । वह है बन्देमातरम् गान का । सबसे ज्यादा अहमियत की बात हिन्दू राज्य की है । पर यह बिल्कुल झूठ साबित होती है । यह महज़ लड़ाई की बात है । हिन्दी उर्दू के बहस के बारे में महात्माजी ने एक इकरारनामा करांची में मंजूर किया था । जहाँ तक सिद्धान्त का सवाल है कांग्रेस हिन्दुस्तानी बोली चाहती है । अब बन्देमातरम् के सवाल को लीजिये । बन्देमातरम् का सिलसिला ३० वर्षों से चला आता है और इस पर कभी किसीने एतराज़ नहीं किया । फिर भी बन्देमातरम् का आखिरी हिस्सा जिस पर कुछ एतराज़ हो सकता है उसके बारे में अभी ४ महीने हुए कलकत्ते में कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमिटी ने यह तय किया कि वह हिस्सा आम तौर पर न गाया जाय । जहाँ तक पहेले हिस्से का सम्बन्ध है उसका एक लफ्ज भी ऐसा नहीं है जिससे कोई लड़ाई कर सकता हो । इसमें कुछ कठिन शब्द बंगला और संस्कृत के हैं जिनको समझने में कठिनाता होती है । लेकिन जो चीज़ हमारे राजनीतिक जीवन से ३०-४० वर्षों से बँधी हुई है वह किसी भी धमकी से निकाली नहीं जा सकती । (cheers) हमें हिंदुस्तान की आज्ञादी की लड़ाई में

आगे बढ़ना है। हमारे बहुत से भाई और बहिनें जो यहाँ डेलीगेट बनकर आये हैं इस बात को जानते हैं कि हम पिछले १८-२० वर्षों से कितनी छोटी छोटी फ़ज़ूल की बातों में पड़े हुए हैं। मेरी आपसे बअदब यह दरखास्त है के कोई साहब इसको बताये और माकूल तौर से कहे तो वर्किंग कमिटी और A. I. C. C. हर तरह की बात तय करने को तैयार है। लेकिन यह याद रहे कि कांग्रेस के कुल उसूल हैं। कांग्रेस उन उसूलों को छोड़ नहीं सकती। जहाँ तक माइनारिटीज़ (minorities) का तआल्लुक है हम हमेशा उनसे समझौता करने के लिए तैयार हैं। इस प्रस्ताव में कोई नई बात नहीं कही गयी है। यदि आप इस बात पर तवज्जह दें और वर्किंग कमिटी के प्रस्ताव को ध्यान से पढ़ें तो आप देखेंगे कि इसमें (माइनारिटी के राइट्स) अकलियत के हकूक कैसे साफ़ लिखे हैं। कांग्रेस ने एलान किया है कि हम किस रास्ते पर चलेंगे। अगर कोई बहस तलब बात हो तो कांग्रेस उसको तय करने के लिए तैयार है। कांग्रेस ने अपनी राय निहायत सफाई से पेश की है। वह निहायत आज्ञादी से अपनी राय पेश करती है। कांग्रेस एक डिमॉक्रेटिक संस्था है और वह अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य से लड़ना चाहती है। अक्सरियत और अकलियत का जो सवाल उठा है यह गुलामी का सवाल है। यह सवाल हमेशा गुलाम मुल्कों में ही पाया गया है। साम्राज्यशाही हमेशा इस बात की कोशिश करती है कि मुल्क में अक्सरियत और अकलियत का सवाल उठा रहे और राष्ट्रीयता को धक्का पहुँचे। आजकल फिलिस्तीन का भसला भी ऐसा ही पेचीदा हो गया है। आप लोगों को मालूम होगा कि फिलिस्तीन में कुल २० वर्षों से अंग्रेज गये हैं। इस के पहले १५ सौ वर्षों से वहाँ यहूदी, मुसलमान और अरब रहते थे, पर उनमें कभी यहूदी या अरब का सवाल नहीं उठा। साम्राज्यवाद के कदम रखते ही यह हालत हो गयी है।

मालूम नहीं होता कि इस सवाल का क्या नतीजा होगा। इसका कारण मेरी समझ में साम्राज्यवाद है। साम्राज्यशाही के खिलाफ़ जो युद्ध हमारे देशमें हो रहा है उसमें यदि हम सफल हो जायें और अंग्रेजी सल्तनत हट जाय तो इसकी शकल दूसरी ही हो जायगी।

जब तक अंग्रेजी सल्तनत कायम रहेगी कांग्रेस के खिलाफ यह फिरके-वाराना आवाज़ उठती ही रहेगी । आज कांग्रेस में हजारों लाखों की तादाद में मुसलमान, सिक्ख, ईसाई, पारसी आ रहे हैं । उसकी बढ़ती ताकत को देखकर सरमायादार लोग (Vested interests) डरते हैं । उनको यह डर होता है कि जनता (Masses) पर से उनका असर (Control) हट जायगा । इसलिए जनता (Masses) में फिरकेवाराना ख्याल फैलाना चाहते हैं । वे अपनी लीडरी कायम करने के लिए गलत तरीके अख्तियार करते हैं, आज़ादी के नाम से साम्प्रदायिकता फैलाने हैं । जब हम साम्राज्यवाद से लड़ रहे थे और जेलों में बन्द थे तब Independence party वाले आज जो आज़ादी के हामी बने हुए हैं हमारे खिलाफ़ थे ।

कांग्रेस का फर्ज़ है कि वह माइनारिटीज़ से मिलने के लिए आधे रास्ते तक आगे जाय । जो लोग बहुमती (Majority) में हैं उनका यह फर्ज़ है कि वे आगे बढ़ें जिससे कि माइनारिटीज़ को इतमिनान हो और वर्षों की घबराहट और सन्देह दूर हो । इस प्रस्ताव में कोई घबराने की बात नहीं है । कांग्रेस ऐसे रास्ते पर चलना चाहती है जिससे तमाम लोग शरीफ़ हो सकें । All India Congress के delegates अपने ओहदे का खयाल करते हुए, अपनी जिम्मेवारी पर ध्यान रखकर आप लोग इस पर विचार करेंगे और सोच समझ कर इस प्रस्ताव को मंज़ूर करेंगे ।

Sjt. R. L. Biswas in seconding the resolution said :

I support the resolution moved by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru. When a resolution like this is moved by Pt. Nehru it needs no support. Everyone knows what Pt. Nehru speaks, the Congress speaks. When Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru say one thing, young India says the same thing. It is a sufficient guarantee for the minorities, if they have got any apprehension about their rights that when these two leaders speak, their rights are quite safe.

Several times the Congress has declared its creed and policy about the minorities, and it has done the same thing in its activities. I do not want to take much of your time. I simply want to say that those who cry for minorities' rights do not really mean it. The present division of majorities and minorities is merely an artificial and undesirable one. It suits only communal leaders who want to thrive at the cost of the vast illiterate masses.

In Bengal our Chief Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq declared before the last election that he was going to enter the assembly only to provide for the 'dal bhat' of the poor peasantry. He seemed to take up the cause of the poor tenants, but since he entered the assembly, got the Chief Ministership and provided for his own 'ghee bhat' he has totally forgotten all about his election promises. He is now removing his wants at the cost of the poor tenants for whom he has not been able to provide anything at all.

When the Congress wants the independence of India, it is a sufficient guarantee for all. The Congress wants to remove oppression of all kinds of the masses. Independence of India includes not only liberation but equal rights and privileges for all sections. The Congress wants government in this country for the people and by the people. So those leaders who cry for minorities' interests, have naturally an apprehension that if the common people come to power their leadership will go for ever and that is the real difficulty for them. The object behind the communal cry is to keep the common people out of power. All communalists sail in the same boat, and their object is the same. They readily coalesce when to capture power and when they can do that they more readily help exploitation of the poor. So this artificial division between

majorities and minorities has nothing to do with the vast masses of the people.

In Bengal the Mahomedans are tenants and agricultural labourers. But inspite of the Moslem ministry their position is going from bad to worse every day. What have the Mahomedan ministers done for them? Nothing at all. They did not make any efforts even. The whole aspect of the thing has been clearly explained by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, and I would not take any more of your time. I heartily second this resolution and I commend it to your acceptance.

The resolution was thereafter adopted.

Next Sjt. Jairamdas Daulatram moved the resolution on Indian States with a brief Hindi speech.

सभापतिजी, भाइयो और बहिनो, मैं आपके सामने यह प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करता हूँ। इस प्रस्ताव पर अवश्य दो एक संशोधन पेश होंगे और इस सवाल पर काफी बहस होगी। इस लिए मैं इस प्रस्ताव को पेश करते हुए आपका अधिक समय न लूँगा। आखिर में जो कुछ सवाल होंगे उनका जवाब दूँगा। फिर भी मैं संक्षेप में इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस कमेटी देशी रियासतों में १५ स्थान पर हि हैं। कुछ लोगों की यह शिकायत है कि कांग्रेस देशी रियासतों के सम्बन्ध में काफ़ी प्रयत्न नहीं करती। कांग्रेस की हमदर्दी हमेशा देशी रियासतों की प्रजा से है। इस प्रस्ताव में जहाँ तक साफ़ साफ़ भाषा में हो सका है इसको स्पष्ट करने की कोशिश की गई है। मैं देखता हूँ कि कांग्रेस ने अपने प्रस्ताव के पहले अंश में बिलकुल स्पष्ट कर दिया है कि हम सारे हिन्दुस्तान में रहनेवालों का लाभ चाहते हैं। यह भी आप को पता है कि ब्रिटिश इन्डिया के साथ साथ देशी रियासतें भी लगी हुई हैं। हमारे कुछ भाई ब्रिटिश इन्डिया में रहते हैं और कुछ (Indian States) देशी रियासतों में रहते हैं। यह कैसे हो सकता है कि एक भाई आज़ादी के लिए लड़े, कष्ट सहे और दूसरे भाई को जरा भी तडप न हो। हमें तो यह देखना

हैं कि जो भाई देशी रियासतों में रहते हैं उनके लिए हम कहीं तक प्रयत्न कर सकते हैं, कहीं तक कांग्रेस के नाम पर आज़ादी की लड़ाई लड़ी जा सकती है। हमने कुछ वर्ष पहले सीमा प्रान्त (N. W. F. P.) और बङ्गाल में देखा कि कांग्रेस किस हद तक काम कर सकती है। जैसे जैसे हमारी शक्ति British India में बढ़ती गयी थोड़े ही समय में इसका असर सीमा प्रान्त (N.W.F.P.) पर पड़ता है। देशी रियासतों में एक शक्ति राज्य करती है जो राजा, महाराजा, नवाब इत्यादि के नाम से है। लेकिन ये भी सब कार्य अपने मत का नहीं कर सकते हैं। इन सबके ऊपर एक शक्ति है और यह वही शक्ति है जो British India को गुलामी की जञ्जीर में बांधे हुए है। देशी राज्य तथा British India दोनों को एक ही शक्ति बांधे हुए है। इस तरह यह स्पष्ट है कि जो ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यशाही (British Imperialism) देशी रियासतों को बांधे है वही British India को भी गुलामी में जकड़े हुए है। इस लिए जिस दिन उसका राज्य British India पर से खतम हो जायगा, जिस दिन British India स्वतन्त्र होगी, उसी दिन देशी रियासतों की गुलामी भी खतम हो जायगी। उसी दिन Indian States भी आज़ाद हो जायेंगी। क्योंकि दानों एक ही जञ्जीर से बाँधे हुए हैं। इस लिए जब एक की गुलामी नष्ट होगी दूसरा स्वयम् स्वतंत्र होगा। देशी रियासतों के अन्दर काम न हो, कांग्रेस की मन्शा यह नहीं है। वह यह नहीं चाहती कि रियासतों के अन्दर जागृति न हो। वह यह नहीं चाहती कि हिन्दुस्तान के एक तिहरी हिस्से के अन्दर यह कार्य न हो। पर उसका यह कहना है कि वह यह काम को नहीं कर सकती। उसका यह कहना है कि British India देशी रियासतों के आन्दोलन के बोझ को नहीं लाद सकती है। हमने इस प्रस्ताव में जो कुछ कहा है वह बहुत सोच समझ कर कहा है। यह प्रस्ताव देशी रियासतों की भलाई के लिए किया गया है। इसका फल कुछ समय के अन्दर दिखाई देगा। आज भी यह प्रत्यक्ष है कि जब अहिंसा की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है तो उससे सबकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है। हम अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाना चाहते हैं। हमारी यह इच्छा है कि हमारे रियासतों के रहनेवाले भाई दूसरी

संस्थाएं कायम करें और उनके द्वारा अपनी ताकत बढ़ाएं। कांग्रेस एक संस्था है ऐसी दूसरी संस्था भी बन सकती है। जो संस्था जनता के लिए काम करती है वह थोड़े ही दिनों में जनता की प्रिय बन जाती है तथा उस संस्था की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है। इस प्रस्ताव में यही कहा गया है कि रियासतों की प्रजा अपने लिए अलग अलग संस्था कायम करे। कांग्रेस वहाँ काम नहीं कर सकती है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि जब तक देशी रियासतें आज़ाद न हो जाएंगी हिन्दुस्तान पूर्ण आज़ाद नहीं हो सकता। यहाँ पर एक प्रस्ताव फिडरेशन (Federation) के बारे में किया गया है। वह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण है। उसमें यह कहा गया है कि British India तब तक फिडरेशन (Federation) में शामिल न होगा जब तक के हमारे भाई गुलामी में पड़े हुए हैं। मैं इस लिए कहता हूँ आप खूब सोच समझ कर हिन्दुस्तान की हालत का ख्याल करें; हमारी रुकावटों का ख्याल करें; तथा इस मसले पर विचार करें कि हमारी दिक्कतें क्या हैं तथा हिन्दुस्तान कैसे आज़ाद हो सकता है। इन सब को समझकर इस प्रस्ताव को स्वीकार करें।

Sjt. N. V. Gadgil seconding the resolution said :

"I welcome the resolution as it further clarifies the Congress attitude towards Indian States. The resolution gives not only past history, but the present and future programme. It makes it absolutely clear that when freedom comes, it must be not merely for those in British India, but the benefits of freedom will be secured for the people of Indian States as well.

The second paragraph of the resolution is a sufficient guarantee that that freedom will be democratic freedom for the whole of India and not for any one part of India.

There are some people from the Indian States who are somewhat dissatisfied with some portions of the resolution. My suggestion to them is that they

must not depend on snap votes in the Congress for a modification here or there. I think it should be the policy of the Congress that whatever they want to say or do with respect to the States it should not be a matter of party politics. Whatever is possible to say unanimously should be done, and that is real, genuine, dignified and beneficial to the Indian States. Although there is some cause for dissatisfaction in some quarters, the resolution taken as a whole should be acceptable to all and there should not be any amendment moved to it. After all, what is it that anybody can quarrel about ? Has not the Indian National Congress taken the leadership for struggle for freedom ? If that leadership today considers that in the present circumstances it is necessary that the functions of the Congress Committees in the States should be somewhat different, I think that position should be accepted. When the real and final struggle comes all these points of difference will be levelled up and full opportunity will be given to those who are slightly dissatisfied today to participate in that struggle. I, therefore, appeal to those who are here from the States not to divide on this issue."

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose : There are two amendments before me. One is from Shreemati Satyavati. which is in order, because due notice of it was given in the Subjects Committee. The other is from Mr. Kapoor and others. This amendment, I find, is not in order, because due notice of it was not given in the Subjects Committee. Therefore I shall have to rule it out of order.

Sjt. R. K. Sidhwa : Sir, it would be a great encroachment on the rights of delegates to the Plenary Session of the Indian National Congress, who have come from great distances, if they are not allowed to move amendments. Kindly re-consider

your ruling and allow the delegates to move amendments. Please do not say that delegates have no power to move any amendment because they did not give notice of it to the Subjects Committee. How can the delegates move amendments to the Subjects Committee, where they have no *locus standi*? Delegates have a right to move amendments. I finally appeal to you, Mr. President, to kindly reconsider your ruling.

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose: I entirely sympathise with you. If it had been in my power, I would have given you the opportunity with the greatest pleasure. I say this in all seriousness. As your President, I am bound by the constitution as it stands to-day, in spite of any limitations that it might have. I have given this decision after a prolonged discussion with the members of the Working Committee. My ruling, whether it is right or wrong, has the support of the Working Committee, and I am told by the members of the Working Committee that it is in keeping with the past practice. I am bound by the constitution and past practice. It is, however, open to you to change the constitution. But I am entirely helpless in the matter.

After the ruling was given by the Congress President Shreemati Satyavati Devi moved her amendment for the deletion of paragraph 3 from the second sentence starting with "But under the existing circumstances....." etc. and deletion of paragraph 4 of the resolution. The mover made a long speech in Hindi :

सभापतिजी और प्रतिनिधि भाइयो,

मैं वर्किंग कमिटी द्वारा उपस्थित किये गये प्रस्ताव पर तरमीम पेश करने के लिए खड़ी हुई हूँ। इसके पहले कि मैं आपके सामने तरमीम रखूँ, मैं आपसे एक प्रार्थना करना चाहती हूँ। आप हिन्दुस्तान के मुमाइन्दे बनकर आये हुए हैं, इस लिए आप लोगों को प्रस्ताव पास

करने के पहले अच्छी तरह से विचार कर लेना चाहिए । आप किसी के हकूकों पर अन्याय करते हैं या नहीं इसको भी अच्छी तरह से देख लेना चाहिए । एक तरीका चला आता है कि जो प्रस्ताव वर्किंग कमिटी से आये उनको बिना किसी तरमीम के मंजूर कर लेना चाहिए । मैं समझती हूँ कि हमारी कांग्रेस प्रजातन्त्र के उसूल को मानती है । इस लिए जो तरमीम आये उस पर कुछ विचार न करना हमारे लिए उचित न होगा । इस तरमीम को देख कर सोच विचारकर उस पर आप आपनी राय दें ।

मेरी तरमीम इस तरह है—पैरा २ की तीसरी लाइन तथा पैरा ३, ४, ५ को छोड़ दिया जाय । प्रतिनिधि भाइयों, अगर आप मूल प्रस्ताव पढ़ेंगे तो मालूम होगा कि पहले २, ३ पैरे में जो कहा गया है वह एक दूसरे के विरुद्ध है । आप जानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में कांग्रेस ही एक ऐसी संस्था है जो हिन्दुस्तानियों की आज़ादी के लिए लड़ रही है । कांग्रेस ही एक ऐसी संस्था है जो बड़े से बड़े दुश्मनों का सिर झुका देती है । मेरे काबिल साथीने यह प्रस्ताव पेश करते हुए अपनी कठिनाइयों का जिक्र किया है ।

मैं समझती हूँ कि यह पहला मौक़ा है जब कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने अपनी कठिनाइयों का ढोल पीटा है । मैं समझती हूँ कि कांग्रेस कठिनाइयों से हटनेवाली नहीं है । जब कांग्रेस ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद से झगड़ सकती है, तो क्या वह मुन्नीभर नरेशों से जो ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य-के इशारे पर चलते हैं नहीं झगड़ सकती ? मुझे यह दलील बड़ी लाचार मालूम पड़ती है । दूसरे पैरे में कहा गया है कि वह राष्ट्रीय झण्डे की रक्षा नहीं कर सकती और उसे तौहीन से नहीं बचा सकती । मैं समझती हूँ कि ३५ करोड़ भाइयों के नुमाइन्दों को यह कहना शोभा नहीं देता कि वे इस झण्डे की देशी नरेशों के हाथ से रक्षा नहीं कर सकते । पर वे उनके दमन को बरदास्त कर सकते हैं । कांग्रेस का यह दावा है कि वह सबसे पिछड़े हुए लोगों को—अछूत लोगों को अपनाने को कोशिश कर रही है और उनकी आर्थिक उन्नति करना चाहती है । आप यहाँ ७ करोड़ भाइयों की किस्मत का फ़ैसला कर रहे हैं । देशी रियासतों की प्रजा आपकी ओर आंखें लगाये हुए है ।

बेचारे देशी नरेशों के दमन के शिकार हो रहे हैं। सब माताएँ और बहनें यह समझती हैं कि कांग्रेस ही एक ऐसी संस्था है जो हमें आज़ाद कर सकती है। दूसरी तरफ़ यह कहा जाता है कि हम हाथ थोड़े ही खींच रहे हैं। हमारा (moral support) नैतिक सहयोग उनके साथ होगा; हमारा आशीर्वाद रहेगा। हमने बहुत लड़ झगड़ कर देशी रियासतों में कांग्रेस कमेटी बनाने का अधिकार रखा। पर अब इनको यह अधिकार न रहेगा जो ब्रिटिश भारत में रहता है। यह पक्षपात क्यों? कांग्रेस कोई चर्खा संघ नहीं है, न वह हरिजन संघ है। कांग्रेस में जो लोग आते हैं वे समझते हैं कि कांग्रेस आज़ादी की लड़ाई लड़ती है, सियासी संस्था है। वह किसी खास जगह के जद्दोजहद के लिये नहीं बनी है। मौलाना आज़ाद जैसे योग्य नेता रियासतों की कांग्रेस कमेटी को खिलौना कहते हैं। जब यह कमेटी नहीं है और एक खिलौना है तो उनके हाथ में सियासी ताकत नहीं है। फिर भी आज उन पर ban लगाया जाता है। आज कांग्रेस भी उन पर ban लगाने लगी है। एक तरफ़ हम ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के ban (दमन) की निन्दा करते हैं, दूसरी तरफ़ स्वयं ban लगाते हैं। मैं समझती हूँ कि इस देश के सामने लड़ाई का ऐलान होना चाहिए। वर्किंग कमिटी ने जो प्रस्ताव पेश किया है उसके साथ साथ लड़ाई की आवाज़ नहीं है। पर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरूने इसको साफ़ कर दिया है। आप जानते हैं कि फ़िडरेशन (Federation) आनेवाला है। इसका मुकाबिला किस तरह से किया जा सकता है। हम ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद से मोर्चा लेकर संघविधान का अन्त कर देना चाहते हैं। इसके लिए हमें चाहिए कि हम देशी रियासतों की प्रजा को अपने ही हाथ में लेवें, जब फ़िडरेशन (Federation) भारत में आनेवाला है। अगर आप रियासतों की प्रजा के हक़ छीन लेते हैं तो मेरी समझ में यह ठीक नहीं है। मूल प्रस्ताव जो वर्किंग कमिटी के तरफ़ से पेश हुआ उस पर विषय समिति (Subjects Committee) में बहुत बहस-मुबाहिसे के बाद आपके सामने आया है। आप देशी रियासतों के जनसमूह की तकलीफ़ों पर ध्यान दीजिए। उनके दर्द का ह्याल कीजिए। इस

तरह देशी नरेशों को खुश करने के लिए उनके साथ पक्षपात नहीं करना चाहिए। आज संसार से Feudalism का खातमा हो गया है। केवल हिन्दुस्तान में ही Feudalism चल रहा है। देशी नरेश, ज़मींदार, सब Feudalism के पोषक हैं। हमें Feudalism खतम करना चाहिए। इस में देशी प्रजा सहायता कर सकती है। Feudalism साम्राज्यवाद का आधारस्तम्भ है। अगर आप फिडरेशन को दफ़ना कर ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद खतम कर दें तो देशी रियासतों को साथ रखना पड़ेगा। मेरा यह विश्वास है कि हमें देशी रियासतों की प्रजा के साथ बिना कुल नहीं हासिल हो सकता। आज सारे हिन्दुस्तान के प्रतिनिधियों के सामने ७ करोड़ की आवाज़ है कि आप उनकी कमेटियों को यह हक़ दे दें कि वे अपने सियासी हक़ पर विचार कर सकें इससे बहुत फ़ायदा होगा। और वे कमेटियों खिलौना न रह जायेंगी।

मैं अपने प्रतिनिधि भाइयों से पुरज़ोर अपील के साथ इस प्रस्ताव पर यह तरमीम पेश करती हूँ।

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose: Friends, about the ruling I gave, I want to make myself quite clear again. I am exceedingly sorry to give the ruling. I sympathise with the delegates. But I have to interpret the constitution by past practice. Personally my whole sympathy is with the delegates. It is not in my power to give a different ruling from what the past practice obtains. But it is the house that makes and unmakes a constitution and practice. I think the utmost I can do in the matter is to leave the matter to you. If you think that you will vary the practice you can do so; but personally I have no power. I will now take sense of the house.

After taking the sense of the house the President called upon Mr. Kapur to move his amendment.

Dr. N. B. Kapur: Friends, we must express our extreme gratitude for the clarification of the policy of the Indian National Congress in regard to the

States in certain matters. That policy of the Congress was more and more of a reformist nature till this Congress, and we must note certain satisfactory features of this particular resolution before us. We must admit that the first paragraph declaring that India is one and indivisible is a satisfactory feature.

Sir, my amendment is very brief. In the fifth paragraph of the resolution delete only the following three words "In parliamentary activities".

I told you about the satisfactory features of the resolution in the earlier paragraphs, but in the subsequent paragraph what was given in the first part has been taken away. The congress committees that are to be formed in the States will be mere playthings. It is no use having toys. We are told that the Indian nation is one, that India is one and indivisible, and then we are told, you can have congress committees only in British India and not in Indian India. This part goes contrary to the first paragraph of the resolution. Those delegates who followed the discussion in the Subjects Committee would find that we had to put up a great fight even for the little improvement that you now find in the resolution. Formerly they had scrapped even the formation of congress committees in the States. After seeing that the house was in no mood to accept the resolution in the original form, an agreement was arrived at that the existing committees can function under the control and direction of the Working Committee. The latter part of the resolution cuts India into British India and Indian India, although the first paragraph says that India is one and indivisible. If you believe that India is one, if you believe that the Indian National Congress is the one great political organization which alone can claim to represent the Indian nation as such, it is impossible that this political organization shall have

committees in one part of India and that it shall have no right to form committees in other parts. If you accept this resolution as it is, it will be introducing in Indian politics a disintegrating influence. If you allow separate committees to develop in their own way and then afterwards if they are allowed to join you, perhaps you will be developing nations within a nation. It does not lie in your mouth to say, develop your own committees; develop your own fighting strength; and after you have attained responsible government, we will join together to form the Indian nation. By this process of asking them to develop their own committees and institutions you will be drawing away from Indian India the great influence of the Indian National Congress, which is one common binding force for the whole nation, which will be lost to them.

Sir, my amendment is very short and reasonable. I do not make many changes in the resolution. It is for deletion of only three words. If these three words are deleted, as a matter of compromise and out of my profound respect for the Working Committee and my profound regard for Pandit Nehru and Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose, we are willing to accept the whole of the resolution. Because this resolution will then recognise that the committees that may be formed in the Indian States will not be Harijan and Khaddar committees, but they will bear a political character. From the point of view of following the path of least resistance, I have simply proposed the deletion of three words which will not modify the resolution to a very great extent. Only one thing will be granted, and this we want of the Indian National Congress, as the one great political organization which controls the destiny of the Indian nation. The committees that the Congress may form in the States shall not be mere playthings, mere Harijan or Khaddar committees. They must have a definite

political character, and they must work for the attainment of responsible government. It is the right and privilege of the Indian National Congress to work for the attainment of responsible self-government in the States for the States. I am unable to understand how the Congress is going to work for the cause of responsible self-government in the States without having committees which will have a political character in the States.

We admit there are many restrictions imposed by the rulers of the States on institutions of a political character. But in spite of that there are certain avenues of constitutional and political activities in certain states. In Mysore we have got 18 elected members in the Council. Out of the 18 members elected, 11 members of the congress party have resigned as a protest against the policy of repression. Is there any better opportunity to awaken the masses of Mysore and to make them politically conscious to fight for their rights? If you now say that parliamentary activity in Mysore is banned, the Congress will let down Mysore absolutely. If Mysore events had been properly represented to our leaders, I say, perhaps the politics of the State would have taken altogether a different turn and by this time you would have witnessed a triumph in the State.

There is opportunity for the Congress to function in certain States. Let there be the strictest control of the Working Committee, and I am prepared to go to this extent that we shall subject ourselves to the strictest control of the Working Committee. Let them examine every situation. But let them not ban political activities of the Congress in the States. There are different conditions in different parts of British India even. But are you going to say, because one policy does not suit all the provinces,

you are stopping Congress activities in some of the provinces? It is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of responsible government in the States.

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose: Friends, more amendments are coming. It is for you to say whether you will like them. But if you allow more amendments to be moved, you will have to sit till morning.

(Cries of No, No.)

I think it is the sense of the house that you do not want any more amendments.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: then spoke in Hindi supporting the original resolution and opposing the amendments:

सभापतिजी, प्रतिनिधि भाइयो और बहनो,

पिछले दो तीन साल से जो देशी रियासतों का प्रश्न है उस पर काफ़ी गरमागरमी से बहस होती आई है। यह प्रश्न कांग्रेस के बीच में एक प्रकार से नाजुक हो गया है। आप लोगों को मालूम होगा कि देशी रियासतों के प्रश्न को कांग्रेसने एक बार स्थापित किया था, उस समय कांग्रेस पर एक प्रकार का ban था। और उसी समय से यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने आता रहा है। यह सवाल हमने पहले एक बार स्थगित करने की कोशिश की, क्योंकि जब्बलपुर की A. I. C. C. मीटिंग के सामने जब यह प्रश्न आया इस पर काफ़ी गरमागरमी हुई थी। हमने सोचा कि जब तक देशी रियासतों के बारे में सफ़ाई न होगी बहुत सी गलतफहमियाँ होती रहेंगी। और इसे ए. आई. सी. सी. (A. I. C. C.) ने मंज़ूर किया और उस पर एक लम्बा बयान निकाला गया और देशी रियासतों की प्रजा को कह दिया कि कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमेटी इससे ज्यादा नहीं कर सकती। यदि आप चाहें तो एक दूसरी वर्किंग कमेटी बना सकते हैं। यह प्रस्ताव ऑल इन्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी में दूसरे रूप में रखा गया यह हमें मंज़ूर है। इससे ज्यादा हमारी शक्ति नहीं। हम देशी रियासतों की शक्ति देखकर उनकी भलाई के लिए खतरे में नहीं पड़ना चाहते। हम उन्हें धोखे

में नहीं रखना चाहते हैं । इसी लिए हम उनके साथ सफाई से बात करना चाहते हैं । क्योंकि अगर धोखे में रखेंगे तो वे कहेंगे कि आप लोगोंने हमारे साथ धोखेबाजी की । लखनऊ की कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमेटी से एक दफे जो Resolution पास हो गया था वह कलकत्ता में मैसूर कांग्रेस कमेटीने फिर से रखा । मैसूर वालोंने शासन-सुधार के लिए कोशिश की है । क्या उसे कांग्रेस नहीं पसन्द करती है ? पर जैसे ब्रिटिश इण्डिया (British India) में गाँव गाँव, नगर नगर में कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ बनी हैं वैसे कमेटियाँ रियासतों के प्रत्येक वस्ती में बनाना मौजूदा वर्किंग कमेटी की शक्ति के बाहर की बात है । मेरा यह कहना है कि मौजूदा वर्किंग कमेटी इस काम को नहीं कर सकती । मौलाना साहब ने अपनी जोशीली तक्रर में कहा है कि देशी रियासतों की जो कमेटियाँ बनती हैं वे खिलौना होती हैं । हिन्दुस्तान में ६०० States हैं इनमें से महज़ १५ में कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ हैं और ५८५ रियासतों में कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ नहीं हैं । इनमें South India की ३ बड़ी रियासतों को छोड़ दीजिए । अब हम रीवाँ के बारे में कहेंगे । रीवाँ एक छोटी जगह है वहाँ के कौटन साहब कहते हैं कि वहाँ कांग्रेस कमेटी की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है । इसके बाद हमें दूसरी कांग्रेस कमेटियों का इतिहास देखने की कोई ज़रूरत नहीं है । जब ५८५ जगहों में कमेटियाँ नहीं बनी हैं और हिन्दुस्तान में इतना बड़ा आन्दोलन चला और इतनी उत्तेजना हुई, फिर भी ५८५ रियासतों में कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ क्यों नहीं बनी ? इन १५ रियासतों में जो कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ पर रुकावट डाली गयी है यह झगड़ा केवल १५ कमेटियों का है । इस में खास तौर से मैसूर का है और मैसूर को टुकड़े टुकड़े कर दिये गये हैं । हम श्रीमती सत्यवती की तरमीम का इस लिए विरोध नहीं कर रहे हैं कि वह सोशलिस्ट की तरमीम है । इसमें सोशलिज़्म की कोई बात नहीं है । हमारा खयाल है कि अगर कांग्रेस के नाम पर काम किया जायेगा तो उनकी तकलीफ़ बनी रहेगी । मैसूर के भाई हमसे कहते हैं कि कांग्रेस के नाम पर हमारा चुनाव होगा । हमारा यह कहना है कि यदि आपकी शक्ति इतनी बढ़ गयी है तो आपको क्या डर है । आप अपना

नाम बदल कर प्रजामण्डल रख सकते हैं । अगर आप कांग्रेस कमेटी के नाम से काम करेंगे तो वर्किंग कमेटी उसकी देखभाल करेगी । मौजूदा हालत में कांग्रेस वर्किंग कमेटी यह बोझ अपने ऊपर नहीं उठा सकती है और न हम किसी एक आदमी को इन सब के देखभाल के लिए सुपुर्द कर सकते हैं । हम लोगों ने बहुत सोच विचार कर यह नियम बनाया है । क्योंकि हमारा पार्लामेन्टरी बोर्ड जोधपुर, जैपुर और दूसरी रियासतों में bogus (मिथ्या) चुनाव की जिम्मेदारी नहीं लेना चाहती, क्योंकि इससे कांग्रेस राजनीतिक खतरे में पड़ सकती है । अगर आप वर्किंग कमेटी का सारा इतिहास देखें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि ऐसा मौका किसी रियासत में नहीं आया है जिससे मालूम हो कि उसको स्वतंत्रता की चाह हो । जब तक देशी रियासतों के लोग गुलाम हैं और उन्हें आज़ादी की चाह नहीं है वे स्वतंत्र नहीं हो सकते । यह तब होगा जब उनमें काफ़ी ताक़त होगी । हमें आज यह विचार करना है कि कांग्रेस की लड़ाई की जगह कहाँ है । आप कहेंगे कि लड़ाई की जगह देशी रियासतें हैं । पर हमें अनुभव से मालूम होता है कि कांग्रेस की लड़ाई की जगह ब्रिटिश इण्डिया (British India) है । अगर हम देशी रियासतों में लड़ाई लड़ेंगे तो हम खतरे में पड़ जायेंगे । कर्नाटक और मैसूर में अच्छा काम हुआ है । पर गुजरात में ३०० रियासतें हैं । गुजरात की तीनसौ रियासतों में से एक में भी कांग्रेस कमेटी नहीं बनी है । जबसे १९३० में गांधीजी ने Constitution बनाया है तब से हमारा काम उसी के मुताबिक़ चल रहा है । आज उन रियासतों में भी लोग कांग्रेस के नाम से उद्योग करना चाहते हैं । इसके मानी यह है कि कांग्रेस में शक्ति आई है और ब्रिटिश इण्डिया में लड़ाई करने से आई है । किसी देशी रियासत से नहीं आई है । गांधीजी भी अपना स्थान पोरबन्दर छोड़कर ब्रिटिश इण्डिया (British India) में अहमदाबाद में आकर रहे । वे जानते हैं कि उनका स्थान ब्रिटिश इण्डिया में है, पोरबन्दर में नहीं । यह प्रश्न किसी सोशलिस्ट या राजनीतिक दल का नहीं है । हमारा मतलब रचनात्मक कार्य (constructive work) से है । कुछ लोग ख़द्दर कमेटी,

हरिजन कमेटी के नाम से घबराते हैं और रचनात्मक कार्य से घबराते हैं । हम कह देना चाहते हैं कि हम ब्रिटिश इन्डिया से लड़ सकते हैं, पर देशी रियासतों में लड़ना हमारी शक्ति के बाहर है । ये लोग अपने में अपने आप शक्ति पैदा करें । आपने देखा है कि फिडरेशन के प्रस्ताव में कांग्रेस ने साफ़ साफ़ कहा है कि हम ऐसा फिडरेशन नहीं चाहते कि जिससे देशी रियासतों गुलामी रहे । जब तक देशी रियासतों में रहनेवालों को वे अधिकार न मिल जायेंगे जो हमें मिले हैं तब तक हम फिडरेशन को स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे । यह जो प्रस्ताव है उसमें कुछ लोग चाहते हैं कि देशी रियासतों में काम किया जाय । मेरा इरादा इस पर बोलने का न था । पर यह झगड़ा तीन साल से चल रहा है । हम बहुत दिनों तक चुप रहे । पर अब हम साफ़ साफ़ कहते हैं कि हमारा इरादा देशी रियासतों के झगड़े में पड़ने का नहीं है । हम दो वर्ष तक चुप रहे । हमने बहुत सद्दा, पर अब नहीं सह सकते । हम जो उचित समझते हैं वही करेंगे । इसके साथ साथ आपको पूरी आज़ादी है आप जो चाहे सो करें । आपके सामने जो बहन सत्यवती की तरमीम आई है उसको स्वीकार न करें । क्योंकि कांग्रेस एक बड़ी संस्था है उसे देशी रियासतों में भी काम करना चाहिए, तो साफ़ साफ़ कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम इस बोझ को नहीं उठा सकते । जो लोग इस काम को कर सकते वे करें । मेरी निहायत अदब के साथ अर्ज है कि हमारे देशी रियासत के भाई दुःख न माने यही कहने के लिए मैं यहां आया हूँ

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramyya speaking on the resolution before the house said :

Friends,

I appear, then, before you in order to support the original proposition. I should have seconded the original proposition according to arrangement but I gave place to my betters in Mr. Gadgil. You may be wondering why I, who have fought so hard in the Subjects Committee and striven so much in order to get as much of concession as possible from the

Working Committee on behalf of the people of the States and their right to establish committees with full powers—why I should be coming forward to support the original proposition as against an amendment intended to amplify the powers of the committees established in the States. I must proceed to dwell upon the reason straightway. Being a party to the compromise, you naturally expect me to be an honourable party and not to surrender the compromise when it suits my purpose. I consider that there is such a thing as honor even amongst politicians. I know compromises are a difficult matter. They are unreasonable, illogical, unjust and unfair, (a voice:- even idiotic) yes, even idiotic, though here the compromise is not quite so bad; but the compromises are there such as they may be. You give a little and take a little. You do not know why you give and you do not know why you take. It is a matter of settlement in order to have a peaceful future for both the parties. Here I am anxious that both the parties should work side by side together and that is at the basis of the compromise.

I tried to plead the cause of the States' people. I have recently interested myself in the matter, because it dawned upon me that sooner or later this doctrine of paramountcy must go. I feel that the whole of India is one and indivisible. The Working Committee has been good enough to admit that. Last year I tabled an amendment that wherever the word 'India' occurs in the constitution of the Congress it should include Indian States as well, so that wherever the words 'Indian people' are used they would include 'the States' people' as well. But although this is conceded in the draft resolution, yet we saw great disparity between the preamble and the operative portion of the resolution of the Working Committee, and therefore we appealed to the Working Committee to modify it and we agreed upon the

compromise. It behoves us now to stand by that compromise, yea, by every letter of that compromise. Who is it that has entered into the compromise? Eleven friends who have tabled amendments in the Subjects Committee on behalf of the people of the States were good enough to withdraw their amendments. I had seen Mahatma Gandhi personally, then the members of the Working Committee in company with those eleven members, and again the Working Committee in Session; and, finally we have had our conversations on the platform and come to a conclusion. We, who have come here as members of the Subjects Committee including those who have moved the amendments and withdrawn them, are your plenipotentiaries,—members of the Subjects Committee who have been accredited to prepare the agenda for the delegates who have been elected by the primary members in the country. We are, therefore, your powers-of-attorneys as it were. We have weighed the pros and cons of the situation.

What are these pros and cons? Hitherto the States' People's Conference and the Indian National Congress have been running on parallel or even divergent lines. They have been suspecting each other. They have been even, shall I say, reproaching each other; at any rate, taunting each other, criticising each other and complaining against each other. The Congress has been of the opinion that the States' People's Conference is trying to exploit the name of the Congress. The States' people are of the opinion that the Congress people are not assisting the States' people and are even on better friendly terms with the Princes than with the people themselves. Now for the first time we have established a comradeship between the two great organizations. For the first time we are undertaking our journey in a common train. For the first time the different factors of the caravan have joined together

and are marching abreast in their journey towards *Mukammal Azadi* or complete independence. That is inevitable. This union, this harmony has been effected none too soon. However much you may wish for a reform the time must be ripe for effecting such a reform. Today we are able to think of this united action which has assisted in this harmonious march together only because we are all keen upon establishing a well-founded federation,— not the mock federation that our friend the Englishman is visualizing for us, but a true and genuine federation in which the people of the States and the people of the provinces hitherto divided one from the other will be labouring together to establish.

I would invite your attention to the remark of Mr. Gadgil in his speech seconding the resolution. He has stated that since 1928 a warfare has been going on between the States' people and the leaders of the Congress and the matter has been brought up from time to time before the A. I. C. C. and the Congress. In 1928 in Calcutta it was conceded that the Congress should offer support to the people of the States in their struggle. Then we reverted to the matter in 1934. In 1935 at Jubbulpore we advanced a good deal. At Wardha however a statement was drafted by the Congress President which was approved by the A. I. C. C. in Madras in October 1935, which abridged the scope of the Calcutta resolution. Later in Lucknow in 1936 (April) we advanced one step further, and finally once again in Calcutta we advanced a great deal more at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. in October 1937. Today the Working Committee has felt called upon to clarify the situation further. After all these conflicting circumstances, these forward and backward movements, the final settlement has been reached as a result of compromise. This compromise should not be considered as a defeat for one party or

victory for another. It is the spirit of Haripura, the spirit of harmony, the spirit of common understanding, the spirit of co-operation—spirit of the feeling that the States and British India will not array themselves in opposite camps but work hand in hand—which is responsible for this compromise. Till yesterday there was no question of federation. But today the question of federation has forced itself to the front. Whether federation comes or not, there is no question that the federal principle is the only principle which can bring the people of the States and British India together in any future plan of constitution.

What the Englishman has done is to cut off India into pieces by longitudinal territorial cuts into States 561 in number and provinces 11 in number; then by horizontal communal cuts into Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Harijans, Sikhs; and next by a cut in the thickness of the floor of India transversally, that is, dividing urban population from rural, agricultural interests from labour, commercial from professional, and finally making some oblique cuts dividing the country into excluded areas and plains. The States are like the paralysed half of a human body, the other half of which is healthy but cannot progress or move forward because of the paralysed half. What is the good of the head of a family marching ahead in a pilgrimage leaving the wife in the middle and the children behind to be devoured by the wolves? (laughter). It is thus that we have been cut up into pieces, divided against one another into water-tight, air-tight and vote-tight compartments. Now our duty is to break up the partitions and unite. One such step in breaking up the compartments has been effected today by the compromise that has been reached in the Subjects Committee.

The issue before us is, shall we honourably adhere or shall we, being in sight of a better bargain,

throw away that contract? All of you at one time or other may enter into a contract to build a house or purchase a residence, and having paid the earnest money and entered into the contract, will you turn aside from it because you have a better bargain if you are a purchaser or you have a better price if you are a seller? A suit for specific performance is, therefore, before you, the representatives of the whole of India assembled in this Session of the Haripura Congress. You are the tribunal which ought to decide the rights in the case. You yourself have your Muktears and will you go back upon it because you are likely to get better terms here than elsewhere? That is an impossible position so far, at any rate, as I am concerned. I have spent the vast bulk of my life in arbitrations; bringing together people, adjusting their quarrel by restoring amongst them harmonious feeling without restoring to law courts, and I have never emerged from any compromise without alienating the feeling, of one party or other, or often both. Where I alienated the feelings of both, I felt satisfied that I did justice. Where I alienated the feelings of only one, the thought was left in me whether I was not partial to the other party. Now we have emerged from an arbitration today, and the question is whether our principals, our masters, that is, yourselves assembled here in session, are going to support the contract and the arrangement that we have made here. If you do, then you stand fast to your word. There is no further litigation. Remember that all the evils in this country, all the ideas of *contract* as against *status*, all the transgressions against duty, all the individualistic tendencies and all the fissiparous forces that have been liberated in recent times have emerged from this failure to regard the spoken word as sacred. Once again we have to sit and consider whether we should not

restore the integrity of the spoken word of the congressman and make it equal to a bond. The word that is spoken by a congressman is one and is incapable of double meaning. You express your spirit in your spoken language, but when your words are committed to writing each party to the contract takes it to his lawyer and gets the interpretation of the bond that he would naturally have. Shall we follow this new tradition of the country and say that the contract that has been entered into is capable of two meanings and, therefore, we want to table an amendment widening the scope of the work of the committees, add parliamentary activities to it and thus rescind the contract that we have entered into? I must make it plain that I cannot oppose the amendment in favour of adding parliamentary activities as well to the duties and rights of the congress committees in the States. But I must stand, as an honourable man, by the original proposition. It is, therefore, my duty to appear before you to accord unqualified and unconditional support to the original proposition. It is in this spirit that I appeal to you to carry that proposition.

There is another reason why I appeal to you in this tone, and that reason is that from today forward we shall be moving together,—the States' people and the people of the provinces. If we are moving together we must engage each other's affections and good will for the cause of both and establish a spirit of harmony and concord so that the people of the provinces may say to the people of the States that the latter have much to obtain yet from the good will and from the affection of the people of the provinces, that is, from the Congress more or less. It is my hope that one of these days we shall be able to persuade the Congress to appoint a committee of enquiry which goes about the country amongst the States and ascertain facts regarding some of the

unspeakable events of which some of the princes are undoubtedly guilty in their personal conduct and character, apart from the evil practices that have grown up in the States, such as compulsory labour, multiplicity of illegal taxes, questionable means by which these taxes are collected. What I have in view is a fact-finding commission which must go about the States and prepare a memorandum, a comprehensive report on the subject for the country and the Congress. Then our plans should be to win the good will and support of the Congress. We should not again restore the old conditions of suspicion and mutual distrust and divided attention to the problem of Swaraj and differences in the approach to the one subject of common interest. To this end, therefore, it behoves us that we should stand by the compromise and in a few years it will be up to us to extend the scope of the functions of our committees. After all, speaking between ourselves, can we say that this feeling in favour of establishing committees is as intense in the States as we would like it to be? It is a theoretical right that we are asking for, very much like the rights over a joint lane between two adjacent houses of two neighbours. That lane possibly has never been used, yet the fact remains that if you are going to block the passage to that lane there will be a hullao bullao about it, litigation, warfare and what not. Our position is exactly like this. Hitherto our position has not been one in which the formation of committees was ever interdicted. That right has been now fortunately conceded. It may be that some of the States like Mysore, Travancore and Cochin where the Congress has become an established institution with its own traditions as in the provinces of India—it may be that in such States the people who have continued to fight in the name of the Congress their legislative battles, the people have resigned their legislative seats in order to challenge

the repressive policy of their Governments,—it may be that in such States the people are likely to feel hurt and feel too that their long-standing rights have been abridged. But today you have to cast your eyes on the wide horizon of India, not merely to your own State. You have to consolidate the rights and privileges of your fellow subjects in their States and not merely conserve your own rights and privileges. Today I would ask my South Indian friends to forego their intensive right in favour of the extensive rights all over the States of India; from today it shall not be open to any body to interdict the formation of congress committees in the States.

You will then ask, what is the scope of work and what is the range of activity of these committees when direct action has been out of and parliamentary activity is deducted from their function? Don't think that direct action is an event of every day occurrence and parliamentary activity is there only in a few States, say 5 or 6 out of 561 States. We should not exaggerate the importance of any field of work in order to imagine that grievances are created where really they are not at the present moment. But at the same time the fact remains that those rights must be secured, and we must secure them sooner or later. I know that Mysore is in the midst of an election and the Working Committee will certainly be prepared to allow those elections which are actually running, to be continued in the name of the Congress on the 5th of March, when new rules will come into force. No rule of any institution, not even of the Congress, can be made to apply with retrospective effect. Therefore, my friends from Mysore need not have any apprehension on this behalf. I would appeal to them to take a sympathetic and broad view of the matter. We have in recent years elevated the work of the Congress from the

sordid politics of the day to the level of a philosophy or a religion or a code of ethics. Let us adhere to that high and noble standard and let us adhere to our spoken word, the contracts we have entered into, the settlement we have made, the compromise we have reached. Then we shall be able to say to any other party with which the Congress may be entering into a settlement that the spoken word of the congressman is as good as a bond and that you cannot expect a congressman to deviate from the word that he has passed to his neighbour or to his opponent. It is this kind of reputation that we are out to build, and it is when such a reputation is built that we shall be able to restore the purity, the integrity and the morality of our transaction in the new scheme of Indian nationalism.

After the speech of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramyya closure was applied.

Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram replying to the debate, first in Hindustani and then in English, said :

प्यारे भाइयो,

मैं इस संबन्ध में बहुत कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। क्योंकि मैं खुद चाहता हूँ कि आप भाइयों को जल्द से जल्द इस पर वोट देने का मौक़ा मिला जाय। मैं चन्द बातें अंग्रेजी में कहना चाहता हूँ क्यों कि हमारे बहुत से भाई ऐसे हैं जो हिन्दी भाषा नहीं जानते हैं। यह नाजुक मौक़ा है और उनको वोट देना हे इस लिए मैं आपसे क्षमा माँगता हूँ तथा कुछ शब्द अंग्रेजी में कहूँगा।

Brother delegates, behind this resolution and the amendments to it lie issues which are fundamental, and today when you vote on these amendments and when you carry or defeat the resolution, I would plead with you to understand those issues. I do not plead with you to vote for the resolution or against any amendment. I plead with you to understand the real issues involved, because

I do not wish that you should take your decision unaware of those fundamental issues.

This resolution has been placed before you more or less by that school of thought which is regarded as 'rightist' by the 'left' wing of the Congress. I know that some of you are carried away by the expressions 'right wing' and 'left wing.' Sometimes the right wing is really more leftist and sometimes the leftists are actually rightists. The terms 'rightist' and 'leftist' are determined by the result of the action advised, and the result of the action means whether the action advised develops the strength of the nation and carries the nation further forward towards its goal. When an action carries the nation further forward towards the goal then that action is leftist, although it may be apparently a rightist action. It is this so-called and sometimes mis-called rightist wing of the Congress, it is that school of thought which has endeavoured to place before you a certain ideology and a certain technique of the Indian revolution led by Mahatma Gandhi, that has also placed before you a certain policy in regard to the Indian States. It was the so-called rightist wing of the Congress which advised acceptance of office under certain conditions. You know that those who call themselves leftists then said: 'It is a reactionary and reformist move,' 'It is constitutionalism,' 'It means going back to 1916'. And yet the acceptance of office has proved that the apparently rightist step, the apparently constitutionalist step was really a revolutionary step. (cheers.) At the end of the few months during which the Congress ministers have been in office almost everybody must admit that the acceptance of office has added to the strength of the nation, has developed the strength of the Congress, and today the Congress is nearer revolution than it was ever before. Therefore, the steps that are apparently rightist are sometimes

really leftist and the advice which comes from the leftists may really be reactionary though it may appear to be revolutionary. This is the issue underlying the resolution.

Is there any member of the Indian States present here who will not honestly admit that it is only when the Indian nation within the British Indian provinces marches forward and develops its strength within British India that there will arise favourable circumstances for achieving freedom within the States? Our strength within British India will be real support and the real weapon with which the people of the Indian States can be liberated. All this keen desire to secure the help of the Congress in British Indian provinces is simply due to the realization that the real strength lies within British India. You must analyse what is happening today. Why do you want the Congress to help you? Because the Congress in the British Indian provinces has developed strength. The day the British Indian provinces secure freedom, the day Congress develops strength in British India, that day the Indian States can be made free. The British Government would welcome the day when the Congress in British India keeps back our major problem and attends to little fights scattered over hundreds of States, each under an independent and separate unit of Government. British Government would welcome the day when the Congress is diverted from its main fight in British India, which alone can secure freedom not only for British India but for the whole of India. Do you realize what is happening today? The question of Indian States has diverted our attention from the main problem of today. The result is that when we expected that at the present critical juncture this resolution within which lies embedded many a future development, a resolution which is big with potentialities, big with something which will help us to march

much forward, when we expected that this resolution would be carried unanimously, what is it that we find? For the last two hours we have had to debate the question whether to adopt or not to adopt it. I regard this as a symbol, as a sign, as a great warning to many of us. If you want that India should be free, if you want that the progress of freedom in the States should be accelerated, you must understand the significance of what is happening here today in this Session. It is when the Congress in British India is strengthened and marches forward that it will be able to bring liberty not only to British India but to the States. That is the real reason why the so-called rightists want that our battle should not be diverted. You should realize that it is because of this consideration that we feel that to divert our activities to the States under the present circumstances will be a counter-revolutionary and ill-advised step which will create difficulties in the way of securing freedom both in British India and in the Indian States. It is for this reason that we have brought forward this resolution.

I am one of those who are mere soldiers. I have no status, I have no prestige to go by. I have placed before you what are my honest convictions. It is these reasons and these convictions which I leave with you for your consideration. I hope you will consider them and having considered them vote as your conscience may then dictate."

After the reply of Mr. Jairamdas Daulatram the amendments of Shreemati Satyavati Devi and Mr Kapoor were separately put to vote and declared lost by the President. The original resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority,

The house was adjourned at 10-5 P. M. to reassemble at 5-30 P. M. next day, February 21st.

THE THIRD DAY

21st February, 1938

The open Session of the Congress met for the third and last day at 6 p. m. on February 21, 1938.

After a Bengali song in the beginning Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose announced :

The proceedings will now commence. The resolution on Ministerial Resignations in the U. P. and Bihar will be moved by Sardar Patel and seconded by Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel then moved the resolution on Ministerial Crisis in the U. P. and Bihar with a Hindi speech. First he read to the house the resolution in English and then speaking in Hindi said :

जो प्रस्ताव आपके सामने रखा गया है वह बड़ा लम्बा चौड़ा हो गया है। लेकिन यह मामला बहुत गंभीर है इस लिए इसको बड़ी सफाई के साथ अपने मुल्क और दुनिया के सामने रखनेकी ज़रूरत थी। बहुत से लोग कांग्रेस की नीति और उसकी पालिसी (policy) के बारे में कई तरह की गलतफहमी में पड़े हुए हैं। हमने इस प्रस्ताव के शुरू में उस हालत का बयान किया है जिसमें पड़कर हमने कांग्रेसवादियों को ओहदा स्वीकार करने की सलाह दी। आप लोगों को मालूम है कि गत चुनाव के बाद हम लोग मार्च के मध्य में देहली में मिले थे। उस समय हमने यह प्रस्ताव पेश किया था कि जिस जिस प्रान्त में हम बहुमत से कामयाब हुए हैं उनमें ओहदा स्वीकार कर लें। अगर हमें यह विश्वास हो जाय कि उनके कामों में गवर्नर हस्तक्षेप न करेंगे तब उन प्रान्तों के लीडरों को राय दी जाय कि वे पद ग्रहण कर सकते हैं। इसके बाद हमने जिस प्रकार का आश्वासन मांगा था नहीं मिला। हमें वह (assurance) आश्वासन नहीं मिला और कई महीने हो गये। इसी बीच में सरकार की तरफ से सेक्रेटरी ऑव स्टेट, वाइसराय तथा प्रान्तों के गवर्नरों के बयान निकले और

कांग्रेस की तरफ से म० गांधीजी के वक्तव्य निकले । यह आप सब जानते हैं । इसके बाद हमने देखा कि जो सरकारी सल्तनत की तरफ से, जिम्मेवार अधिकारियों की तरफ से बयान निकले हैं उसमें साफ़ साफ़ इतना मालूम हो जाता है कि जो मिनिस्ट्री का रोज़बरोज़ का कारोबार होगा उसमें वे किसी तरह दखल नहीं देंगे । लेकिन हमने जिस आश्वासन (assurance) की उम्मीद कर रखी थी वह हमें नहीं मिला । हमें आशा थी कि दिल्ली की कार्यवाई से अब हमारे काम में कोई दखल न देगा । यदि कोई दखल देगा तो हम पद छोड़ देंगे । इसके बाद हमने लीडरों को आज्ञा दी कि आप ओहदा ग्रहण कर सकते हैं । उन्होंने पद ग्रहण किया । इसके बाद हमारे मिनिस्ट्रोंने यह प्रश्न उठाया कि जो लोग आज्ञादी की लड़ाई में हमारे साथ लड़े थे उनको रिहाई मिलनी चाहिए । हमने अपनी चुनाव की घोषणा में साफ़ साफ़ इसे कह दिया था । जब हमने यह प्रस्ताव रखा था तो कहा था कि हमारा प्रथम कर्तव्य होगा कि हम इनको छुड़ायें । हमने कोई दूसरी बात नहीं रखी थी । सल्तनत जानती थी, वाइसराय जानते थे, गवर्नर जानते थे । सब समझ बुझकर हमने इस काम को शुरू किया । इसमें गवर्नरों ने कुछ नहीं कहा । उन्होंने कुछ चालाकी की । हमने भी कुछ गलती की । क्योंकि हमें उस वारे में कुछ अनुभव नहीं था । गवर्नरने कहा कि हाँ, कैदी छोड़े जा सकते हैं, लेकिन जो लोग अहिंसा के लिए जेल गये हैं उनको तुरन्त छोड़ देंगे और जो हिंसा के अपराध में जेल गये हैं उनके मुकद्दमों को आप लोग एक एक करके देखें और अगर आप उचित समझें तो छोड़ दें । इस लिए मंत्रीगण (ministers) मुकद्दमा देखने लगे और उसके बाद उनको छोड़ने को कहा तो गवर्नर अब तक किसी न किसी तरह की दलील पेश करते रहे । हमने जो कुछ किया था उसमें बेशक थोड़ी सी गलती हुई । हमें तो यह कहना था कि मुकद्दमों देखने की क्या आवश्यकता है ? हमें तो कैदियों को छोड़ना है और इसकी जिम्मेवारी हम पर रहेगी । मुल्क का शासन—भार हम पर है । यदि बाहर जा कर ये लोग बलवा या मारकाट करेंगे तो हम उन्हें फिर कैद कर लेंगे । इनमें से कुछ थोड़े से कैदियों को गवर्नर ने छोड़ दिया,

फिर कहा कि वे बाहर जा कर व्याख्यान देते हैं जिससे मुल्क में विकट स्थिति उत्पन्न हो जायगी । ऐसी हालत में दूसरों को नहीं छोड़ेंगे । इसी बीचमें हमारे वार्षिक हिसाब का समय आया जब कि हमें आपके सामने जवाब देना था । तो हमने सोचा कि हम अब क्या करेंगे । उस समय कई प्रान्तों के प्रधान हम लोगों के पास पहुँच गये । मैं भी स्वयम् लखनऊ, बिहार, मद्रास गया था । मैंने खुद मंत्रियों की राय ली । उनका कहना था कि अगर हमारे यही अधिकार हैं तब हम इन्हे बरदास्त नहीं कर सकते हैं । इतने विशाल संयुक्त प्रान्त में १५ कैदियों की यह हालत है । असल बात तो यह है कि हमारे प्रधान इतने लाचार हो गये हैं कि वे केवल १५ कैदियों को भी नहीं छोड़ सकते हैं । यदि मिनिस्टर इतना भी अधिकार नहीं रख सकते हैं तो वे मिनिस्टर क्या हैं । हमें तो पहले से ही अन्देश था कि यह जो नया क़ानून बना है उसमें मुल्क की आज़ादी के लिए कोई फ़ैसला नहीं होनेका । यह सब तो फ़साने की चाल है ऐसी हमारी शंका थी । इससे हमें सावधान रहना चाहिए था । अब यही चीज़ हमारे सामने आई । जब हमारे संयुक्त प्रान्त के प्रधान गवर्नर के सामने ये चीज़ रखते हैं और १५ कैदियों को रिहा नहीं कर सकते हैं तो वे केवल मुक़द्दमों की फाइलें पढ़ने ही नहीं गये हैं । अदालत का काम मुक़द्दमा करने का है, सजा करने का है और राज्य का काम उनको माफ़ करने का है । आज स्थिति बिल्कुल बदल गई है । हमें इन कैदियों से एक प्रकार का (assurance) आश्वासन मिल गया है कि उनकी राय बदल गई है और अब उनको कांग्रेस की नीति पर विश्वास हो गया है और वे कांग्रेस के आदेशानुसार कार्य करने की इच्छा रखते हैं । ऐसी हालत में इसके बाद गवर्नर की भी मजाल नहीं है जो हमारे प्रधान के बीच में आ जाय । इससे प्रधान के स्वाभिमान को धक्का पहुँचता था । उन्होंने हमारे पास Working Committee के पास यह फ़ैसला करने का कहा और पूछा कि इसमें हमें क्या करना चाहिए । हमने कहा कि हम भी यही राय देते हैं कि मिनिस्ट्री को छोड़ दो । तब प्रधान ने गवर्नर से कहा कि हम इस काम को नहीं कर सकते हैं इसलिए आप ऐसे आदमी ढूँढ लें जो इसे करें । अब

हम इस प्रस्ताव से यू० पी० और बिहार के काम को पसन्द करते हैं । उनको मुबारकबाद देते हैं । उन्होंने कांग्रेस की इज्जत बढ़ाई है इसके लिए हम उनको बधाई देते हैं ।

अब जो गवर्नर की तरफ़ से रुकावट आई है वह किस तरफ़से आई है इसका पता गवर्नर के वक्तव्य से चलता है । खुद गवर्नर ने कुछ नहीं किया क्योंकि उनको मालूम था कि १५ कैदियों को छोड़ने से कोई हिंसा या फ़िसाद नहीं होता है । इसमें आन्तर्प्रान्तीय मुसीबत बताई जाती है । कहा जाता है कि इनके छोड़ने से पञ्जाब और बङ्गाल में बलवा हो सकता है । उन दोनों सूबों का अमनोआमान खतरे में पड़ सकता है । हम इस बात को मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं कि १५ आदमियों के छोड़ने से शान्तिभङ्ग हो सकती है ।

यदि यह माना जाय तो इसके मानी यह है कि पञ्जाब के मिनिस्टर सबसे नालायक होने चाहिए क्योंकि उनके पास अधिकार है और वे उन कैदियों को अपने एक हुक्म से पञ्जाब में आने से रोक सकते हैं, अपने यहाँ कैद कर सकते हैं । उनको जेल में रखने की सारी जिम्मेवारी उनके ऊपर होनी चाहिए, न कि हमारे मंत्रियाँ पर होनी चाहिए ।

जब हमने प्रधानपद स्वीकार किया है तो हमारा यह कर्तव्य और धर्म होना चाहिए कि हम प्रजा की राय के अनुसार कार्य करें और जितने व्यक्तियों ने देश की आज़ादी के लिए इतनी कोशिश की है उन्हें जेलमें न रखें । वे देश की आज़ादी के लिए अपनी जान देने को तैयार थे । चाहे उनके पथमें कुछ गलती रही हो । फिर भी कोई प्रजामत से चुना हुआ आदमी उनको जेलमें नहीं रख सकता । कोई इनके जेलमें रहते हुए मिनिस्टर नहीं कर सकता । अब तक दुनिया के किसी भी मुल्क में ऐसा नहीं हुआ है, न होना चाहिए । जब वायसराय को यह मालूम हुआ कि १५ आदमी छोड़ने से हिन्दुस्तान में अशान्ति होने का डर है, बलवा होने का डर है, तब उन्होंने १२६ कलम का उपयोग किया जो ऐसी हालत में नहीं करना था । क्या हिन्दुस्तान के ३५ करोड़ आदमियों में खाली १५ आदमी ऐसे हैं ? इन १५ आदमियों में से कोई बीमार है, किसी को क्षय की बीमारी

है। डाक्टरों की राय में तो वे कुछ भी नहीं कर सकते। इतना होते हुए भी कुछ भय होता तो हमारे प्रधान देख लेते। दूसरी बात यह है कि यह सल्तनत इतनी पुरानी हो गई है कि वह इतनी छोटी छोटी चीज़ों से डरती है। गवर्नर की तरफ़ से कहा गया कि काकोरी के कैदियों को छोड़ा तो हमें इतनी परेशानी हुई। अगर परेशानी हुई तो क्या हुआ। एक आदमी २०-२५ साल तक जेल की दीवारों में दुनिया से अलग रहता है उसे दुनिया का कुछ हाल मालूम नहीं। वह जेलकी दीवार से बाहर निकलता है। उसे एक नई दुनिया दिखलाई देती है। वह कांग्रेस की शक्ति को देखता है। बाहर आने पर कुछ कांग्रेसवाले उसका स्वागत करते हैं, चाय पिलाते हैं। यह सब देखकर वह समझता है कि उसके २५ साल व्यर्थ बरबाद नहीं हुए, इस लिए वह ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा बोल देता है। हमारी समझ में नहीं आता कि सरकार इनसे इतना क्यों डरती है। क्या वह इतनी जर्जरित हो गई है कि उसे १५ आदमियों से डर लगता है। हमें जिस सल्तनत का सामना करना है वह इतनी जर्जरित हो गई है। इससे हमारा काम आसान हो जाता है।

हमने दो प्रान्तों में मिनिस्ट्री छोड़ दी है। अन्य ५ प्रान्तों में हमें क्या करना है। क्या हम भी वायसराय के काम के अनुसार अपने को चलायें? हमने सोच समझकर यह निश्चय किया है। अगर आपको यू०पी० और बिहार में कैदियों को छोड़ने में डर लगता है तो हम उसकी जिम्मेदारी लेते हैं। अगर बङ्गाल और पञ्जाब के मिनिस्टर अपना काम ठीक से नहीं चला सकते तो आप उनके शासन का भार हमको दे दें।

जबसे पिछले ६-७ महीने से हमारे आदमियों ने प्रधानपद ग्रहण किया है गवर्नर सुख की नींद सो रहे हैं। वे पिछले १५ साल से कभी इतने बेफ़िक्र नहीं हुए थे। आज गवर्नर केवल दावतों (parties) में जाते हैं, मानपत्र लेते हैं, मौज़ उड़ाते हैं। प्रान्त की सारी जिम्मेदारी प्रधानों ने ले ली है। हमारे मद्रास के मिनिस्टरने खुद हमारे आदमियों को दफ़ा १४४ लगाकर जेलखाने में क्यों भर दिया? केवल इसी लिए कि उन्हें भय था कि वे शान्ति के खिलाफ़ कुछ

कहेंगे । हमारे आदमी इतना ख्याल रखते हैं क्योंकि वे जानते हैं कि गवर्नर हमारे उपर यह दोष लगायेगा कि मिनिस्टर अमनोआमान (law and order) का बन्दोबस्त नहीं कर सकते हैं । आज जेलखानों में किसी अच्छे आदमी के लिए जगह नहीं है । बल्कि चोर डाकू ही रह सकते हैं । यू. पी. में तो डाकूओं को भी छोड़ दिया है । गवर्नर खुद कहता है कि इन लोगों की कार्रवाई से और अच्छी कार्रवाई नहीं हो सकती । पर हमने तो केवल यह बतलाया है कि कांग्रेस ऐसी संस्था है जो काम पड़ने पर शासन कर सकती है । हम यह भी कबूल करते हैं कि गवर्नरने हम लोगों का साथ दिया है । लेकिन जब ऐसी छोटी छोटी बातों में प्रधान का मान भंग होता है ऐसी दशा में उसका क्या कर्तव्य हो जाता है ।

हमने जो यह प्रस्ताव बनाया है इसमें हमने वायसराय को मौका दिया है कि वे अब भी समय रहते इस गलती को सुधार सकते हैं, लेकिन उनको ऐसी गलती नहीं करनी चाहिए थी । तअज्जुब तो इस बात का है कि यहाँ दफा १२६ लागू ही नहीं होता । उन्हें यह नहीं करना चाहिए था; अपनी गलती सुधारनी चाहिए । जो आपने किया है अगर उसका अनुकरण दूसरे प्रान्तों के मिनिस्टर करें और मिनिस्ट्री छोड़ दें तो ? लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि आप अपनी भूल का सुधार करें, ताकि यह (crisis) संकट टल जाय, मुल्क में जो एक बहुत बड़ी अशान्ति होनेवाली है वह टल जाय । कांग्रेस ने जितनी सभ्य और नरम भाषा में हो सका इसको व्यक्त किया है । क्योंकि हम वायसराय के काम को कुछ न कुछ आसान कर देना चाहते हैं । एक जिम्मेदार व्यक्ति ने गलती की, लेकिन हम गलती नहीं कर सकते, क्योंकि हमें ७ प्रान्तों में काम करना है । कांग्रेस आज एक जिम्मेवार संस्था है । वह केवल आन्दोलन (agitation) फैलाने वाली संस्था नहीं है । आज वह एक जिम्मेदार संस्था है और हमने वही किया है जो किसी भी जिम्मेवार संस्था को करना चाहिए ।

आप लोग जानते हैं कांग्रेसने पिछले ६-७ महीने में जो काम किया है वह सब प्रजा के कल्याण के लिए किया है । पिछले १५० वर्षों में भी इतने प्रजा के हित के काम नहीं हुए हैं । इसके लिए आप देश

के किसानों तथा मजदूरों से पूछिए। बम्बई के मजदूरों की हालत देखिए। उनकी दशा ठीक नहीं थी। रोज़ की हड़ताल से उनका नुकसान होता था। मिल के लाभ में मजदूरों का कोई भी हिस्सा नहीं था। कांग्रेस के पद ग्रहण करने के उपरान्त वर्किंग कमिटी की सलाह से एक कमिटी बैठाकर फ़ैसला कर दिया कि मजदूर को १२½ फ़ीसवी इजाज़त दी जाय। इस कमिटी की रिपोर्ट मिलते ही गवर्नमेण्ट ने इसके अनुसार कार्य किया है। और भी कई काम देखें। मद्रास सरकार ने एक कानून (Debt Redemption Bill) पास किया है, बिहार गवर्नमेण्ट ने (Tenancy Bill) टेनेन्सी बिल पास किया है। यू०पी० में भी बहुत कुछ हुआ है और हो रहा है। ऐसी हालत में हमें सबको बीच में छोड़ना पड़ेगा। हमने तो मिनिस्ट्री एक बड़ी चीज़ के लिए ली है। हमारे सब दुःखों का इलाज मुकम्मल आज़ादी है। पद-ग्रहण जब तक हमारा हथियार बनकर हमारी शक्ति बढ़ाता है तब तक हमें उसका उपयोग करना चाहिए। लेकिन जब वह हमारे मार्ग में रुकावट हो जायगी तो हमें तुरन्त वह छोड़ना होगा। हमारे मिनिस्टर ऐसे नहीं हैं जो (२०००), (५०००) माहवार तनख्वाह लेते हों। हमारे मिनिस्टर तथा पार्लियामेन्टरी सेक्रेटरी देश का काम करते हैं। मिनिस्ट्री का छोड़ना प्रजा के लिए costly होगा। लेकिन इसके छोड़ने में किसी प्रकार की हिचक न होनी चाहिए। हमने इस प्रस्ताव द्वारा वर्किंग कमिटी को पूरी जिम्मेदारी दी है कि इसके बारे में जैसी परिस्थिति हो वैसा वह काम करे। इस प्रस्ताव को वर्किंग कमिटीने खूब सोच समझकर ७ प्रान्तों के प्रश्न पर विचार करके बनाया है। यह प्रस्ताव ऐसा है कि जिसमें किसी इतराज (objection) की ज़रूरत नहीं है। इस प्रस्ताव में कुछ फेरफार न किया जाय। ऐसी नाजुक परिस्थिति में जो प्रस्ताव होना वही बनाया है। इस लिए इसमें कुछ छोड़ना अच्छा नहीं है। आशा है आप इस प्रस्ताव को इसी तरह से पास करेंगे।

Sjt. Sarat Chandra Bose in seconding the resolution said :

Mr. President, friends and brother delegates: I whole-heartedly second the resolution which has

just been moved by Sardar Patel, and in doing so my first words will be words of congratulation to the ministers of the U. P. and Bihar for the bold and determined stand they have taken for securing the release of all the political prisoners in their respective provinces and thereby implementing the Congress Election Manifesto and the Congress legislative programme.

In this connection it is worthy of mention that at least in two Congress provinces all political prisoners have been released. I am referring to the new province of Orissa, in which there is today not a single political prisoner in jail and in which province a further step has been taken, namely, the repeal of the Bihar and Orissa Emergency Powers Act. I desire to refer also to the C. P. and Berar, where the ministers have released every single political prisoner and not merely that but released even the prisoners convicted during the last communal riot there, amongst whom were Hindus as well as Muslims. In the name of and on behalf of all political prisoners and detenus, past and present, I greet them.

Comrades, the news that a crisis has developed due to the interference — I shall say unwarranted interference of the Governor-General — must have come as a surprise to many of you, and the surprise must have been heightened by the fact that when congressmen were granted permission in the seven provinces to accept office it was well-known to the Governors of those provinces as well as to the Governor-General that the main articles in the Congress Election Manifesto and the Congress legislative programme were the release of political prisoners and detenus and the repeal of all repressive laws. The Congress Election Manifesto and the Congress legislative programme were not sealed

books to them. They must have considered every word contained in them, and knowing that they had invited the congressmen, the leaders of the Congress parties in the respective provinces, to form ministries there. The excuse that is now sought to be put forward is that the release of 15 political prisoners in the U. P. and of a lesser number in Bihar will be a grave menace to the peace and tranquillity in all parts of India. It is not difficult to realise what is behind that interference. Apparently, the Governor-General thought that if there was wholesale release of political prisoners in the U. P. and Bihar that would strengthen the demand of Bengal for the release of political prisoners there. Undoubtedly it would. But the question must be judged from the point of view of the responsibilities of the ministers themselves in those provinces. When the ministers took themselves the responsibility for law and order and good government in their provinces, I would say, it was entirely beyond the power of the Governor-General to interfere by virtue of Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act. The reason that is put forward is, in my view, a mere excuse—a frivolous excuse. The releases which have taken place in the different provinces have not produced any undesirable effect at all. Sardar Patel has narrated to you the result of many steps that were taken by the Congress ministers in the different provinces to bring about an atmosphere of peace and non-violence. The Governor-General says that wholesale release of political prisoners in these two provinces would be a great menace to peace and tranquillity. If the Viceroy desires that the peace and tranquillity he wants is the peace and tranquillity of the grave, surely we are not prepared to accept that position. But if by peace and tranquillity is meant the non-violent struggle for freedom, I declare that peace and tranquillity exist in every

one of the provinces which is administered by Congress ministers.

In this connection, I cannot help mentioning one consideration. The argument in favour of non-violence is being used by the imperialist power which has been in the past and is at present a believer in violence. You and I and all of us will gladly shun anything that is not in the path of non-violence. But it seems to be an irony, a mockery for the imperialist power, which still believes in the cult of violence, to preach non-violence to us. I think they would have been better advised to leave this in the hands of the Congress and their leaders, including Mahatma Gandhi.

The Ministers who took upon themselves the responsibility of asking for the release of political prisoners were well aware of their duties in this connection, and they need not have been reminded by the Viceroy that their duty was to preserve peace and non-violence.

The crisis which is about to develop is a crisis which all of you have realized has been developed at the instance of the Governor-General and the misapplication of Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act. The Working Committee have decided, and I would appeal to all of you to support whole heartedly the decision of the Working Committee, that they do not desire to precipitate that crisis. They desire to give a chance to the authorities, the Governor-General and the Governors of the two provinces, to call off their order interfering with the discretion of the ministers, because one can realize that if that interference is not called off the crisis will be developed not merely in these two provinces but in other provinces of this vast country, not merely in the provinces which are administered by the Congress but also in the provinces which are being administered by non-congress ministers.

And if that crisis develops, it will be no fault of the Working Committee, it will be no fault of the A. I. C. C., it will be no fault of the Congress. If a challenge is thrown out to us, I am sure, you can depend upon it that the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. will accept that challenge in the way in which it ought to be accepted. I have myself great faith in the decision of the Working Committee, particularly in the decision which has been arrived at on this question. I myself desire to say clearly that the decision not to precipitate a crisis just at this moment has been and is a wise decision. If, however, the authorities that rule over us today do not see and realize the wisdom of this decision of the Working Committee—and I hope in a few moments it will be the decision of the Congress itself—if they do not listen to the wiser counsel of the Working Committee but go on in their own imperialistic way, the crisis that they will develop will be met by the Congress in a peaceful and non-violent manner and at the same time in a manner which will redound to the credit of the Congress.

It is somewhat amazing to hear lectures from the representatives of British imperialists on non-violence. But I shall leave them there. I wish in their day-to-day administration of the affairs in their charge -- and there are many affairs in their charge under the Government of India Act—they themselves showed an example of non-violence. It will be for them at that moment, when they show that they are prepared to run the administration on peaceful and non-violent lines and not by the use of bullets and batons of the police, it will be then for them to ask us, to ask the Congress ministers to preserve an atmosphere of non-violence in their provinces. In that respect I do submit that the example which the ministers of the seven Congress provinces have

shown ought to have been an example to the Governors of those provinces and to the Governor-General, and it ought to have given the latter pause to hesitate before he acted under Section 126 (5).

There is one part of the resolution to which I would draw your attention, because I have heard that there are some who do not quite appreciate it. The resolution states that the Congress wishes to make it clear that it strongly disapproves of hunger-strikes for release. Mark the words "for release." If you consider the question from the point of view of those who were believers in violence, even in that case hunger-strike cannot be the proper method for securing release, for those who have been or are believers in violence cannot possibly object to the State retaliating with violent weapons. Considering from the view of the cult of non-violence, I think, we ought to appreciate the views of the Working Committee. From the point of view of our non-violent struggle, the Working Committee have laid down that hunger-strikes are not approved for the purpose of securing release, and the reason is not far to seek. A non-violent prisoner ought to consider it derogatory to use the method of hunger-strike for release. I would appeal to you to appreciate the views of the Working Committee and to give them a chance of showing that hunger-strikes, so far as securing release is concerned, really defeat the object for which they are undertaken. I do not ask you to declare that hunger-strike cannot be justified under any circumstances. You all know that Mahatma Gandhi himself adopted this method when he found that the interest of the whole country was at stake. There are circumstances under which hunger-strike can be adopted. The question is whether for securing release it is the right method. In this I would appeal to you to subscribe to the view of the Working Committee.

I do not desire to take up more of your time. The eyes of all political prisoners in all the provinces, whether in prison or in detention camps, are now turned to you. The eyes of all India are turned to you. The decision which you have been asked to take is the decision which, I hope, will sooner or later — sooner rather than later — remove the obstacles in the way of the release of political prisoners and detenus.

In this connection I would beg of you, comrades of other provinces, to realize that the eyes of Bengal are turned to you. Sardar Patel has referred to Bengal and suggested: "You non-congress ministers, if you cannot release the prisoners, if you cannot do your job, you had better get out and allow other persons who are more competent to take your places." On behalf of Bengal I tell you that there is really no menace to peace and tranquillity, and there will be none, if the political prisoners and detenus are released today. I desire to make myself fully responsible for the statement. I have had an opportunity of meeting large numbers of Andamans repatriates in the Alipore Central Jail. I make bold to declare that the message that they sent to Mahatma Gandhi from Andamans in response to his telegram, to every word of that message each of us adhere — each single Andamans repatriate — literally and in spirit. They have said in their message: those of us who in the past believed in violence have lost all faith in it. I had an occasion to put to them certain questions on this subject, and I declare with a full sense of responsibility that they cling to every word of their message and they will cling to it to the last drop of their blood. Under these circumstances there can be no doubt, and I wish to protest if any one says to the contrary, that the release of political prisoners in Bengal can in any way lead to any untoward consequences.

It is true that the prisoners and detenus of Bengal do not propose to go into obscurity. It is true that they desire to take their rightful place in public life, and will do so as non-violent soldiers of the country. Those of them who believed in violence have abjured their faith in violence. When the time comes for national work they will do so as non-violent soldiers of the Congress. Therefore, I appeal to you in the crisis that has developed, which the Working Committee has desired not to precipitate, to strengthen the hands of the Working Committee. I appeal to you to strengthen the hands of the A. I. C. C. and of Mahatma Gandhi. But if the fight comes, whether in the near or distant future, over this question, I hope that each and every one of you will strengthen the hands of the Working Committee in that fight, and you will make the imperialist power realize that greater things can be achieved by the weapon of non-violence than by weapons of violence.

श्री मुभाषचन्द्र बोस :

मेरे सामने एक तरमीम आई है । मैंने कल अर्ज किया था । रूलिंग दी थी कि यह मेरे अधिकार में नहीं है कि मैं तरमीम का स्वीकार करूँ । लेकिन साथ ही साथ यह कहा था कि अगर आप चाहते हैं तो आप राय दे सकते हैं । मैं कोई रुकावट नहीं डालूँगा । पर इस पर विचार करने से देर होगी । अब यह आपकी राय पर है । जो इस तरमीम के पक्ष में हैं वे राय दें ।

The house voted that the amendment ought not to be allowed. Then,

Mr. Shri Krishna Sinha, the Premier of Bihar, was loudly cheered as he rose to speak on the resolution:—

राष्ट्रपतिजी, बहिनों और भाइयो, मैं नहीं समझता था कि मुझे कांग्रेस के मध्य पर खड़े होकर आपके सामने कुछ कहना पड़ेगा । मेरी जिन्दगी में यह पहला मौका है जब मैंने कांग्रेस के मध्य पर खड़े होकर अपने उपस्थित भाइयों से कुछ कहने का साहस किया है । मैं

समझता हूँ कि इस प्रस्ताव द्वारा हमारी कार्रवाई के बारे में कहा गया है । मैं इस परिस्थिति पर कुछ प्रकाश डालने की कोशिश करूँगा । मेरी समझ में इस प्रस्ताव पर मेरा बोलना कुछ अनुचित सा मालूम होता है । मैं यहाँ पर कुछ बोलना नहीं चाहता था । लेकिन मुझे गुरुजनों की आज्ञा थी कि कुछ कहा जाय । इस लिए ऐसे मौके पर मेरा खड़ा होना अनिवार्य हो गया । यहाँ पर जो भाई उपस्थित हैं वे मेरी कार्रवाई के सम्बन्ध में कुछ जानना चाहते हैं । इसी लिए मुझे आना पड़ा । आपने इस प्रस्ताव में दो प्रान्तों के प्रधान मंत्रियों का बधाई दी है । पर उन्होंने तो अपने कर्तव्य का पालन किया है ।

भाइयो, मैंने जब तक प्रधान मंत्री के रूप से काम किया मैं इस मंत्र को एक मिनट के लिए भी नहीं भूला था कि हमें अपना कर्तव्य पालन करना है । हमारे बिहार सूबे में ऐसा प्रश्न हो गया जिसमें मैंने देखा कि जो थाती यानी कांग्रेस का सम्मान लेकर मैं यहाँ आया था उसमें धक्का लग रहा है । तो मैंने यह सोचा कि मेरे लिए यह आवश्यक है कि मैं पद छोड़ दूँ और पद छोड़कर कांग्रेस में आलोचना के लिए पहुँच जाऊँ । जिस समय मैंने कलम लेकर अपने सूबे के कैदियों की हार्ड की आज्ञा निकाली थी उस वक्त मुझे ईश्वर पर विश्वास था । मेरी कार्रवाई में एक प्रकार का उत्साह और जोश था । मैंने ६, ७ महीने घमासान राजनीतिक लड़ाई की थी । हाल में ही मेरे एक दोस्त गवर्नर से मिले तो उन्होंने पूछा कि आप Constitutional Governor हैं या और किसी प्रकार के गवर्नर हैं ? गवर्नर ने गवर्नमेन्ट ऑफ इण्डिया ऐक्ट हाथ में लेकर कहा कि इसके मुताबिक गवर्नर हूँ । भाइयो, मैंने भी जो आज्ञा निकाली थी वह उसी Act के मुताबिक थी । जब मुझे पदग्रहण की आज्ञा मिली तो मुझसे यह कहा गया कि तुमको ऐक्ट के दायरे के अन्दर रहना होगा । मैंने वैसे ही रहने की चेष्टा की । मैं समझता हूँ कि विधान के अनुसार गवर्नर वैसे नहीं हैं जैसे अंग्रेजी विधान में राजा है । यहाँ तक तो मैं भी जानता हूँ कि जो कार्रवाई हुई है वह ऐक्ट के मुताबिक है, पर गवर्नर के प्रतिबन्धों के विरुद्ध है । सूबे बिहार के प्रधान मन्त्री का कर्तव्य है कि वह सूबे में अमन-चैन कायम रखे

उसको सूबे का अमनोआमान कायम रखना चाहिए। जब गवर्नर को यह मालूम हो कि प्रधान मन्त्री इस काम को नहीं करना चाहते हैं तो यह गवर्नर की खास जिम्मेदारी (special responsibility) है कि वह सूबे में अमन चैन कायम करे। बिहार के गवर्नर यह कहने का दावा नहीं कर सकते कि जिस समय कैदी छोड़े गये तो सूबे में कुछ हलचल हुई। सूबे में शान्ति रही इससे गवर्नर यह नहीं कह सकते कि सूबे की अमनोआमान को खतरा है। आज जब सूबे में केवल २३ कैदी छोड़ते हैं तो अमनोआमान का बहाना कर के वायसराय की शरण ली गई है। मैंने उनकी राह छ महीने तक देखी मैंने अपनी चुनाव की घोषणा में एलान किया था कि कांग्रेस की आज्ञा से राज की बागडोर हाथ में आते ही मैं सबसे पहले राजबन्दियों के प्रश्न को हाथ में लूँगा। मैंने सबसे पहले अपने प्रान्त के कैदियों को अण्डमान से वापस हिन्दुस्तान बुलाया। मैं स्वयम् कैदियों से मिला और मुझे विश्वास हो गया कि वे अमनोआमान नहीं छोड़ सकते। शायद यू. पी. के गवर्नर काकोरी के कैदियों के बारे में ऐसा कह सकते हैं, पर बिहार के गवर्नर ने अपने वक्तव्य में कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कही है। कैदियों के छोड़ने पर राजनैतिक वातावरण में कुछ खराबी नहीं आई। यों तो गरम नरम दल सभी पार्टियों में होते हैं। आज मैं इस मंच पर खड़े होकर बड़े विश्वास के साथ कहता हूँ कि अगर मैं इन २३ बन्दियों को छोड़ देता हूँ तो वे सूबे के नागरिक जीवन में साहस से काम करेंगे। मैं बिहार के गवर्नर से, जिनकी आज्ञा हमारी आज्ञा के ऊपर हुई है, यह बात कह सकता हूँ कि इनसे हमारे सूबे के अमनचैन में खलल नहीं पड़ेगी। यही मैं पहले कहता था। और आज भी कहता हूँ। बङ्गाल गवर्नमेण्ट यह कह सकती है कि उसके प्रान्त के अमन-चैन को खतरा हो सकता है। मेरा यह कहना है कि कैदियों के छोड़ने से बङ्गाल के अमनचैन में खतरा नहीं पहुँच सकता है। मैंने गवर्नर से कहा कि बङ्गाल और पञ्जाब में एक तुमुल आन्दोलन चल रहा है। अगर सूबे पञ्जाब और बङ्गाल के मंत्री अपने यहाँ के लोकमत की परवाह नहीं करते, अगर उनका काम लोकमत के विरुद्ध

चलना है, तो वे बिहार के सूबे की गवर्नमेण्ट को बन्दी छोड़ने से नहीं रोक सकते। मैंने गवर्नर की बात मानने के लिए एक एक कैदी छोड़ना शुरू किया। मैंने उनको छोड़ते हुए कहा कि मैं यह नहीं जानना चाहता कि किसने ज्यादा या कम कसूर किया था। राजनैतिक अपराध की बात बिल्कुल निराली है। गवर्नरने अपनी विज्ञप्ति (Communique) में कहा है कि सूबे की अदालत के काम में हमसे दस्तन्दाजी नहीं करनी चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि मैंने कितने कैदियों की फांसी की सज़ा रद्द कर दी। अदालत का काम है जितने आदमी आए उनके गुनाहों का विचार करें तथा सज़ा दे। शासक का काम है वह ऊँची नीति से उनकी परिस्थिति के अनुसार सोच समझ कर उन्हें छोड़े या सज़ा दे। हमारे दोस्तों ने मुझसे कहा कि प्रधान मन्त्री सभामञ्च पर खड़े होकर कह दें कि मैं कैदी छोड़ना चाहता हूँ पर गवर्नर नहीं छोड़ने देते। आज मैं यहाँ खड़े होकर कहता हूँ गवर्नरने भी मुझसे कहा था कि गवर्नर छोड़ना नहीं चाहते। वे मेरे दोस्त अब भी मेरे दोस्त हैं; उस समय भी मेरे दोस्त थे। मैं अपने दोस्तों से कहूँगा कि अब वे अपनी गलती समझ जाएंगे और स्वतन्त्रता के युद्ध में कन्धे से कन्धा लड़ाकर आगे बढ़ेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि जहाँ तक संभव हुआ मैंने गवर्नर को समझाया और समय आने पर त्यागपत्र दिया। लेकिन मैंने जो कुछ किया है वह केवल राजनैतिक कैदियों के छोड़ने की ही बात नहीं है, बल्कि यह तो अधिकार की लड़ाई है। मैंने सारे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए एक प्रश्न खड़ा किया है कि सूबे की जवाबदेही प्रधान मंत्री की है या गवर्नर की है। मेरा विश्वास है कि उत्तरदायित्व प्रधान मंत्री का है। इसी विश्वास पर मैंने त्यागपत्र दिया। जिस समय मैंने यह कार्रवाई की तो मैं नहीं जानता था कि मेरे पूज्य नेतागण हमारी कार्रवाई के बारे में क्या कहेंगे। आज कांग्रेसने हमारी कार्रवाई पसन्द की है। इससे मुझे बड़ा आनन्द और सन्तोष है। इतना ही नहीं आज इंग्लैन्ड के अखबार भी देखते हैं कि यह ऐसा मसला नहीं है कि जिसपर कांग्रेस झगड़ा नहीं करती। मैंने टाइम्स ऑफ़ इण्डिया में पढ़ा था कि सूबा बिहार एक छोटा सूबा है। सूबा बिहार तो गांधीजी की तपस्या का फल है,

वह उनके आशीर्वाद से बढ़ा है । मुझे अभी अभी पता चला है कि गवर्नरने हमारे सूबे की असेम्बली की बैठक को स्थगित कर दिया है । बैठक २४ तारीख से होनेवाली थी । गवर्नमेण्ट ऑफ इण्डिया ऐक्ट के मुताबिक बजट हाथ में लेकर पास करेंगे और उसके बाद कठपुतली के मंत्रिगण कायम करेंगे और जनता की राय के खिलाफ स्वयम् शासन चलावेंगे । मेरा यह कहना है कि गवर्नमेण्ट ऑफ इण्डिया ऐक्ट थोथा स्वराज्य है । उनको चाहिए कि लोकमत के अनुसार कार्य करें । जिनको प्रधानमंत्री बनाये उनको फरवरी या मार्च किसी महीने में असेम्बली बुलाने को कहें और उसमें बजट या गवर्नमेण्ट की नीति पास करा लें कि इस सूबे की गवर्नमेण्ट विलायत की पार्लियामेण्ट के हुकुम के मुताबिक चलेगी । प्रतिनिधित्व के आधार पर शासन न होगा । हमारे प्रान्त में कई कार्य आरम्भ हुए थे । हमें उनको बीच में ही छोड़ देना पड़ा । यदि आपकी आज्ञा होगी तो मैं सूबे बिहार के कार्य को आगे बढ़ाने का साहस करूँगा । यही मेरा विश्वास है तथा यही मेरा आश्वासन है ।

Mr. P. H. Patwardhan in supporting the resolution said :

This is the most important resolution of the Session. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel himself has moved this resolution and the Premier of Bihar and other leaders have spoken on this. I am supporting this resolution as a rank and file follower of the Congress on behalf of the Congress Socialist Party.

I must first apologise to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, for he does not believe that followers should speak. But I want most respectfully to remind him that whenever there has been a crisis the Congress Socialist Party have not lagged behind other groups and have courted jail. They have borne the brunt of the struggle side by side with others during the last two movements.

I must thank the Governor-General, for by interfering with the ministers he has indirectly helped to

make Haripura Congress a success. I feel that every Congress Session ought to meet with some such crisis and impending struggle. It will keep our goal clear before our eyes and we shall never forget the fact that we are an army fighting British imperialism.

It may be that this resolution as it stands may not be approved of in its entirety by many delegates. They may wish to make some changes here and there or amend certain parts of the resolution. Yet all have supported it wholeheartedly because they all accept its content. It is a clarion call to the country to be ready for mobilization. When we go back to the distant villages this shall be the message of the Haripura Congress. We shall tell the people that Congress has accepted the challenge of the British Government. The nation will rally together under the Congress Flag and show the world once more the power and the hold of the Congress.

The interference of the Governor-General is, to my mind, an absolutely unconstitutional step. British statesmanship has become bankrupt. We see it all over the world. Indian masses today are coming in their hundreds under the banner of the Congress. Even the two provinces in which there are non-congress ministries, I am sure, will not be able to withstand the movement of the Congress. We are not concerned whether the Viceroy and the Governors will or will not retrace their steps. The Congress is telling British imperialism that it has strength enough to meet the crisis. British imperialism can no longer dodge us or defeat us. The masses have already begun to say that they shall give taxes and obey laws only when they are made by Congress ministers. The Government will find that there can be no peace or order without the Congress ministers.

As time goes on our struggle is going to be more bitter than ever before. The Trade Union Congress and other organizations which did not come in

before, would do so now and fall in line with Congress to make the fight more effective.

I assure the Working Committee that whatever our internal differences we shall never be found wanting when it decides to act. When the Congress decided upon office-acceptance we were against it, but today all of us congratulate the ministers on their stand. The attitude that our ministers took on this question in Behar and the U. P. has increased our moral stature. They have proved that office cannot corrupt us. We consider no price too great to maintain the prestige and dignity of the Congress. When we go back we will broadcast that the message of Haripura is that the struggle is coming and coming in the very near future. The very fact that not one amendment has been moved to the resolution shows that tomorrow when the Working Committee thinks fit for giving an order of mobilization and for direct action, the country will effectively respond to that call and stand as one man behind the Congress. Let the British imperialism understand that the Congress is the custodian of peace and progress in this country and not they. With all their might they have not the power to safeguard peace and tranquillity in the country without the Congress. Let us pass this resolution and show the world that India is one in its resolve to end British thralldom.

After the speech of Mr. Patwardhan the resolution was put to vote and unanimously carried, no amendment being moved.

Then the President took up the next resolution, that on Kisan Sabhas, and read it to the house, and called upon Sjt, Shanker Rao Deo to formally move it before the house. Sjt. Shanker Rao Deo moved the resolution on Kisan Sabhas, in support of which he delivered a speech in Hindi.

भाइयो और बहिनो,

आपके सामने जो प्रस्ताव रखा है वह किसान सभा के बारे में है । मैं समझता हूँ कि जो कांग्रेसमैन हैं उनमें इस विषय पर कोई मतभेद होने का स्थान नहीं है । इस लिए मेरी राय में इस पर ज्यादा बहस करने की आवश्यकता नहीं । आप जानते हैं कि इस प्रस्ताव में किसानों को अपना संघ बनाने का हक हमने स्वीकार किया है, क्योंकि कांग्रेस कि राय में देशका कोई भी वर्ग या जमात अपना संघ बना सकता है; यदि कोई बनाना चाहे तो कांग्रेस उस वर्ग के या जमात के हक को छीनना नहीं चाहती है । लेकिन इस प्रस्ताव में आगे चलकर कांग्रेस यह कहती है कि हिन्दुस्तान की मौजूदा हालत में कई खास कारणों से कांग्रेस ही किसानों का संघ बन सकती है । हमारे यहां सात लाख देहात है । हम चाहते हैं कि हर एक गांव में कांग्रेस कमेटी हो जाय । ऐसी कमेटियां तभी मुक़र्रर हो सकती हैं जब वे किसानों की हों । इस लिए कांग्रेस कांग्रेसमैनो से आशा रखती है कि वे कांग्रेस की शक्ति बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न करेंगे । खास करके देहातों में कांग्रेस की शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए अधिक से अधिक संख्या में किसानों को कांग्रेस में लाएं । कांग्रेस ने आज तक किसानों के लिए जङ्ग किया है और भविष्य में करेगी । ऐसी अवस्था में कांग्रेस समझती है कि जहां तक हो सके, कोई अलग किसान संघ बनाने की ज़रूरत नहीं है । आगे चलकर कांग्रेस एक और इशारा करती है । वह कहती है कि किसी कांग्रेसमैन को ऐसी कोई कार्रवाई न करनी चाहिए जिससे किसी प्रकार कांग्रेस की शक्ति कम हो जाय । किसान सभा तथा कांग्रेस दोनों संस्थाओं में कार्य करने वाले कार्यकर्त्ताओं का अनुभव है कि कभी कभी दोनों संस्थाओं में आपस में मतभेद हो जाता है । कांग्रेस आशा करती है कि ऐसा मौक़ा आने पर कांग्रेसमैन कांग्रेस की शक्ति बढ़ाने की पूरी कोशिश करेंगे । मैं अपनी बहस खतम करने के पहले कुछ बातें मराठी में कहूँगा । अध्यक्षजी ने मुझे इस प्रस्ताव पर बोलने की आज्ञा दी है । इस लिए मैं चन्द अलफाज़ मराठी में कहूँगा क्योंकि मराठी समझनेवाले किसान काफ़ी तादाद में मौजूद हैं । मैं आशा करता हूँ कि अन्य प्रान्तों के भाई शान्ति से मेरी बातें सुनेंगे । समझ में न आवें तब भी ध्यान से सुनेंगे ।

Sjt. Shanker Rao Dev then spoke in Marathi. Sjt. R. K. Chakravarti in supporting the resolution said :

Mr. President, sister and brother delegates,

It has been dinned into our ears in season and out of season by the enemies of the progress of India that the Indian National Congress is a middle-class organization and represents a handful of the Indian population. I wish those critics were present here today to see what the Congress is like and what it stands for. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the great non-co-operation movement, there has been a tremendous political consciousness among the masses since 1921, and the Indian National Congress today does not represent any particular caste or community, but represents all sections of the people. There had been no less than 30 lacs of members on its roll last year and the majority of them came from the peasants and labourers. The strength of the Congress today lies in that of the masses. Therefore, it is quite in the fitness of things that the resolution calls upon all congress committees and workers to organize congress committees among the Kisans, to initiate them into the principles of the Congress and tell them what the message of the Congress is. Let us tell them that the Congress stands for the removal of exploitation of any kind whatsoever, be it either by zamindars or the money-lenders or the Britishers or anybody else. You will remember in this connection the fundamental rights of the people drawn up by the Karachi Congress. The Faizpur Session of the Congress also drew up an agrarian programme which says that the antiquated system of land-tenure and repressive revenue system must go; that all uneconomic holdings should be exempted from land-tax; that all feudal dues and levies and forced labour should be abolished: that there should be fixing of tenure with heritable rights and

privileges for tenants to build houses and plant trees; that there should be reduction of rural indebtedness and also of the arrears of rent. You will see from this that the Congress has realized the importance and necessity of an agrarian programme inspite of its political pre-occupations. This programme may not go to the root of the matter, but it is substantial and far-reaching and would surely bring relief to the peasants. The agrarian programme drawn up by Kisan Sabhas does not greatly differ from this congress programme. But the drawing up of a theoretical programme is not enough. We must publish it all round, specially among the peasant masses. We must draw up definite schemes and proposals on the basis of the programme. They may differ in different parts of India under varying conditions. It is the duty of the Provincial Congress Committees and the Congress Assembly Parties to draw up these proposals. The Congress Party at the Madras Assembly has been already successful in passing a Debt Relief Act. The Congress Government at Bombay has also passed a Money-lenders' Act, and more comprehensive bills will emanate from the Congress Party there shortly. The Congress parties in the U. P. and Bihar have also passed certain tenancy laws for the good of the peasantry. It is true that we are not in a position to give effect to our full Kisan programme all at once and under present conditions. But we must be ready with it so that when the time comes, we may not be caught napping.

Friends, the canker of communalism is eating today into the vitals of the nation and we must check it. The leaders and the Congress are doing their very best for it. So long, this spirit of communalism was confined to some self-seeking opportunist leaders in towns only, who wanted to excite communalism just to get loaves and fishes

of office and other similar things for them. But now they are trying to spread this virus among the peasants and the masses. If you work on the agrarian programme, if you bring home to the peasants, be they Hindus or Moslems, that the question of rent and revenue or illegal 'abwabs' or heavy rate of interest affects the Hindu and Moslem tenants equally, you will find they will not think in terms of their community, but will think in those of their country and they will rally round the banner of the Congress. Therefore, work among the peasants and organizing them on proper basis is the best panacea for the growing spirit of communalism among them.

One word more on the relation between the Kisan Sabhas and the Congress organizations. The resolution says that the Congress will not countenance any of the activities of those Congress members who, as members of Kisan Sabhas, help in creating an atmosphere hostile to Congress principles and policy. I hope and pray this contingency will never arise. It is unfortunately true that in some places recently there has been some misunderstanding between Kisan workers and Congress workers. This must be checked in the interest of both. There should be no thought of rivalry between the two, for this will be injurious to both, more specially to Kisan organizations which are yet much weaker. If our leading congressmen take greater interest in the Kisan programme and if a large number of peasants are directly enrolled as members of the Congress, there can be no question of rivalry between the Congress and Kisan workers. On the other hand, the 'Kisan Sabhas' will be a kind of wing of the Congress.

This misunderstanding between the peasant and Congress organizations arises from the fact that we do not see things in the proper perspective. The

Congress is predominantly a political organization representing the urge of all classes of Indians towards national freedom. A peasant organization is essentially a group organization primarily interested in the welfare and advancement of that group or class. The Congress thinks and acts mainly on a political plane: the peasants' organizations on the functional and economic plane. The peasants' organizations ought to know that their grievances cannot be removed unless the Congress has political powers and wins political emancipation. The Congress also ought to know that it cannot gain Swaraj or political power unless in its fight for it, it is backed by the masses. So the programme and objective of both are inter-related and that too very closely. May be, there is sometimes over-lapping in the programme of both; but the fact is that by the activities of the Congress and Kisan Sabhas a joint anti-imperialist front is growing up, has grown up and will grow up, and that will be for the ultimate good of the country and the Congress and for everybody. I cannot better conclude this point than by repeating before you the following from the presidential address of our President delivered day before yesterday here: "The peasants' organizations should not appear as a challenge to the National Congress which is the organ of mass struggle for capturing political power. They should therefore be inspired by Congress ideals and methods and work in close co-operation with the Congress. Co-operation between the Congress and the other two organizations could be facilitated if the latter deal primarily with economic grievances of the workers and peasants and treat the Congress as a common platform for all those who strive for the political emancipation of their country."

Friends, one more word and I have done. The problem of India today is one of poverty, unemployment and indebtedness. That is also the problem of

the vast masses inhabiting this land. That is exactly the problem before the Congress. It can be solved only by the achievement of Swaraj in India. Let us all, therefore, rally under the banner of the Congress—the Hindus and the Muslims, the peasants and the workers—and march towards the common goal without any friction or disharmony among us.

The resolution on Kisan Sabhas was adopted unanimously after the speech of Prof. Rajkumar Chakravarty.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani then moved the amendments to the Congress Constitution as passed in the Subjects Committee, which were carried one by one. He said :—

भाइयों, आपको मालूम होगा कि लखनऊ कांग्रेस में एक कान्स्टी-टयुशन कमेटी बनी थी। इस कमेटी में श्री राजेन्द्रबाबू, श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण तथा मैं था। इस कमेटीने विधान के बारे में तरमीमों पर बिचार किया। फिर फैज़पुर की कांग्रेस में एक कमेटी बनी थी। जिसके सदस्य श्री राजेन्द्रबाबू, पं. जवाहरलाल नेहरू, श्री जयप्रकाश नारायण, श्री. जयरामदास दौलतराम थे तथा मैं था। इस कमेटी ने अपनी तरमीम विषय समिति के सामने पेश की और मैं इसका धारा प्रति धारा (Article by article) आपके सामने रखूंगा। इसके अलावा कुछ जरूरी बातें भी हैं वे आल इण्डिया कांग्रेस कमेटी के सामने आणगी और फिर आपके सामने आणगी। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसकी हिन्दी न पढ़ें क्योंकि मैं हिन्दी में पढ़ नहीं सकूँगा और मैं समझता हूँ कि आप हिन्दी में समझेंगे भी नहीं।

The amendments to the Congress Constitution having been adopted, the name of Sjt. Achyut Patwardhan was added to the constitution committee.

Then the last resolution of the Session, viz, selecting the venue of the next Congress Session, was taken up.

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose: Now you will have to select the venue of the next Congress. The

matter was considered in the Subjects Committee and the choice fell on Mahakoshal.

Mr. Chhedi Lall, President of the Mahakoshal Congress Committee then formally invited the next Congress Session to be held in Mahakoshal, which was accepted.

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose : Friends. now will follow the usual concluding ceremonies of the Session.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani : Friends, you know before we disperse it is customary to have some final ceremonies, and I will ask Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant to initiate this.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant next spoke in Hindi :

प्रतिनिधि वर्ग, बहिनो और भाइयों,

मैं आपके सामने सिर्फ़ रस्म अदा करने के लिए नहीं बल्कि एक असली काम करने का आया हूँ और मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि इस पुनीत कर्तव्य को करने के लिए मुझे अवसर मिला है। मैं आप सबकी ओर से और अपनी तरफ़ से अपने राष्ट्रपति सुभाषचन्द्र बोस और स्वागत समिति के सभापति और अन्य सज्जनों, महिलाओं, पुरुषों, नवयुवकों तथा बालकों को, जिन्होंने इस अधिवेशन को कामयाब करने में मदद दी है, मैं हृदय से धन्यवाद देता हूँ। सुभाषजी के बारे में आप लोगों को यह बतलाना ख़ास जरूरी नहीं है कि उनका स्वास्थ्य बहुत अच्छा नहीं रहता है। हाल ही में उनको इलाज के लिए देश के बाहर जाना पड़ा था। मगर यहाँ आकर आप को कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन में दिन रात जुटे रहना पड़ा है। मैं समझता हूँ कि गत में आप मुश्किल से कुछ घंटे सोते होंगे। दिन में काफ़ी इन्तज़ाम होते हुए भी आप को बहुत दिक्कतें हुई हैं। इसके साथ साथ चन्द पहलुओं को देखना, और दूसरी बातों को देखना, और इसके बाद इतनी बड़ी सभा का संचालन करना, यह तो एक हट्टे कट्टे आदमी, मेरे जैसे आदमी के लिए भी बड़ी मुश्किल का काम है। पर सुभाष बाबू की ऐसी हालत होते हुए भी इतना ज़्यादा काम करना एक बड़ी बात थी। वह कई विषयों और मसलों को हल करने में अपनी सारी शक्ति

के साथ कार्य कर रहे हैं। वह संसार के और सब सुखों को छोड़कर इसमें लगे हैं। उन्होंने इस बोझ को उठाया है, इस लिए मैं हृदय से उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि उन्होंने देश की सब से बड़ी जिम्मेदारी का जो काम किया है उसके लिए भगवान उनको इस संकट को सुलझाने के लिए आरोग्य रखे और उनको तकलीफ न पहुँचे। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं देशवासियों से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि मुभाष बाबू का स्वास्थ्य बहुत अच्छा नहीं है। उनके स्वास्थ्य को देखते हुए उन्हें इधर उधर हर जगह बुलाना उन्हें कष्ट देना है।

मेरे लिए यह ज़रूरी है कि कुछ शब्द उनके लिए कहूँ जिन्होंने यहाँ काम किये हैं। मैं स्वागत समिति के सभापति, सरदार साहब, मन्त्री, और अन्य सज्जनों को जिन्होंने इस अद्भुत नगर की रचना की है, धन्यवाद देता हूँ। यहाँ एक अजीब छटा दीखने लगी है। आप लोग बहुत दिनों से बारडोली के नाम से परिचित हैं। बारडोली की शक्ति उसके भीतर छिपे हुए चन्द गाँव हैं। इनको देखने का मौक़ा मुझको पहले नहीं मिला था। हम लोगों में से बहुतों को बहुत कांग्रेस अधिवेशन देखने का अवसर मिला है। मुझे भी १९०५ से कांग्रेस के कई इजलास देखने का मौक़ा मिला है। लेकिन यहाँ मैंने एक अजीब बात देखी, जिससे मैं समझता हूँ कि स्वराज्य अब नज़दीक आ गया है। इस जगह पहले केवल जंगल ही जंगल था, झाड़ियाँ ही झाड़ियाँ थीं। ५०० एकड़ ज़मीन को साफ़ करके उसमें बिजली लाई गई है, पुल बनाया गया है, नई सड़कें बनाई गई हैं, जिनमें से एक १० मील लम्बी और पक्की है। यहाँ अब एक नई छटा नीखती है। इसके साथ साथ इस सरलता में शुद्धि, पवित्रता तथा कला की छटा दिखाती है, साहित्य की छटा दिखाती है। कुछ न कुछ अपूर्व बात दिखाई देती है। गुजरात में एक अनोखापन मालूम होता है। हज़ारों आदमियों के बीच में रहते हुए भी यहाँ सफ़ाई रहती है। लाखों आदमी यहाँ आये हैं। मैंने सुना है कि प्रतिनिधियों के रसोईखाने में ७०० मन चावल पकता है। इसके अलावा जहाँ किसान खाते हैं, वहाँ २५, ३० हज़ार आदमियों की रसोई तैयार रहती है। मुझे तो

इतने बड़े इन्तज़ाम की कल्पना भी अजीब मालूम होती थी। यहाँ के नल पानी के इन्तज़ाम को देखकर आश्चर्य हुआ है। यहाँ का विशाल पंडाल देख कर आप सबको आश्चर्य हुआ होगा। यहाँ सब काम संगठित शक्ति के अनुसार ही किया गया है। इससे हमारे संगठन का पता चलता है। यह सब कामों को करनेवाले सरदार पटेल हैं तथा उनके पीछे गांधीजी का आशीर्वाद है। गुजरात देश के लोगों के इस कार्य से देशभक्ति, प्रेम और गुजरात की अपार शक्ति का पता चलता है। सरदारजी के साथ काम करनेवाले श्री कन्हैयालाल देसाई हैं। छोटी छोटी लड़कियाँ, औरतें रातभर पहरा देती थीं। इसके लिए मृदुला वहेन साराभाई को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। उनमें एक अजीब प्रकार की स्फूर्ति है जिससे वे सब काम कर सकती हैं। वालंटियर के कैप्टन जेनरल ने जिस शक्ति का परिचय दिया है वह अपूर्व है। हरिवदनजी ने ऐसी मेहनत और कोशिश की जिससे हमारा यह ५१वाँ अधिवेशन सफल हो गया। करीब ३० वर्ष पहले भी इस प्रान्त के सूरत शहर में अधिवेशन हुआ था। आज अधिवेशन जंगल में हुआ है। लेकिन सूरत शहर का अधिवेशन छोटासा था। आज का अधिवेशन किस शान से जंगल में हुआ है। इससे पता चलता है कि आज कांग्रेस की शक्ति ऐसी है कि जंगल में मंगल हो गया। इससे कांग्रेस की विस्तार शक्ति का पता चलता है। महात्मा गांधी ने कांग्रेस को ऐसा बनाया है कि आज जङ्गल में भी इतने आदमी इकट्ठे हो गये हैं। इस तरह का काम हिटलर और मुसोलिनी भी नहीं कर सकते। यहाँ जो कुछ काम हुआ है उसे मुझे विश्वास है कि सबने एकमत होकर किया है। पहले लोग छोटी छोटी बातों पर घबरा जाते थे। कहा जाता है कि आज देश में इतना बड़ा संकट (crisis) है। उसके होते हुए भी हमने निर्भय होकर विवेक के साथ अपनी शक्ति और परिस्थिति को समझते हुए इस प्रस्ताव पर विचार किया है। हमने वर्किंग कमेटी को अधिकार दिया है कि वह परिस्थिति को देखकर जैसा उचित समझे करे। यह हमारी शक्ति का परिणाम है कि हमने एकमत होकर यह प्रस्ताव पास किया है। इससे हमारी शक्ति बढ़ेगी और हम पूर्ण स्वराज्य हासिल कर सकेंगे। सरदार साहब ने इस अधिवेशन को सफल बनाने में रातदिन मेहनत की है।

मैं उनको धन्यवाद देता हूँ । इतने बड़े काम से आदमी को थोड़ी शोखी हो सकती है । पर उनको नहीं है । मैं भगवान से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह गांधीजी को जल्द से जल्द अच्छा करें । उन्हीं की छत्रछाया में यह बढ़ती हुई है । मुझे खेद है कि एक आदरणीय नेता उपस्थित नहीं हो सके हैं । राजेन्द्र बाबू का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा नहीं है । भगवान उनका आरोग्य करे । मैं सभी वालंटियरों और कार्यकर्त्ताओं को एक बार फिर से बधाई देता हूँ ।

Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister for Education, Bihar, following Pantji, spoke in Hindi.

भाइयाँ और बहिनो, सन १९३० के सत्याग्रह के जमाने में यूरोप और अमेरिका से बहुत से लोग इस अजीबोगरीब लड़ाई का देखने आये थे । इनमें से कुछ लोगों ने मेरी मुलाकात और बातचीत हुई थी । उन्होंने यह कहा था कि हमें हिन्दुस्तान की औरतों की बहादुरी देखकर बड़ी खुशी हुई । मैंने उनके कहने की सच्चाई यहाँ आकर देखी है । हरिपुरा में छोटी छोटी लड़कियाँ वह काम करती हैं जो आदमी भी नहीं कर सकते । आज हरिपुरा में कांग्रेस के संगठन को देखकर कौन कह सकता है कि यह कहना मुवालिगा है कि कांग्रेस का संगठन दुनिया का सबसे अधिक सुसंगठित है । सरदार पटेल ने दो लाख आदमियों के रहने लायक शहर ताप्ती नदी के किनारे बसा दिया है । यह कहना भी ठीक होगा कि उनकी बराबरी बड़ी बड़ी सन्तान भी नहीं कर सकती । कांग्रेस सबसे बड़ी सुसंगठित संस्था है यह हरिपुरा कांग्रेस ने स्पष्ट कर दिया है । आज मे चन्द महीने पहले कांग्रेस में सोशलिस्ट और नॉन-सोशलिस्ट ये दो दल थे । उनमें आपस में झगड़े होते थे । एक दूसरे के काम की आलोचना करते थे जो लोग कांग्रेस से वाकिफ नहीं हैं समझते थे कि कांग्रेस का संगठन टूटकर रहेगा । कांग्रेसने अबतक हर मोर्चे पर यह दिखाया है आपसमें मुखालफत तभी तक रहती है जब तक कि कांग्रेस दूसरे से नहीं लड़ती । जैसे ही बाहर में कुछ मुखालफत हुई कांग्रेसवाले सब के सब एक हो जाते हैं । यही वाक्या आज भी हुआ । ज्योंही यू. पी. और

बिहार के मंत्रियों ने खतरे की घंटी बजाई सब एक हो गए। सोशलिस्ट और नोन-सोशलिस्ट दोनों को हरिपुराने एक हांत देखा।

रात के वक्त लम्बी लम्बी लाठियाँ लिए हुए कम उम्रकी लड़कियाँ पहरा देती थी। उन लड़कियों को देखकर मेरे मनमें यह होता था कि मैं खुद पहरा दूँ। औरतों की बहादूरी देखकर मुझे यह पता चला कि गुजरात की औरतें कितनी बहादूर हो सकती हैं। यह सब गांधीजीकी बदौलत है। शायरी में कहा जाता था कि गुजरात की औरतें नाजुक हांती हैं। पर उनकी कार्यवाई से पता चला कि यहाँ की औरतें बहादूर भी होती हैं। कोई ताजुब नहीं कि आगे आनेवाली जबरदस्त अहिंसात्मक लड़ाई में ये आपके आगे चलेंगी। मुझे उसका यकीन है जब लड़ाई हांगी ये हमसे आगे रहेंगी।

इसके अलावा एक और चीज़ हरिपुरा में देखने में आई है और वह गुजरात ही कर सकता है। यहाँ पढ़लिखे लोग मेहतारों का काम करते थे यह मुझे पहले से नहीं मालूम था। आज मुबह मुझे मालूम हुआ तब मुझे बड़ी शर्मा आई कि मैंने क्या किया। गुजरात भर के लोग हमारे काम के लिए तैयार रहे हैं। मैं डेलिगेटों की तरफ से गुजरात कांग्रेस कमेटी का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ, सरदार पटेल का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। वे एक खास शख्स हैं जो दुनिया में यह दिखलाना चाहते हैं कि कोई कमज़ोर कौम दूसरी कौम से दबकर नहीं रह सकती। कांग्रेस की प्रेमबाँसुरी बजाकर आज एक नया युग पैदा हो रहा है इसका भी श्रेय गुजरात प्रान्त को है। सरदार पटेल के लिए यह कोई बड़ी बात नहीं है। बारडोली के आन्दोलन में हमने देखा कि गुजराती कितनी काबिलियतसे अपने संगठन का कायम रखते हैं। मैं चेयरमैन स्वागत कमेटी का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। मुभाषबाबू का शुक्रिया मैं कैसे अदा करूँ मैं नहीं जानता। अरसे दराज़ से वे हमारे साथी रहे हैं, लेकिन आज वे हमारे जेनरल हैं। हमें डेलिगेटों तथा हिन्दुस्तान के बाशिन्दों की तरफ से यकीन है कि हम इस नौजवान जेनरल के साथ चलेंगे। हम वैसी ही कोशिश करेंगे जैसी अब तक करते आये हैं। हकीकत में मुभाषबाबू ही पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के अनुगामी होने के काबिल हैं। उनका सूबा जिस मुसीबत में

गुज़र रहा है उससे हम सबको हमदर्दी है। हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी बङ्गाल की मुसीबत पर आंसू बहाता है। हम सब बङ्गाल की खिदमत करने को तैयार हैं।

Next Mrs. Sarojini Naidu addressed the gathering as follows :

Friends, . . . (Cries of Hindustani, Hindustani)
 . . . Friends, I am going to speak in the language that is the international language of India. I had decided not to speak to-night, firstly, for a personal reason, which is purely personal, and that is because I am not well. But nobody has compassionated me for that reason. The other two reasons were of a delicate nature, and they are reasons of good taste, because being a Bengalee by blood it seems rather too personal to praise the President, who also is a Bengalee by blood. But since we have been violating so many laws I may be forgiven, and I hope to be excused, if I violate the law of good taste in which one Bengalee would praise another Bengalee.

But, of course, for the moment Subhas Bose must suppress his provincial feelings. He is today the leader of the Indian nation. But he must bring to his leadership those essential qualities of that militant and mystic Bengal, that Bengal of victories, that Bengal of heroic sons, that Bengal of sacrifice and heroism, that Bengal which has made the history of India reverberate with epic agonies of hero and heroic youth. To him, who is the symbol of the youth of Bengal, the symbol of reckless and arrogant courage and heroism and sacrifice of Bengal, I bring the homage of the assembled representatives of the united nation. I will not go into details in giving him thanks on your behalf. But I would remind him that he, who for so many years had been a young soldier, is today the chosen hero and general in the battle to come, and I would remind him that his courage, his wisdom, his initiative, his enterprise, his

resourcefulness and his soldiery during the coming year await a test.

The other reason why I was hesitating to speak is also the reason of good taste. Little Gujarat, which is today's host, has been to me a very precious province ever since the historic day when as the privileged successor of Mahatma Gandhi I was leading that campaign where so many brave volunteers met to suffer and were not defeated though imprisoned. To me Gujarat is the scene of epic struggle, Gujarat is the memory of great national enterprise. I am bound to Gujarat by ties of deep affection, and for me to praise Gujarat was almost to praise my own—in truth—my own self. But where so many have praised Gujarat, may I not also add my voice of praise? I look upon Haripura as a bamboo city. This city of reeds is a miracle of one man's dream, of another man's efforts, and of a third man's accomplishment. Where Sri Krishna of Brindavan extracted rhythm out of the flute of reeds, Kanaiyalal has succeeded in building up a city of reeds, which can be regarded as a great national endeavour and which is today the scene of national unity. Who shall say that in the world there can be a repetition of what we have seen tonight and what we have been witnessing during these many days? One coming from England, who was visiting us, looking around this city said: No, where in the world could a dream be so perfectly realized as this dream of Mahatma Gandhi of village congress has been realized by the efforts of the iron General, Sardar Patel and his adjutant, Kanaiyalal Desai? But of what avail would have been this great magical city, had it not been for the gathering and political assemblage of immense crowds of men and women pouring from the villages of Gujarat, and had it not been for the central lesson of what mass discipline can accomplish? The memory of Bardoli

is a living example of perfect mass organization of many thousands of men and women, of thousands of peasants and toilers of the soil. To the more sophisticated people of the city and to the nations of the world, it is an example in discipline, orderliness and unity.

Of the Congress Session itself what need is there for me to speak? The Congress has spoken itself. Lord Samuel has said to Subhas Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru: I am amazed at the calm of the Congress over the ministerial crisis. Why should we not be calm? Why not? The whole series of crises to us is mere punctuation and not interruption in our onward march to victory. What is this crisis except that it gives a further opportunity to our will, to our intention, to our ability, to demonstrate that we would achieve that independence which we crave? Speaker after speaker has praised unnecessarily the unity shown by various groups within the Congress. Why should it not be so? Groups in peace time there may be. But at the time of any national danger there will be only one group, and that group of loyal soldiers ready to lay their lives down for the cause of liberty. I demand that the Indian nation in the hour of crisis, in the hour of sacrifice, in the hour of battle, in the hour of victory, shall stand as one. Though in times of peace men may have restlessness for action and there may be more than one voice, there may be one sentiment or another, and there may even be a breach - these are transitory and trivial things; but what remains is the dream of liberty, the power of liberty, the hope of liberty, the oncoming liberty that is our destiny.

One word to my little sister Mridulababen, the Joan of Arc, not of Gujarat alone but of the whole of India. To her and to her marigold volunteers, the jewels of Gujarat, we pay our homage for the valiant courage and discipline which they brought

into service, effective service, willing and courageous service. But let us not be partial to one side only, however lovely they may be. I must refer to the G. O. C. and his band of men volunteers, though not as dramatic as girls but equally valiant, and to their duty day after day. Dr. Syed Mohmud has mentioned that he was astonished to find that educated men did the work of menials and sweepers. Why should he feel astonished at educated men performing those duties, I do not know. I am proud to see that education so liberates the youths that it lends dignity even to menial tasks and transmits their contribution to national service. To all of them we render our thanks. Once more to the peasants of Gujarat, who have become an example of ordered sacrifice, let us render our homage.

Lastly, let us render our homage to one tiny thing, one little figure, one tiny atom of humanity not sitting very far away from us today - so tiny, so fantastically tiny, so fragile to him who is the embodiment of the honour of the race, to him who is the testimony and witness to the centuries of glory, to him who is the symbol of our hope, our sacrifice and our victory, let us send our homage of love, our homage of faith, our homage of loyalty and our homage of sacrifice in the cause of liberty which he dreams for the liberation of the Indian people.

Sardar Patel next spoke in Hindi thanking the Congress President and all those who had contributed to the success of the Congress Session :

प्रतिविधि भाइयो, बहिनो और मेहमानो,

अब मैं दो एक शब्द आप के सामने कहूँगा । आप लोगों ने जो उदार भाव से तकलीफ उठाकर इधर आकर हमारा उपकार किया है उसके लिए मैं आपका अनुग्रहित हूँ । मुझे एक बात का दुःख है । अब तक कांग्रेस के ५१ अधिवेशन हुए हैं उन सबमें पूज्य

मालवीयजी शरीक हुए थे । केवल यहाँ नहीं आये क्योंकि उनकी सेहत अच्छी नहीं है । दूसरे हमारे भाई बाबू राजेन्द्रप्रसादजी भी अस्वस्थ होने के कारण नहीं आ सके । तीसरे श्री राजगोपालाचारी गैर-हाजिर हैं ।

हमारे प्रान्त और बङ्गाल प्रान्त से एक खास तरह का सम्बन्ध चला आता है । इस प्रान्त में अब तक ४ कांग्रेस अधिवेशन हुए हैं । पहला अधिवेशन अहमदाबाद में हमारे महान पुरुष सुरेन्द्रनाथ बनर्जी के सभापतित्व में हुआ था । दूसरा अधिवेशन सूरत में हुआ । इसमें श्री राशबिहारी बोस सभापति थे । तीसरे अधिवेशन के सभापति स्वर्गीय सी. आर. दास थे । और यह इस प्रान्त का चौथा अधिवेशन है, इसमें भी उसी प्रान्तके एक महान पुरुष आये हैं । जबसे आप यहाँ आये हैं हमने आपको कोई आराम नहीं दिया है । आपको हमेशा काम करना पड़ा है । वे मुल्क की सेवामें लगे रहे हैं । लोगोंने शुक्रिया अदा किया है । मैं भी सब का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ । मैं एक बात कहता हूँ मैंने शुरू में तीन भाइयों के नाम लिये हैं । दो भाइयों के नाम और भी हैं । डा. खांसाहब और डा. अव्दुल गफ्फार खांसाहब । हम समझते थे कि वे जरूर आएंगे, पर वे नहीं आये । वे बीमार हो गये इसका हमें दुःख है । हमारे बारदाली के किसानों को काफ़ी उम्मीद थी कि वे आएंगे ।

नगर-रचना के बारे में हमें दो बातें कहनी हैं । हमने अपने नगररचना करनेवालों की तारीफ़ सुनी है । यह जो नगर-रचना हुई इसकी जो खूबी है ५१ दरवाजे हैं । इनकी जो खूबसूरती है यह बङ्गाल के चित्रकार की कृति है । ये ऐसे सादे तौर पर रहते हैं कि कोई इनको नहीं जानता । इनका नाम है श्री नन्दलाल बोस । जो कुछ खूबसूरती है वह सब उनकी कृति है । और जो गुजरात के चित्रकार हैं उनकी क्या तारीफ़ करूँ ? उनका तो यह काम ही था । जो इस नगर का नक्शा बनाया गया है वह सीमा प्रान्त के रिटायर्ड इंजिनियर श्री रामदासने बनाया है । ये बापू के पास रहते हैं और जूता सीते हैं । फैजपुर कांग्रेस का सारा काम इन्होंने किया था । मुझसे कहा गया कि यह काम ५ हजार रुपये में करना है । मैंने कहा

कि श्री रामदास को दे बीजिये । ये जितना मंगिने उतना मैं दे दूँगा । श्री रामदास आए । जो बीज उन्होंने मांगी मैंने दे दी । इसमें कितना पैसा खर्च हुआ यह तो जब हिसाब होगा तब माखम होगा । जब यह जगह पसन्द करनी थी तो मैं बापू को लाया था । इस जगह पर बड़ा विकट जङ्गल था । हमने यह जङ्गल ही पसन्द किया । बापू ने कहा कि हरिपुरा में काम ठीक होगा । हमें ज्यादा ज़मीन चाहिए थी । क्योंकि फैजपुर के अनुभव से हमें माखम था कि हमें ज्यादा जगह चाहिए । इस लिए हमने ५०० एकर ज़मीन पसन्द की । इसमें तीन गाँव की जगह है, कड़ोद, मांडवी और हरिपुरा । इसमें दो भाग हिन्दु के और एक भाग मुसलमान का है । इन लोगों ने हमसे कुछ मांगा नहीं बल्कि हमें कुछ दिया है । मैं उन लोगों का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ । लेकिन ये तो गुजराती हैं । उनका क्या शुक्रिया अदा करें । यह तो उनका धर्म है । जब हमने कार्य उठाया तो गांधीजी का यह कड़ा हुक्म था कि किसी आदमी को भैंस का दूध या घी नहीं भिलना चाहिए । मैंने घी हिसार और बीकानेर से मँगवाया । हमें बापू का यह हुक्म मिला कि गाँये रखनी चाहिए । हमने ५०० गाँये रखी । ये हमारे ५०० डेलिगेट ऐसे हैं जो हमें कुछ तकलीफ नहीं देते । हमसे बहस या झगड़ा नहीं करते, बल्कि हमें दूध पिलाते हैं । न कोई तरमीम पेश करते, न रिजोलुशन । हमें दूसरा हुक्म मिला कि जो प्रतिनिधि होकर आयेँ उनको हाथ का कुटा हुआ चावल तथा चक्की का पीसा आटा देना चाहिए । इस लिए हमें सैकड़ों मज़दूर रख कर चावल कुटवाना पड़ा और गेहूँ पिसवाने पड़े ।

रेलवे स्टेशन के पास एक रास्ता था, उस पर मोटर से बड़ी तकलीफ होती थी । इस लिए पक्की सड़क बनवानी पड़ी । इसके बाद जङ्गल साफ़ करने की ज़रूरत पड़ी । एक गुजराती भाईने tractor लगाकर इसको साफ़ किया । अब हमें दो चीज चाहिए थीं । वह पानी और बिजली । दो लाख आदमियों के लिए अच्छा पानी न हो तो काम नहीं चलता । मैंने कहा कि मुझे ५० हज़ार रुपया वाटर वर्क्स के लिए चाहिए । बापूने कहा नदी का पानी पीएंगे । पर मैंने कहा मुझसे यह जोखिम नहीं उठाया जायगा । मैंने सूरत बम्बई और अहमदाबाद

म्युनिसिपालिटियों के ठेकेदार हिन्दुस्तानी कन्स्ट्रक्शन कम्पनी से पाइप लिए । अब हमें गटर की नालियाँ चाहिए । हमने ये नालियाँ एक दूसरी कम्पनी से लिया जिसका मालिक एक किसान है । इन्होंने अपनी सारी सम्पत्ति रास गाँव में गंवा दी थी । अब हमें सफ़ाई का काम चाहिए उसमें ऐसे बहुत से किसान थे जिन्होंने काम किया । हमारे साथी दरबार साहब तथा कनैयालाल तीन महीने पहले ही यहाँ आ गये । सारे नगर में जो कार्य हुआ उसकी तारीफ़ होती है । हमारे गुजरात में एक खास आदत है कि जो आदमी काम करता है वह कम बोलता है । मैंने तो आप लोगों की सौबत से बोलना सीख लिया है । आपको पहले की मैं एक मिसाल देता हूँ । मैं कलकत्ता कांग्रेस में गया था । मेरे एक मित्र मेरा टिकट लेकर पंडाल में चले गये । मैं सब रास्तों पर घूमा, पर किसीने मुझको पहचाना नहीं । मैं घूमकर वापस चला गया । तब आचार्य कृपालानी के पूछने पर मैंने कहा कि मेरे पास टिकट नहीं है । हमारी हालत कुछ ऐसी ही है । यहाँ जो कुछ है वह सब हमारे साथियों की कृति है । मैं तो केवल रास्ता बतला देता हूँ । ८ हजार व्यक्ति स्वयंसेवक के कार्य में लगे हुए हैं और २ हजार स्वयंसेवक सफ़ाई का काम कर रहे हैं । इनके सेनापति तथा बहिन मृदुला सारामाई की क्या क्या तारीफ़ करें । हमारा एक स्वयंसेवक नदी में डूब गया, दूसरा निमोनिया से मर गया । हमारे यहाँ छोटी छोटी बच्चियाँ काम करती थीं । लेकिन ये गुजरात की बच्चियाँ थीं । उन्होंने यह काम किया है । उनकी क्या तारीफ़ करें । हमारे साथ हमारे काम करनेवाले रसोई के प्रबन्धकर्ता श्री रविशङ्करजी महाराज हैं । वे हमारे गुजरात के महाराज हैं, महन्त हैं । प्रत्येक आन्दोलन में वे सबसे पहले जेल में जाते हैं और वहाँ का जेल सुपरिण्टेण्डेंट उनका सारे जेल का रसोईघर बता देता है । हम लोग आप लोगों के एहसान-मन्द हैं । इस जङ्गल में आपके आराम के लिए, सुख के लिए किसी चीज़ का प्रबन्ध नहीं हो सकता है । अगर हम चारपाई दें तो हमारे पन्तजी ऐसे आदमी हैं कि एक रात में तीन चारपाई टूट जायँ । फिर दो दिन पानी बरसा इससे तकलीफ़ बढ़ गई, पर आपने इस मुसीबत को बरदास्त किया । इन सब त्रुटियों को संभाल लिया, बढ़ा प्रेम और

उदार भाव दिखाया । इसके लिये मैं आप लोगों का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ ।

जब बिजली का सवाल आया तो सूरतवालों ने अपने सिर्फ़ लागत पर देने को कहा । केवल अपने लागत पर देने को कहा तो हमने कहा कि हम लागत भी नहीं देंगे । गुजरात सिमेन्ट कम्पनी ने २५० बोरी सिमेन्ट भेज दी । हमने बाल्टी के लिए टाटा को लिख दिया कि देश का काम है, बाल्टियाँ भेज दो । उन्होंने भेज दीं । अब चीनी चाहिए थी । हमने बड़ी बड़ी मिलों को लिखा कि भाई, हमें प्रतिनिधियों के लिये चीनी चाहिए, तब उन्होंने भेज दी । हम उनका क्या अहेसान माने ? देश का काम था, सबने हमारा साथ दिया । ईश्वर की दया से हमारा काम सफल हो गया ।

Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose was then garlanded by Darbar Gopaldas as he rose to reply. After speaking a few words in Hindi he addressed the gathering in English also :

भाइयो और वहनो,

कुछ कहने के पहले मैं एक घोषणा करूँगा । मुझे जाँ कुछ निवेदन करना है उसके बाद वन्देमातरम् गान होगा । उस वक्त आप लोग कृपा कर खड़े हो जायें । गान के बाद सभा का कार्य समाप्त होगा । कल सवेरे स्वयंसेवकों की रैली होगी तथा सवेरे दस बजे ए० आई० सी० सी० की मीटिंग होगी ।

अब मैं पहले दो चार शब्द हिन्दी में आपकी सेवा में निवेदन करूँगा । फिर अंग्रेजी में कहूँगा । मैंने जब काँग्रेस के ५१वें अधिवेशन की कार्यवाही शुरू की थी तो मेरे हृदय में शक और शंका थी कि आखिर में क्या नतीजा होगा । लेकिन मुझे बड़ा संतोष और अभिमान है कि आपकी सहायता और सहानुभूति तथा प्रेम से हम लोग काँग्रेस का कार्य बहुत शांति और आसानी से कर सके । इस लिए मैं आप लोगों का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ । सबसे पहले मैं अपने भूतपूर्व सभापति पं० जवाहरलाल नेहरू का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ । यदि उनसे पूरी सहायता नहीं मिली होती तो मैं कामयाब न होता । इसके बाद मैं

वर्किंग कमिटी का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। वर्किंग कमिटी के हर एक सदस्य ने सहायता की उससे मैं कुछ काम कर सका। यदि उनकी सहायता न मिली होती तो मेरा कामयाब होना बिल्कुल असंभव था। इसके पीछे मैं विषय समिति का शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। विषय समिति में बहुत कुछ बहस हुई, पर मुझे बड़ी खुशी के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि विषय समिति का काम बड़ी खुशी तथा शान्ति से खतम हो गया। आप खुद जानते हैं कि इस समय में कितनी शांति और आसानी से कार्य हुआ है।

पहले रोज जब मैंने विद्वलनगर का दृश्य देखा तो उस समय मुझे वह दृश्य याद आया जो मैंने यूरोप से आते समय फिलिस्तीन में देखा था। जहाँ पहले मरुभूमि थी वहाँ थोड़े ही समय में एक नई नगरी बस गयी है। और यहाँ हरिपुरा गाँव में एक नया शहर बस गया है। हम जानते हैं कि विद्वलनगर को बनाना, उसका इन्तेज़ाम करना बड़े परिश्रम का काम है। इसके लिए जिन लोगों ने जिम्मेदारी ली मैं उनका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ तथा सभा की तरफ़ से हार्दिक धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मैं इस विषय पर ज्यादा कुछ न कहूँगा। आप लोग जानते हैं कि स्वागत समिति के सदस्य प्रधान तथा स्वयंसेवक और स्वयंसेविकाओं ने दिन की गर्मी और रात की सर्दी में इतनी मेहनत की। अगर वे काम न करते तो कांग्रेस का काम इतनी आसानी से न होता। इन हमारे स्वयंसेवकों के पीछे कौन सज्जन थे यह मैं जानता हूँ। वे थे सरदार पटेल। इन्होंने इसे कामयाब बनाया है। मैं उनका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ। और इन सबके पीछे महात्मा गान्धी का आशीर्वाद है। आज जो देहात में अधिवेशन हुआ है वह हिन्दुस्तानियों के लिए एक नई चीज़ है।

आप जब यहाँ से अपने घर जायेंगे तो सोचेंगे कि कांग्रेस का संदेश क्या है। मैं समझता हूँ हरिपुरा कांग्रेस का सबसे बड़ा संदेश संगठन है। कांग्रेस में संगठन की सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है। अब हर एक प्रान्त में लाखों मज़दूर और किसान कांग्रेस में शामिल होने लगे हैं। सब को एक संगठन में रखना और उनको एक संगठन में लाना कुछ आसान काम नहीं है। इतने बड़े तरीक़े पर काम करने से

हरिपुरा जैसा संगठन करने में कामयाब हुआ है। मुझे विश्वास है कि वह आइन्दा भी इसी तरह कामयाब होगा। देखी रियासतों के बारे में बहुत कुछ मतभेद रहा और बहस हुई। मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि आप रियासतों के मामले पर ध्यान दें। इस समय सबसे बड़ा मसला फिडरेशन का है। अंग्रेज सरकार को आशा है कि प्रान्तीय सुधार की तरह कांग्रेस इसे भी स्वीकार करेगी, शायद वह फिडरेशन को भी मान लेगी। साम्राज्यवादी सरकार को साफ़ तौर से मालूम होना चाहिए कि कांग्रेस फिडरेशन का विरोध करती है और आखिर वक्त तक करेगी। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि वह इस लड़ाई में कामयाब होगी। मैंने अपने भाषण में दुनिया की परिस्थिति बताने की चेष्टा की थी। आज जैसी दुनिया की स्थिति है उसको देखते हुए अगर हम सब हिन्दुस्तानी एक हो जायें और अगर हम एक साथ कंधे से कंधा मिला कर चलें तो निश्चय ही स्वराज्य हासिल करेंगे। अंग्रेज सरकार हमें कृपा पूर्वक स्वराज्य नहीं देगी। लेकिन आज दुनिया की परिस्थिति ऐसी है कि अंग्रेज सरकार में ताकत नहीं कि वह हिन्दुस्तान को बहुत ज़्यादा दिन तक गुलाम बना कर रख सके।

अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय के बारे में कांग्रेस का तात्पर्य क्या है यह मैंने शुरू में ही कहा है कि कांग्रेस की प्रतिष्ठा अपने न्याय और इन्साफ़ पर है। हम सब हिन्दुस्तानियों को एक करना चाहते हैं। मुझे विश्वास है कि जो कार्यक्रम कांग्रेस ने रखा है हम उसको कार्यान्वित करेंगे तो इसमें कोई शक न रहेगा कि कांग्रेस का आदर्श सब समुदायों को भलाई पहुँचाना है। इसलिए कांग्रेस की यह कोशिश होगी कि वह अपने संगठन को मज़बूत बनाये। एक तरफ़ से किसानों को खींच कर लाये, दूसरी तरफ़ अल्पसंख्यक समुदाय से सहानुभूति पैदा करे। फिडरेशन के विरोध से जो नतीजा हो सकता है उसके लिए हमें तैयार रहना चाहिए। यह दो प्रान्तों में जो परिस्थिति पैदा हुई है वही और प्रान्तों में भी पैदा हो जायगी तो आखिरकार हम लोगों को मजबूर होकर फिडरेशन के विरोध में सत्याग्रह के लिए तैयार होना पड़ेगा। यही कांग्रेस का संदेश है। इसको लेकर हम अपने अपने घर लौट जायेंगे और क्रौरन काम शुरू कर देंगे। अब मैं अंग्रेजी में कहूँगा।

Friends, when I had first taken the journey to Haripura there was a momentary feeling of fear and trepidation in my mind as to what the outcome of the Congress would be. There were reports and apprehensions that Haripura might probably be a scene of internal strife and some friends even talked of another Surat incident being enacted. But we know now today that the Haripura Congress has given a different account of itself.

I do not know whom I should thank for this happy ending. But I know this that one of those who deserve our thanks is the British Government. I am in a way thankful to the British Government for the crisis they have created in two of our provinces. It is the crisis which has made us realize all the points of agreement and the very few points of disagreement. Today we know that we stand shoulder to shoulder against our common enemy. We know we are still far off from our goal to freedom. Today we know that we have to wrest freedom from unwilling hands, we have to sink our differences and to march ahead.

I have to thank our retiring President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, for the great help that he has given me at the Subjects Committee of the Congress to make Haripura so great a success. I am sure I am voicing the feeling of all of you when I convey my thanks to him.

My thanks are also due to the members of the Working Committee and the Subjects Committee for their great sympathy, help and co-operation in the difficult task that we had to face.

And last but not the least, I must thank the leftist groups in the Congress—I use that expression with some amount of hesitation—for the co-operation that they also extended to me.

Friends, when we look to the organization of the Congress we feel at once what a magnificent thing

it has been. I was reminded of a similar scene witnessed about a month ago when I was flying back from Europe. It was the scene of Palestine where out of the desert appeared before my eyes small and beautiful towns. Here you have in the countryside a beautiful city springing up, as if by the result of a magic wand which Sardar Patel has in his hand. We had to do a certain amount of organizational work, and we can quite appreciate how great has been the difficulty that he and his fellow workers on the Reception Committee have had to face. We are grateful to the office-bearers and members of the Reception Committee for all they have done for us to make the Congress a success.

We are grateful to our volunteers, brothers and sisters, but for whose untold suffering and sacrifice the Congress would not have been what it has been.

I shall not be doing justice to myself if I do not refer to the great organizational ability of Sardar Patel. But for him I do not know what would have happened here. We have to remember the inspiration and blessings of Mahatma Gandhi. He is the inner soul of the Congress. We have felt it every minute that we have been here.

You will ask me what message you are going to carry back. One message of Haripura should be the need of organization. The Congress today has become a mass organization, and in the years to come our members are going to be increased. How are we going to meet that emergency to make the Congress a disciplined body, an institution of lakhs and millions of people who are going to join our organization? It will require tremendous organization, ability and efforts to make the Congress of the future a strong and disciplined body of men and women.

I believe the lesson of discipline and organization which the Haripura Congress has taught us will live in our hearts for all time.

We have today a very difficult situation to face. Outside the Congress there is the challenge of British Imperialism. I am thankful to the British Government for creating this crisis, which has helped us to come closer together, to realize that though we may have our differences of opinion in political matters we are after all one, our goal is one, our mission is one, the points of our agreement are many, and the points of disagreement are few.

How are we going to face the challenge of the British Imperialism? We have to strengthen our organization. We have to bring into our fold lakhs and lakhs of Kisans. We have to come closer to our brethern in the States. I am aware that a section of our brethern in the States are not wholly satisfied with the resolution adopted by the Congress on the question of States. Let me assure them in all seriousness that in the days to come the Congress is going to draw closer and closer to the people of the Indian States. We feel today that India is one and indivisible. And if anything were needed to deepen that impression in our mind it is the challenge of the British Government in the form of the Federal Scheme of the new Constitution.

Therefore, let me assure the brethern of the States that the Working Committee and the Congress as a whole will take a greater and deeper interest in their affairs, and I do hope it will move further in the direction of making India a united India.

Friends, this challenge of the Federal Scheme of the British Government has to be met by all the weapons we have at our disposal. Today it may be a constitutional crisis, tomorrow it may be an agitation, and day after it may be another movement or a campaign of civil disobedience. We do not

know how events are going to shape themselves. The constitutional crisis that faces us today is not of our own seeking. The crisis has been thrust on us. Many more crisis may in future be thrust on us. Let me assure the British Government, though we are prepared to face any constitutional crisis or any other crisis which Government may be pleased to thrust on us, we are going to adhere strictly to the limits of non-violent non-co-operation.

Today India has realized that this weapon of non-violence is an all powerful weapon, if it is wielded by the right man in the right spirit. Therefore, let us adhere more whole-heartedly to this method of non-violent non-co-operation. We have told the British Government clearly our attitude towards Federation. I do hope at Delhi and Whitehall there will be no further hope left that the Congress will gradually drift towards the policy of accepting Federation, merely because the Congress have thought it advisable to accept office. There is no analogy between Provincial Autonomy and Federation. The Congress thought it fit for its interest, for the good of its people, and for the good of its own organization to accept office; but British Government need not stretch this analogy that we shall do the same in the case of Federation.

I have referred, in my opening address, to the world situation. Let me say a word or two more in this connection. I do believe in the days to come events abroad will, to a greater extent, influence developments in India. The world today has come closer together. Europe, America, Asia and Africa are no longer separated by long distances. The events of the Far East, the events of Spain and Abyssinia have had repercussions on India, and the same repercussions are going to take place in future. We realise today that India has an opportunity for herself. We realize that the world situation being

what it is today, if only the Indian people can stand united, we shall be able to wrest Swaraj from the unwilling hands. This is not a mere pious wish of my mind. It is a conclusion derived from the objective study of the facts of history of the international situation. Let us therefore sink our differences and unite on a common programme of anti-imperialist struggle.

Sjta. Sarojini Devi in her extreme generosity had many kind words about myself. But incidentally she made a remark with which, I feel, I must join issue. She referred to my being a Bengalee. I am of course a Bengalee, but it is not as a Bengalee that I have come today. We have all assembled here on the occasion of the Haripura Congress not as men coming from the Punjab, Bengal or Assam, but we have assembled as Indians and as Indians alone, with one soul, one goal and one mission in life.

Friends, sitting under the canopy of the heaven, do you not feel that you and I as Indians are one in spirit and dreams and activities and in our efforts? Speaking for myself, I feel more than ever before in my life that we are one. I feel that I am face to face today with the soul of India herself. Here in Haripura on the banks of Tapti, with the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, do you not feel more than ever before that India lives and that India is throbbing with life? Let us, therefore, make a resolve to sink our differences and to march shoulder to shoulder on the path to victory, which is the path to Swaraj.

I thank you all for the patience with which you have helped me to conduct the proceedings of the Congress. I thank you for all your sympathy and co-operation. I thank you for the great sense of duty, the sense of patriotism you have shown, and the manner in which you have participated in the proceedings of the Congress. Let us go back to our

respective provinces with this sacred resolve in our hearts. India is going to be free, and we who live today are going to play our part in making her free. India is going to be free in our own life time. There is no doubt about that in my own mind. I feel it, I see it with my own eyes. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved any more. Let us believe in India's destiny. Let us try for India's freedom. 'Bande Mataram.'

It was 11 p. m. when the party of musicians that came from Bengal rose to conclude the Session with वन्देमातरम्. The whole gathering joined them standing.

वन्दे मातरम् ॥

सुजलां सुफलां मलयजशीतलां शस्यश्यामलां मातरम् ।

शुभ्रज्योत्स्नापुलकितयामिनीं फुल्लकुसुमितद्रुमदलशोभिनीम् ।

सुहासिनीं सुमधुरभाषिणीं सुखदां वरदां मातरम् — वन्दे०

SPEECHES AND RESOLUTIONS

SECTION III

ADDRESS OF DARBAR GOPALDAS DESAI,

Chairman, Reception Committee

Friends,

I do not know why an ordinary worker like me should have been made Chairman of the Reception Committee. There is one thing certainly which is a common practice in Gujarat and it is this that we are disciplined soldiers, ready to carry out the orders of our chief. You know Sardar Vallabhbhai. His general orders are that all the speech-making is to be left to him, we have to work away silently. And yet, if I happen to be here, you must understand that it is at his behest. It is not for me to make a speech, political or other. The political pronouncement will be made by the President. My business is to welcome you to-day on behalf of Gujarat.

And welcoming you as I do on behalf of businesslike Gujarat, I will make only a brief businesslike speech. My own faith in the old programme of 1921 is well known, and in spite of the alteration in details that it has undergone, I think that it is that programme that is going ultimately to help us win our freedom. If the value of Truth and Non-violence, and of the constructive programme that they imply, was great for the initial stages of the struggle, it is greater whilst we have passed the middle stages and, God willing, are nearing the end of the journey. It is as a staunch believer in those basic principles and as an humble soldier that I have the honour to welcome you on the bank of the Tapti.

Since last year we have begun to have Congress Session in villages. Faizpur had the first honour and we have had the benefit of the experience gained at

Faizpur. But I do not know how far we have succeeded in making a full use of that experience. What you see here is the result of the labour of hundreds of devoted volunteer workers, two of whom have laid down their lives here. Not only Gujarat, but India mourns the loss of Pandit Khare whom all of us miss here so much. My share in the work here is negligible. It is not for me to say how far we have succeeded. It will be for you to give your verdict after the end of this Session. All I have to do to-day is to welcome you cordially on behalf of Gujarat, and especially on behalf of the peasants of Bardoli and Ras whose share has been not inconsiderable in making what history we have made. And in giving you the welcome I would also beg you to bear with our many shortcomings, to be content with what comforts we have been able to provide, and not to mind the discomforts we have not quite been able to avoid.

We are blessed with the presidentship of one whose life is one unbroken record of sacrifice and service and suffering. He comes from a province which has, on all the three previous occasions, given Gujarat presidents of the Congress, and which in suffering would easily take the first rank among the provinces of the country. I hope and pray that under the wise guidance of our President we may march further forward to our goal and add more glorious chapters to our history.

Subhas Babu, I request you to take the Chair.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
of
SHRI SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.

Mr. Chairman and friends,

I am deeply sensible of the honour you have done me by electing me as the President of the Indian National Congress for the coming year. I am not so presumptuous as to think for one moment that I am in any way worthy of that great honour. I regard it as a mark of your generosity and as a tribute to the youths of our country, but for whose cumulative contribution to our national struggle, we would not be where we are to-day. It is with a sense of fear and trepidation that I mount the tribune which has hitherto been graced by the most illustrious sons and daughters of our 'motherland.' Conscious as I am of my numerous limitations, I can only hope and pray that with your sympathy and support I may be able in some small measure to do justice to the high office which you have called upon me to fill.

At the outset, may I voice your feelings in placing on record our profound grief at the death of Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru, Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose and Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji? Shrimati Swaruprani Nehru was to us not merely the worthy consort of Pandit Motilal and the revered mother of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Her suffering, sacrifice and service in the cause of India's freedom were such as any individual could feel proud of. As compatriots we mourn her death and our hearts go out in sympathy to Pandit Nehru and other members of the bereaved family.

To Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose India will always remain beholden for being the first to secure

for her an honoured place in the modern scientific world. A nationalist to the core of his heart, Acharya Jagadish gave his life not merely to science, but to India as well. India knows it and is grateful for it. We convey our heartfelt sympathy to Lady Bose.

Through the untimely death of Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji, India has lost one of the brightest stars in her literary firmament. His name, for years a household word in Bengal, was not less known in the literary world of India. But if Sarat Babu was great as a literateur, he was perhaps greater as a patriot. The Congress in Bengal is distinctly poorer to-day because of his death. We send our sincerest condolence to the members of his family.

Before I proceed further I should like to bow my head in homage to the memory of those who have laid down their lives in the service of the country since the Congress met last year at Faizpur. I should mention especially those who died in prison or in internment or soon after release from internment. I should refer in particular to Sjt. Harendra Munshi, a political prisoner in the Dacca Central Jail, who laid down his life the other day as a result of hunger-strike. My feelings are still too lacerated to permit me to say much on this subject. I shall only ask you if there is not 'something rotten in the state of Denmark' that such bright and promising souls as Jatin Das, Sardar Mahabir Singh, Ramkrishna Namadas, Mohit Mohan Maitra, Harendra Munshi and others should feel the urge not to live life but to end it.

When we take a bird's-eye view of the entire panorama of human history, the first thing that strikes us is the rise and fall of empires. In the East as well as in the West, empires have invariably gone through a process of expansion and after reaching the zenith of prosperity, have gradually shrunk into

insignificance and sometimes death. The Roman Empire of the ancient times and the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires of the modern period are striking examples of this law. The empires in India—the Maurya, Gupta and the Mogul empires—are no exception to this rule. In the face of these objective facts of history, can any one be so bold as to maintain that there is in store a different fate for the British Empire? That empire stands to-day at one of the cross-roads of history. It will either go the way of other empires or it must transform itself into a federation of free nations. Either course is open to it. The Czarist Empire collapsed in 1917, but out of its debris sprang the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There is still time for Great Britain to take a leaf out of Russian history. Will she do so?

The British Empire is a hybrid phenomenon in politics. It is a peculiar combination of self-governing countries, partially self-governing dependencies and autocratically governed colonies. Constitutional device and human ingenuity may bolster up this combination for a while, but not for ever. If the internal incongruities are not removed in good time, then quite apart from external pressure, the Empire is sure to break down under its own strain. But can the British Empire transform itself into a federation of free nations with one bold sweep? It is for the British people to answer this question. One thing, however, is certain. This transformation will be possible only if the British people become free in their own homes—only if Great Britain becomes a socialist State. There is an inseparable connection between the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and the colonies abroad. As Lenin pointed out long ago, "reaction in Great Britain is strengthened and fed by the enslavement of a number of nations." The British aristocracy and bourgeoisie exist primarily

because there are colonies and overseas dependencies to exploit. The emancipation of the latter will undoubtedly strike at the very existence of the capitalist ruling classes in Great Britain and precipitate the establishment of a socialist regime in that country. It should, therefore, be clear that a socialist order in Great Britain is impossible of achievement without the liquidation of colonialism and that we who are fighting for the political freedom of India and other enslaved countries of the British Empire are incidentally fighting for the economic emancipation of the British people as well.

It is a well-known truism that every empire is based on the policy of divide and rule. But I doubt if any empire in the world has practised this policy so skilfully, systematically and ruthlessly as Great Britain. In accordance with this policy, before power was handed over to the Irish people, Ulster was separated from the rest of Ireland. Similarly, before any power is handed over to the Palestinians, the Jews will be separated from the Arabs. An internal partition is necessary in order to neutralize the transference of power. The same principle of partition appears in a different form in the new Indian constitution. Here we find an attempt to separate the different communities and put them into water-tight compartments. And in the federal scheme there is juxtaposition of autocratic Princes and democratically elected representatives from British India. If the new constitution is finally rejected, whether owing to the opposition of British India or owing to the refusal of the Princes to joining it, I have no doubt that British ingenuity will seek some other constitutional device for partitioning India and thereby neutralizing the transference of power to the Indian people. Therefore, any constitution for India which emanates from

Whitehall must be examined with the utmost care and caution.

The policy of divide and rule, though it has its obvious advantages, is by no means an unmixed blessing for the ruling power. As a matter of fact it creates new problems and new embarrassments. Great Britain seems to be caught in the meshes of her own political dualism resulting from her policy of divide and rule. Will she please the Moslem or the Hindu in India? Will she favour the Arab or the Jew in Palestine—the Arab or the Kurd in Iraq? Will she side with the King or the Wafd in Egypt? The same dualism is visible outside the empire. In the case of Spain, British politicians are torn between such alternatives as Franco and the lawful Government; and in the wider field of European politics, between France and Germany. The contradictions and inconsistencies in Britain's foreign policy are the direct outcome of the heterogeneous composition of her empire. The British Cabinet has to please the Jews because she cannot ignore Jewish high finance. On the other hand, the India Office and Foreign Office have to placate the Arabs because of imperial interests in the Near East and in India. The only means whereby Great Britain can free herself from such contradictions and inconsistencies is by transforming the empire into a federation of free nations. If she could do that, she would be performing a miracle in history. But if she fails, she must reconcile herself to the gradual dismemberment of a vast empire where the sun is supposed not to set. Let not the lesson of the Austro-Hungarian Empire be lost on the British people.

The British Empire at the present moment is suffering from strain at a number of points. Within the empire in the extreme West there is Ireland and in the extreme East, India. In the middle lies

Palestine with the adjoining countries of Egypt and Iraq. Outside the empire there is the pressure exerted by Italy in the Mediterranean and Japan in the Far East, both of these countries being militant, aggressive and imperialist. Against this background of unrest stands Soviet Russia whose very existence strikes terror into the hearts of the ruling classes in every imperialist State. How long can the British Empire withstand the cumulative effect of this pressure and strain?

To-day, Britain can hardly call herself "the Mistress of the Seas." Her phenomenal rise in the 18th and 19th centuries was the result of her sea power. Her decline as an empire in the 20th century will be the outcome of the emergence of a new factor in the world history -- air force. It was due to this new factor, air force, that an impudent Italy could successfully challenge a fully mobilized British Navy in the Mediterranean. Britain can rearm on land, sea and air up to the utmost limit. Battleships may still stand up to bombing from the air, but air force as a powerful element in modern warfare has come to stay. Distances have been obliterated and despite all anti-aircraft defences, London lies at the mercy of any bombing squadron from a continental centre. In short, air force has revolutionized modern warfare, destroyed the insularity of Great Britain and rudely disturbed the balance of power in world politics. The clay feet of a gigantic empire now stands exposed as it has never been before.

Amid this interplay of world forces India emerges much stronger than she has ever been before. Ours is a vast country with a population of 350 millions. Our vastness in area and in population has hitherto been a source of weakness. It is to-day a source of strength if we can only stand united and boldly face our rulers. From the standpoint of Indian unity the

first thing to remember is that the division between British India and the Indian States is an entirely artificial one. India is one and the hopes and aspirations of the people of British India and of the Indian States are identical. Our goal is that of an independent India and in my view that goal can be attained only through a federal republic in which the Provinces and the States will be willing partners. The Congress has, time and again, offered its sympathy and moral support to the movement carried on by the States' subjects for the establishment of democratic government in what is known as Indian India. It may be that at this moment our hands are so full that the Congress is not in a position to do more for our compatriots in the States. But even to-day there is nothing to prevent individual congressmen from actively espousing the cause of the States' subjects and participating in their struggle. There are people in the Congress like myself who would like to see the Congress participating more actively in the movement of the States' subjects. I personally hope that in the near future it will be possible for the Indian National Congress to take a forward step and offer a helping hand to our fellow-fighters in the States. Let us not forget that they need our sympathy and our help.

Talking of Indian unity the next thing that strikes us is the problem of the minorities. The Congress has, from time to time, declared its policy on this question. The latest authoritative pronouncement made by the All India Congress Committee at its meeting in Calcutta in October, 1937, runs thus:

"The Congress has solemnly and repeatedly declared its policy in regard to the rights of the minorities in India and has stated that it considers it its duty to protect these rights and ensure the widest possible scope for the development of these minorities and their participation in the

fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation. The objective of the Congress is an independent and united India where no class or group or majority or minority may exploit another to its own advantage, and where all the elements in the nation may co-operate together for the common good and the advancement of the people of India. This objective of unity and mutual co-operation in a common freedom does not mean the suppression in any way of the rich variety and cultural diversity of Indian life, which have to be preserved in order to give freedom and opportunity to the individual as well as to each group to develop unhindered according to its capacity and inclination.

"In view, however, of attempts having been made to misinterpret the Congress policy in this regard, the All India Congress Committee desire to reiterate this policy. The Congress has included in its resolution on Fundamental Rights that—

- (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 a 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) The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions ;
- (viii) The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage ;
- (ix) Every citizen is free to move throughout India and to stay and settle in 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.

"These clauses of the Fundamental Rights Resolution make it clear that there should be no interference in matters of conscience, religion, or culture, and a minority is entitled to keep its personal law without any change in this respect being imposed by the majority.

"The position of the Congress in regard to the Communal Decision has been repeatedly made clear in Congress resolutions and finally in the Election Manifesto issued last year. The Congress is opposed to this decision as it is anti-national, anti-democratic and is a barrier to Indian freedom and the development of Indian unity. Nevertheless the Congress has declared that a change in or supersession of the Communal

Decision should only be brought about by the mutual agreement of the parties concerned. The Congress has always welcomed and is prepared to take advantage of any opportunity to bring about such a change by mutual agreement.

"In all matters affecting the minorities in India, the Congress wishes to proceed by their co-operation and through their goodwill in a common undertaking and for the realization of a common aim which is the freedom and betterment of all the people of India."

The time is opportune for renewing our efforts for the final solution of this problem. I believe I am voicing the feelings of all congressmen when I say that we are eager to do our very best to arrive at an agreed solution, consistent with the fundamental principles of nationalism. It is necessary for me to go into details as to the lines on which a solution should take place. Much useful ground has already been covered in past conferences and conversations. I shall merely add that only by emphasising our common interests, economic and political, can we cut across communal divisions and dissensions. A policy of live and let live in matters religious and an understanding in matters economic and political should be our objective. Though the Muslim problem looms large whenever we think of the question of the minorities and though we are anxious to settle this problem finally, I must say that the Congress is equally desirous of doing justice to other minorities and especially the so-called depressed classes whose number is a very large one. I would put it to the members of the minority communities in India to consider dispassionately if they have anything to fear when the Congress programme is put into operation. The Congress stands for the political and economic rights of the Indian people as a whole. If it succeeds in executing its programme, the minority communities

would be benefited as much as any other section of the Indian population. Moreover, if after the capture of political power, national reconstruction takes place on socialistic lines—as I have no doubt it will—it is the ‘have-nots’ who will benefit at the expense of the ‘haves’ and the Indian masses have to be classified among the ‘have-nots.’ There remains but one question which may be a source of anxiety to the minorities, viz., religion and that aspect of culture that is based on religion. On this question the Congress policy is one of live and let live—a policy of complete non-interference in matters of conscience, religion and culture as well as of cultural autonomy for the different linguistic areas. The Muslims have, therefore, nothing to fear in the event of India winning her freedom—on the contrary they have everything to gain. So far as the religious and social disabilities of the so-called depressed classes are concerned, it is well known that during the last 17 years the Congress has left no stone unturned in the effort to remove them, and I have no doubt that the day is not far off when such disabilities will be things of the past.

I shall now proceed to consider the method which the Congress should pursue in the years to come as well as its role in the national struggle. I believe more than ever that the method should be *Satyagraha* or non-violent non-co-operation in the widest sense of the term, including civil disobedience. It would not be correct to call our method passive resistance. *Satyagraha*, as I understand it, is not merely passive resistance but active resistance as well, though that activity must be of a non-violent character. It is necessary to remind our countrymen that *Satyagraha* or non-violent non-co-operation may have to be resorted to again. The acceptance of office in the provinces as an experimental measure should not lead us to think that our future activity

is to be confined within the limits of strict constitutionalism. There is every possibility that a determined opposition to the forcible inauguration of federation may land us in another big campaign of civil disobedience.

In our struggle for independence we may adopt either of two alternatives. We may continue our fight until we have our full freedom and in the meantime decline to use any power that we may capture while on the march. We may, on the other hand, go on consolidating our position while we continue our struggle for Purna Swaraj or complete independence. From the point of view of principle, both the alternatives are equally acceptable and *a priori* considerations need not worry us. But we should consider very carefully at every stage as to which alternative would be more conducive to our national advancement. In either case, the ultimate stage in our progress will be the severance of the British connection. When that severance takes place and there is no trace left of British domination, we shall be in a position to determine our future relations with Great Britain through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties. What our future relations with Great Britain will or should be, it is too early to say. That will depend to a large extent on the attitude of the British people themselves. On this point I have been greatly impressed by the attitude of President de Valera. Like the President of Eire, I should also say that we have no enmity towards the British people. We are fighting Great Britain and we want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people.

I am afraid there is a lack of clarity in the minds of many congressmen as to the role of the Congress in the history of our national struggle. I know that there are friends who think that after freedom is won, the Congress party, having achieved its objective, should wither away. Such a conception is entirely erroneous. The party that wins freedom for India should be also the party that will put into effect the entire programme of post-war reconstruction. Only those who have won power can handle it properly. If other people are pitchforked into seats of power which they were not responsible for capturing, they will lack that strength, confidence and idealism which is indispensable for revolutionary reconstruction. It is this which accounts for the difference in the record of the Congress and non-Congress ministries in the very narrow sphere of Provincial Autonomy.

No, there can be no question of the Congress party withering away after political freedom has been won. On the contrary, the party will have to take over power, assume responsibility for administration and put through its programme of reconstruction. Only then will it fulfil its role. If it were forcibly to liquidate itself, chaos would follow. Looking at post-war Europe we find that only in those countries has there been orderly and continuous progress where the party which seized power undertook the work of reconstruction. I know that it will be argued that the continuance of a party in such circumstances, standing behind the state, will convert that state into a totalitarian one; but I cannot admit the charge. The state will possibly become a totalitarian one, if there be only one party as in countries like Russia, Germany and Italy. But there is no reason why other parties should be banned. Moreover, the party itself will have a democratic basis, unlike, for instance, the

Nazi Party which is based on the "leader principle." The existence of more than one party and the democratic basis of the Congress party will prevent the future Indian State becoming a totalitarian one. Further, the democratic basis of the party will ensure that leaders are not thrust upon the people from above, but are elected from below.

Though it may be somewhat premature to give a detailed plan of reconstruction, we might as well consider some of the principles according to which our future social reconstruction should take place. I have no doubt in my mind that our chief national problems relating to the eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease and to scientific production and distribution can be effectively tackled only along socialistic lines. The very first thing which our future national government will have to do, would be to set up a commission for drawing up a comprehensive plan of reconstruction. This plan will have two parts—an immediate programme and a long-period programme. In drawing up the first part, the immediate objectives which will have to be kept in view will be threefold—firstly, to prepare the country for self-sacrifice; secondly, to unify India; and thirdly, to give scope for local and cultural autonomy. The second and third objectives may appear to be contradictory, but they are not really so. Whatever political talent or genius we may possess as a people, will have to be used in reconciling these two objectives. We shall have to unify the country so that we may be able to hold India against any foreign invasion. While unifying the country through a strong central government, we shall have to put all the minority communities as well as the provinces at their ease, by allowing them a large measure of autonomy in cultural as well as governmental affairs. Special efforts will be needed to keep our people together when the load of foreign domination is

removed, because alien rule has demoralized and disorganized us to a degree. To promote national unity we shall have to develop our *lingua franca* and a common script. Further, with the help of such modern scientific contrivances as aeroplanes, telephone, radio, films, television etc., we shall have to bring the different parts of India closer to one another and through a common educational policy we shall have to foster a common spirit among the entire population. So far as our *lingua franca* is concerned, I am inclined to think that the distinction between Hindi and Urdu is an artificial one. The most natural *lingua franca* would be a mixture of the two, such as is spoken in daily life in large portions of the country, and this common language may be written in either of the two scripts, Nagari or Urdu. I am aware that there are people in India who strongly favour either of the two scripts to the exclusion of the other. Our policy, however, should not be one of exclusion. We should allow the fullest latitude to use either script. At the same time, I am inclined to think that the ultimate solution and the best solution would be the adoption of a script that would bring us into line with the rest of the world. Perhaps, some of our countrymen will gape with horror when they hear of the adoption of the Roman script, but I would beg them to consider this problem from the scientific and historical point of view. If we do that, we shall realize at once that there is nothing sacrosanct in a script. The Nagari script, as we know it to-day, has passed through several phases of evolution. Besides, most of the major provinces of India have their own script and there is the Urdu script which is used largely by the Urdu-speaking public in India and by both Muslims and Hindus in provinces like the Punjab and Sind. In view of such diversity, the choice of a uniform script for the whole of India should be made in a

thoroughly scientific and impartial spirit, free from bias of every kind. I confess that there was a time when I felt that it would be anti-national to adopt a foreign script. But my visit to Turkey in 1934 was responsible for converting me. I then realized for the first time what a great advantage it was to have the same script as the rest of the world. So far as our masses are concerned, since more than 90 per cent are illiterate and are not familiar with any script, it will not matter to them which script we introduce when they are educated. The Roman script will, moreover, facilitate their learning a European language. I am quite aware how unpopular the immediate adoption of the Roman script would be in our country. Nevertheless, I would beg my countrymen to consider what would be the wisest solution in the long run.

With regard to the long-period programme for a free India, the first problem to tackle is that of our increasing population. I do not desire to go into the theoretical question as to whether India is over-populated or not. I simply want to point out that where poverty, starvation and disease are stalking the land, we cannot afford to have our population mounting up by thirty millions during a single decade. If the population goes up by leaps and bounds, as it has done in the recent past, our plans are likely to fall through. It will therefore be desirable to restrict our population until we are able to feed, clothe and educate those who already exist. It is not necessary at this stage to prescribe the methods that should be adopted to prevent a further increase in population, but I would urge that public attention be drawn to this question.

Regarding reconstruction, our principal problem will be how to eradicate poverty from our country. That will require a radical reform of our land-system, including the abolition of landlordism. Agricultural

indebtedness will have to be liquidated and provision made for cheap credit for the rural population. An extension of the co-operative movement will be necessary for the benefit of both producers and consumers. Agriculture will have to be put on a scientific basis with a view to increasing the yield from the land.

To solve the economic problem, agricultural improvement will not be enough. A comprehensive scheme of industrial development under state-ownership and state-control will be indispensable. A new industrial system will have to be built up in place of the old one which has collapsed as a result of mass production abroad and alien rule at home. The Planning Commission will have to carefully consider and decide which of the home industries could be revived despite the competition of modern factories and in which sphere, large scale production should be encouraged. However much we may dislike modern industrialism and condemn the evils which follow in its train, we cannot go back to the pre-industrial era, even if we desire to do so. It is well, therefore, that we should reconcile ourselves to industrialization and devise means to minimise its evils and at the same time explore the possibilities of reviving cottage industries where there is a possibility of their surviving the inevitable competition of factories. In a country like India, there will be plenty of room for cottage industries, especially in the case of industries including hand-spinning and hand-weaving allied to agriculture.

Last but not least, the State on the advice of a Planning Commission, will have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually socializing our entire agricultural and industrial system in the spheres of both production and appropriation. Extra capital will have to be procured for this, whether through internal or external loans or through inflation.

Opposing or resisting the provincial part of the constitution will be hardly possible now, since the Congress Party has accepted office in seven out of eleven provinces. All that could be done would be to strengthen and consolidate the Congress as a result of it. I am one of those who were not in favour of taking office—not because there was something inherently wrong in doing so, not because no good could come out of that policy, but because it was apprehended that the evil effects of office-acceptance would outweigh the good. To-day I can only hope that my forebodings were unfounded.

How can we strengthen and consolidate the Congress while our ministers are in office? The first thing to do is to change the composition and character of the bureaucracy. If this is not done, the Congress Party may come to grief. In every country, the ministers come and go, but the steel frame of the permanent services remains. If that is not altered in composition and character, the governmental party and its cabinet are likely to prove ineffective in putting their principles into practice. This is what happened in the case of the Social Democratic Party in post-war Germany and perhaps in the case of the Labour Party in Great Britain in 1924 and 1929. It is the permanent services who really rule in every country. In India they have been created by the British and in the higher ranks they are largely British in composition. Their outlook and mentality is in most cases neither Indian or national and a national policy cannot be executed until the permanent services become national in outlook and mentality. The difficulty, of course, will be that the higher ranks of the permanent services being, under the Statute, directly under the Secretary of State for India and not under the provincial governments, it will not be easy to alter their composition.

Secondly, the Congress Ministers in the different provinces should, while they are in office, introduce schemes of reconstruction in the spheres of education, health, prohibition, prison reform, irrigation, industry, land-reform, workers' welfare etc. In this matter, attempts should be made to have, as far as possible, a uniform policy for the whole of India. This uniformity could be brought about in either of two ways. The Congress Ministers in the different provinces could themselves come together — as the Labour Ministers did in October, 1937 in Calcutta — and draw up a uniform programme. Over and above this, the Congress Working Committee, which is the supreme executive of the Congress, could lend a helping hand by giving directions to the different departments of the Congress-controlled provincial governments in the light of such advice as it may get from its own experts. This will mean that the members of the Congress Working Committee should be conversant with the problems that come within the purview of the Congress governments in the provinces. It is not intended that they should go into the details of administration. All that is needed is that they should have a general understanding of the different problems so that they could lay down the broad lines of policy. In this respect, the Congress Working Committee could do much more than it has hitherto done and unless it does so, I do not see how that body can keep an effective control over the different Congress Ministries.

At this stage I should like to say something more about the role of the Congress Working Committee. This Committee, in my judgment, is not merely the directing brain of the national army of fighters for freedom. It is also the shadow cabinet of independent India and it should function accordingly. This is not an invention of my own. It is the role which has been assigned to similar

bodies in other countries that have fought for their national emancipation. I am one of those who think in terms of a Free India—who visualize a national government in this country within the brief span of our own life. It is consequently natural for us to urge that the Working Committee should feel and function as the shadow cabinet of a Free India. This is what President de Valera's republican government did when it was fighting the British Government and was on the run. And this is what the executive of the Wafd Party in Egypt did before it got into office. The members of the Working Committee while carrying on their day to day work should accordingly study the problems they will have to tackle in the event of their capturing political power.

More important than the question of the proper working of the Congress Governments is the immediate problem of how to oppose the inauguration of the federal part of the constitution. The Congress attitude towards the proposed federal scheme has been clearly stated in the resolution adopted by the Working Committee at Wardha on February 4, 1938, which will be placed before this Congress after the Subjects Committee has considered it. That resolution says :

“ 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 the 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 strengthening the nation in its struggle for Independence. In regard to the proposed federation, no such consideration applies

even provisionally, or for a period, and the imposition of this federation will do grave injuries to India and tighten the bonds which hold her under the subjection of an imperialist domination. This scheme of federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility the vital functions of a 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 a democratic process of election. Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions, responsible government, civil liberties and the method of election to the Federal House. Otherwise federation as it is now contemplated will, instead of building Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the States in internal and external conflict.

"The Congress, therefore, reiterates its condemnation of the proposed scheme and calls upon provincial and local Congress Committees and the people generally as well as 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 A. I. C. C. is authorised and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard."

I should like to add some more arguments to explain our attitude of uncompromising hostility towards the proposed federation. One of the most objectionable features of the Federal Scheme relates to the commercial and financial safeguards in the new constitution. Not only will the people continue to be deprived of any power over defence or foreign policy, but the major portion of the expenditure will also be entirely out of popular control. According to the budget of the Central Government for the year 1937-38, the army expenditure comes to 44.61 crores of rupees (£ 33.46 millions) out of a total expenditure of 77.90 crores of rupees (£58.42 millions) — that is, roughly 57 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Central Government. It appears that the reserved side of the Federal Government which will be controlled by the Governor-General will handle about 80 per cent of the federal expenditure. Moreover, bodies like the Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority are already created or will be created which will work as *imperium in imperio* uncontrolled by a federal legislature. The legislature will be deprived of the powers it possesses at present to direct and influence railway policy and it will not have any voice in determining the currency and exchange policy of the country, which has a vital bearing on its economic development.

The fact that external affairs will be a reserved subject under the Federal Government will prejudicially affect the freedom of the Indian Legislature to conclude trade agreements and will seriously restrict, in effect, fiscal autonomy. The Federal Government will not be under any constitutional obligation to place such trade agreements before the legislature for their ratification, even as they decline at present to give an undertaking to place the Indo-British Trade Agreement before the Indian Legislative Assembly. The so-called fiscal autonomy convention

will have no meaning unless it is stipulated that no trade agreement on behalf of India shall be signed by any party without its ratification by the Indian Legislature. In this connection, I should like to state that I am definitely of opinion that India should enter into bilateral trade agreements with countries like Germany, Czechoslovakia, Italy and the United States of America with whom she has had close trade relations in the past. But under the new constitution, it will not be within the power of the Federal Legislature to force the Federal Government to enter into such bilateral trade agreements.

The iniquitous and inequitable commercial safeguards embodied in the Act will make it impossible for any effective measures to be adopted in order to protect and promote Indian national industries especially where they might, as they often do, conflict with British commercial or industrial interests. In addition to the Governor-General's special responsibility to see that provisions with regard to discrimination, as laid down in the Act, are duly carried out, it is also his duty to prevent any action which would subject British goods imported into India to any kind of discriminatory or penal treatment. A careful study of these stringent and wide provisions will show that India can adopt no measures against British competition which the Governor-General cannot, in effect, stultify or veto whether in the legislative or in the administrative sphere. It is, of course, preposterous to permit foreigners in this country to compete with the nationals on equal terms and there can be no genuine Swaraj if India is to be denied the power to devise and adopt a national economic policy including the right, if her interests so require, of differentiating between nationals and non-nationals. In a famous article in "Young India" under the caption "The Giant and the Dwarf" written soon after the conclusion of the

Gandhi-Irwin Pact in 1931, Mahatma Gandhi declared plainly that "to talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English or European, is to perpetuate Indian helotage. What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf?" Even the meagre powers enjoyed by the Central Legislature at present to enact a measure like the reservation of the Indian coastal trade for Indian-owned and Indian-managed vessels has been taken away under the so-called reformed constitution. Shipping is a vital industry which is essential for defensive as well as for economic purposes, but all the accepted and legitimate methods of developing this key industry including those adopted even by several British Dominions, are henceforth rendered impossible for India. To justify such limitations on our sovereignty on the ground of "reciprocity" and "partnership" is literally to add insult to injury. The right of the future Indian Parliament to differentiate or discriminate between nationals and non-nationals, whenever Indian interests require it, should remain intact and this right we cannot sacrifice on any account. I would like in this connection to cite the Irish parallel. The Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1935 provides for a distinct Irish citizenship in connection with the electoral system, entry into public life, merchant shipping law, aircraft as also in connection with special privileges which it is thought proper to reserve for Irish nationals, such as those conferred through measures for assisting Irish industry. Irish citizenship, in other words, is distinct from British, which cannot claim equal rights in the State of Eire (or Ireland) on the basis of British citizenship which is not recognised there. I feel that India must similarly seek to develop her own distinct nationality and establish a citizenship of her own.

While on the question of fiscal autonomy and commercial safeguards, I might refer briefly to the

need of an active foreign trade policy for India. India's foreign trade should be viewed not in a haphazard or piecemeal manner as is often done in order to provide some immediate or temporary benefit to British industry, but in a comprehensive manner so as to co-ordinate India's economic development with its export trade on the one hand and its external obligation on the other. The very nature of India's export trade makes it essential that it shall not have any restrictive agreement with England such as would jeopardise its trade with the various non-Empire countries which have been in several respects its best customers, or such as would tend to weaken India's bargaining power *vis-a-vis* other countries. It is unfortunate that the protracted negotiations for an Indo-British Trade Agreement are still proceeding, while the Ottawa Agreement, even after the expiry of its notice period and despite the decision of the Legislative Assembly to terminate it, still continues, and along with the differential duties on British steel and textiles, the said Ottawa Agreement secures the prevailing advantages for British industries. There is no doubt that under the existing political conditions, any trade agreement between England and India is bound to be of an unequal character because our present political relationship would weight the scales heavily in favour of England. There is also no doubt that the British preferential system is political in origin and before we permit non-Indian vested interests to be established or consolidated in this country under the shelter of a trade agreement, we should be careful as to its political repercussions and economic consequences. I trust that the present Indo-British trade negotiations will not be allowed to impede the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements with other countries whenever possible and that no such trade agreement will be signed by the

Government of India unless it is ratified by the Indian Legislature.

From the above, it will be quite clear that there is no analogy between the powers of the provincial ministries and those of the proposed federal ministry. Moreover, the composition of the Federal Legislature is reactionary to a degree. The total population of the Indian States is roughly 24 per cent of that of the whole of India. Nevertheless, the rulers of the States, not their subjects, have been given 33 per cent of the seats in the Lower House and 40 per cent in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature. In these circumstances, there is no possibility, in my opinion, of the Congress altering its attitude towards the Federal Scheme at any time. On our success in resisting the imposition of Federation by the British Government will depend our immediate political future. We have to fight Federation by all legitimate and peaceful means—not merely along constitutional lines—and in the last resort, we may have to resort to mass civil disobedience which is the ultimate sanction we have in our hands. There can be little doubt that in the event of such a campaign being started in the future, the movement will not be confined to British India but will spread among the States' subjects.

To put up an effective fight in the near future, it is necessary to put our own house in order. The awakening among our masses during the last few years has been so tremendous that new problems have arisen concerning our party organization. Meetings attended by fifty thousand men and women are an usual occurrence now-a-days. It is sometimes found that to control such meetings and demonstrations, our machinery is not adequate. Apart from these passing demonstrations, there is the bigger problem of mobilizing this phenomenal mass energy and enthusiasm and directing them along proper

lines. But have we got a well-disciplined volunteer corps for this purpose? Have we got a cadre of officers for our national service? Do we provide any training for our budding leaders, for our promising young workers? The answers to these questions are too patent to need elaboration. We have not yet provided all these requirements of a modern political party, but it is high time that we did. A disciplined volunteer corps manned by trained officers is exceedingly necessary. Moreover, education and training should be provided for our political workers so that we may produce a better type of leaders in future. This sort of training is provided by political parties in Britain through Summer Schools and other institutions, and is a speciality in totalitarian states. With all respect to our workers who have played a glorious part in our struggle, I must confess that there is room for more talent in our party. This defect can be made up partly by recruiting promising young men for the Congress and partly by providing education and training for those whom we already have. Everybody must have observed how some European countries have been dealing with this problem. Though our ideals and methods of training are quite different from theirs, it will be admitted on all hands that a thorough, scientific training is a requisite for our workers. Further, an institution like the Labour Service Corps of the Nazis deserves careful study and, with suitable modification, may prove beneficial to India.

While dealing with the question of enforcing discipline within our own party, we have to consider a problem which has been causing worry and embarrassment to many of us. I am referring to organizations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas and their relations with the Indian National Congress. There are two opposing schools of thought on this question—those who condemn

any organizations that are outside the Congress and those who advocate them. My own view is that we cannot abolish such organizations by ignoring or condemning them. They exist as objective facts and since they have come into existence and show no signs of liquidating themselves, it should be manifest that there is an historical necessity behind them. Moreover, such organizations are to be found in other countries. I am afraid that whether we like it or not, we have to reconcile ourselves to their existence. The only question is how the Congress should treat them. Obviously, such organizations should not appear as a challenge to the National Congress which is the organ of mass struggle for capturing political power. They should, therefore, be inspired by Congress ideals and methods and work in close co-operation with the Congress. To ensure this, Congress workers should in large numbers participate in trade union and peasant organizations. From my own experience of trade union work I feel that this could easily be done without landing oneself in conflict or inconsistency. Co-operation between the Congress and the other two organizations could be facilitated if the latter deal primarily with the economic grievances of the workers and peasants and treat the Congress as a common platform for all those who strive for the political emancipation of their country.

This brings us to the vexed problem of the collective affiliation of workers' and peasants' organizations to the Congress. Personally, I hold the view that the day will come when we shall have to grant this affiliation in order to bring all progressive and anti-imperialist organizations under the influence and control of the Congress. There will, of course, be difference of opinion as to the manner and the extent to which this affiliation should be given and the character and stability of

such organizations will have to be examined before affiliation could be agreed to. In Russia, the united front of the Soviets of workers, peasants and soldiers played a dominant part in the October revolution—but, on the contrary, in Great Britain we find that the British Trades Union Congress exerts a moderating influence on the National Executive of the Labour Party. In India we shall have to consider carefully what sort of influence, organizations like the Trade Union Congress and the Kisan Sabhas will exert on the Indian National Congress in the event of affiliation being granted and we should not forget that there is the possibility that the former may not have a radical outlook if their immediate economic grievances are not involved. In any case, quite apart from the question of collective affiliation, there should be the closest co-operation between the National Congress and other anti-imperialist organizations and this object would be facilitated by the latter adopting the principles and methods of the former.

There has been a great deal of controversy over the question of forming a party, like the Congress Socialist Party, within the Congress. I hold no brief for the Congress Socialist Party and I am not a member of it. Nevertheless, I must say that I have been in agreement with its general principles and policy from the very beginning. In the first place, it is desirable for the leftist elements to be consolidated into one party. Secondly, a leftist *bloc* can have a *raison d'être* only if it is socialist in character. There are friends who object to such a *bloc* being called a party, but to my mind it is quite immaterial whether you call that *bloc* a group, league or party. Within the limits prescribed by the constitution of the Indian National Congress it is quite possible for a leftist *bloc* to have a socialist programme, in which case it can be very well called a group, league or

party. But the role of the Congress Socialist Party, or any other party of the same sort, should be that of a left-wing group. Socialism is not an immediate problem for us — nevertheless, socialist propaganda is necessary to prepare the country for socialism when political freedom has been won. And that propaganda can be conducted only by a party like the Congress Socialist Party, which stands for and believes in socialism.

There is one problem in which I have been taking a deep, personal interest for some years and in connection with which I should like to make my submission—I mean the question of a foreign policy for India and of developing international contacts. I attach great importance to this work because I believe that in the years to come, international developments will favour our struggle in India. But we must have a correct appreciation of the world situation at every stage and should know how to take advantage of it. The lesson of Egypt stands before us as an example. Egypt won her Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain without firing a shot, simply because she knew how to take advantage of the Anglo-Italian tension in the Mediterranean.

In connection with our foreign policy, the first suggestion that I have to make is that we should not be influenced by the internal politics of any country or the form of its State. We shall find in every country, men and women who will sympathise with Indian freedom, no matter what their own political views may be. In this matter we should take a leaf out of Soviet diplomacy. Though Soviet Russia is a communist state, her diplomats have not hesitated to make alliances with non-socialist States and have not declined sympathy or support coming from any quarter. We should therefore aim at developing a nucleus of men and women in every country who would feel sympathetic towards India. To create

and develop such a nucleus, propaganda through the foreign press, through Indian-made films and through art exhibitions would be helpful. The Chinese, for example, have made themselves exceedingly popular in Europe through their art exhibitions. Above all, personal contacts are necessary. Without such personal contacts, it would be difficult to make India popular in other countries. Indian students abroad could also help in this work, provided we in India look to their needs and requirements. There should be closer contact between Indian students abroad and the Indian National Congress at home. If we could send out cultural and educational films made in India, I am sure that India and her culture would become known and appreciated by people abroad. Such films would prove exceedingly useful to Indian students and Indian residents in other countries, who at present are like our non-official ambassadors.

I do not like the word propaganda--there is an air of falsity about it. But I insist that we should make India and her culture known to the world. I say this because I am aware that such efforts will be welcomed in every country in Europe and America. If we go ahead with this work, we shall be preparing the basis for our future embassies and legations in different lands. We should not neglect Great Britain either. We have even in that country a small but influential group of men and women who are genuinely sympathetic towards Indian aspirations. Among the rising generation, and students in particular, interest in and sympathy for India is rapidly on the increase. One has only to visit the universities of Great Britain to realize that.

To carry on this work effectively, the Indian National Congress should have its trusted agents in Europe, Asia, Africa and in North, Central and South America. It is a pity that we have so far

neglected Central and South America where there is profound interest in India. The Congress should be assisted in this work of developing international contacts by cultural organizations in India, working in the field of international culture and by the Indian Chambers of Commerce working in the sphere of international commerce. Further, Indians should make it a point to attend every international congress or conference. Participation in such conferences is a very useful and healthy form of propaganda for India.

While talking of international contacts, I should remove a misgiving which may be present in some minds. Developing international contacts does not mean intriguing against the British Government. We do not need go in for such intrigues and all our methods should be above board. The propaganda that goes on against India all over the world is to the effect that India is an uncivilized country and it is inferred therefrom that the British are needed in order to civilize us. As a reply, we have only to let the world know what we are and what our culture is like. If we can do that, we shall create such a volume of international sympathy in our favour that India's case will become irresistible before the bar of world opinion.

I should not forget to refer to the problems, the difficulties and the trials which face our countrymen in different parts of Asia and Africa—notably in Zanzibar, Kenya, South Africa, Malaya and Ceylon. The Congress has always taken the keenest interest in their affairs and will continue to do so in future. If we have not been able to do more for them, it is only because we are still slaves at home. A free India will be a healthy and potent factor in world politics and will be able to look after the interests of its nationals abroad.

I must in this connection stress the desirability and necessity of developing closer cultural relations with our neighbours—*viz.*, Persia, Afghanistan, Nepal, China, Burma, Siam, Malaya States, East Indies and Ceylon. It would be good for both parties if they knew more of us and we knew more of them. With Burma and Ceylon, in particular, we should have the most intimate cultural intercourse, in view of our age-long contacts.

Friends, I am sorry I have taken more of your time than I had intended at first, but I am now nearing the end of my address. There is one important matter—the burning topic of the day—to which I should now draw your attention—the question of the release of detenus and political prisoners. The recent hunger-strikes have brought this question to the forefront and have focussed public attention on it. I believe that I am voicing the feelings of at least the rank and file of the Congress when I say that everything humanly possible should be done to expedite release. So far as the Congress ministries are concerned, it would be well to note that the record of some of them has not come up to public expectation. The sooner they satisfy the public demand, the better it will be for the Congress and for the people who are suffering in provinces ruled by non-Congress ministries. It is not necessary for me to labour this point and I fervently hope that in the immediate future, the public will have nothing to complain of so far as the record of the Congress ministries on this point is concerned.

It is not only the detenus and political prisoners in jail and detention who have their tale of woe. The lot of those who have been released is sometimes no better. They often return home in shattered health, victims of fell diseases like tuberculosis. Grim starvation stares them in the face and they are greeted, not with the smiles but with the tears of

their near and dear ones. Have we no duty to those who have given of their best in the service of their country and have received nothing but poverty and sorrow in return? Let us, therefore, send our heartfelt sympathy to all those who have suffered for the crime of loving their country and let us all contribute our humble mite towards the alleviation of their misery.

Friends, one word more and I have done. We are faced with a serious situation to-day. Inside the Congress there are differences between the right and the left which it would be futile to ignore. Outside, there is the challenge of British Imperialism which we are called upon to face. What shall we do in this crisis? Need I say that we have to stand four-square against all the storms that may beset our path and be impervious to all the designs that our rulers may employ? The Congress to-day is the one supreme organ of mass struggle. It may have its right *bloc* and its left—but it is the common platform for all anti-imperialist organizations striving for Indian emancipation. Let us, therefore, rally the whole country under the banner of the Indian National Congress. I would appeal specially to the leftist groups in the country to pool all their strength and their resources for democratising the Congress and reorganizing it on the broadest anti-imperialist basis. In making this appeal, I am greatly encouraged by the attitude of the leaders of the British Communist Party whose general policy with regard to India seems to me to be in keeping with that of the Indian National Congress.

In conclusion, I shall voice your feelings by saying that all India fervently hopes and prays that Mahatma Gandhi may be spared to our nation for many, many years to come. India cannot afford to lose him and certainly not at this hour. We need him to keep our people united. We need him to

keep our struggle free from bitterness and hatred. We need him for the cause of Indian Independence. What is more—we need him for the cause of humanity. Ours is a struggle not only against British Imperialism, but against world imperialism as well, of which the former is the key-stone. We are, therefore, fighting not for the cause of India alone, but of humanity as well. India freed means humanity saved.

BANDE MATARAM

RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY THE SESSION

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 Parvati Devi, Shri Jogendra Nath Barua, Shri Harendranath Munshi, Shri Buchi Sunder Rao, Shri Arya Dutt Jogdan, Shri Adi Narayan Chettiar, Shri Jaishankar Prasad, Shri Ram Das Gaur, Shri Kshirode Chandra Deb, Shri Gulzar Singh, Pt. Narayan Rao Khare, Shri Himanshu Bose, Smt. Sarmada Tyagi and Shri Heramba Chandra Maitra.

2. GUIDALLO OF ASSAM

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

3. BRITISH GUIANA

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

4. INDIANS OVERSEAS

This Congress views with alarm the rapidly growing deterioration in the status, position and rights enjoyed by the Indians in South and East Africa including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and also in the islands of Mauritius and Fiji.

This Congress condemns the new economic policy now being pursued by British Imperialism for

intensifying its exploitation of the Colonies and Dependencies which is exemplified in the formation of the monopolist Clove-Growers' Association in Zanzibar and in such 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 square miles and inhabited by over 13 million people.

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

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

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

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

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

revenue and other similar measures adopted by the Delhi administration.

11, AJMER-MERWARA AND THE INDIAN STATES

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

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

12. FEDERATION

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

The Congress is not opposed to the idea of federation; but a real federation must, even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty, and representation by the democratic process of election. The Indian States participating in the federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative

institutions and responsible government, civil liberties and method of election to the Federal Houses. Otherwise the federation as it is now contemplated, will, instead of building up Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the States in internal and external conflicts.

The Congress, therefore, reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal Scheme and calls upon the Provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its inauguration. In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way, and the Provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to 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 reopened still remains and will become totally incapable of being carried

out in the event of the proposed Order-in-Council being passed.

14. MIDNAPORE CONGRESS ORGANIZATIONS

The Congress strongly deprecates the continuance of the ban on about 110 Congress organizations in the district of Midnapore imposed by the Government of Bengal and is of opinion that the plea put forward by the Government to the effect that the Congress Committees are limbs of a terrorist organization 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 organization 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 deplors the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States.

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

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

In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name. The Congress welcomes such movements but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States. The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles, carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that organizational 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 organization, 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 organizations 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 was only when the time came for the Working Committee to give an annual account to the Congress delegates and to the masses of people backing them, that the Committee had to instruct Ministers, who were themselves sure of their ground, to order release of the political prisoners in their charge and to resign if their orders were countermanded. The Congress approves of and endorses the action taken by the Ministers of the United Provinces and Behar and congratulates them on it.

In the opinion of the Congress, the interference of the Governor-General with the deliberate action of the respective Prime Ministers is not merely a violation of the assurance above referred to, but it is also a misapplication of Section 126 (5) of the Government of India Act. There was no question

of grave menace to peace and tranquillity involved. The Prime Ministers had, besides, in both cases satisfied themselves, from assurances from the prisoners concerned and otherwise, of their change of mentality and acceptance of the Congress policy of non-violence. Indeed, it is the Governor-General's interference which has undoubtedly created a situation that may easily, in spite of the Congress effort to the contrary, become such a grave menace.

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

The Congress does not desire to precipitate a crisis which may involve non-violent non-co-operation 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 realize 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 organized to welcome the Kakori prisoners and the speeches delivered by some of them had interfered with the policy of gradual release of political prisoners. The Congress has always discouraged unseemly demonstrations and other objectionable activities. The demonstrations and speeches referred to by the U. P. Governor were strongly disapproved by Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, had similarly taken immediate notice of the indiscipline which was thus betrayed. Nor were they ignored by the Ministers. As a result of these corrective steps public opinion rapidly changed and even the persons concerned came to realize 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 organizations 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 organize themselves in peasant unions. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the Congress itself is in the main a Kisan organization 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 realize their demands, it is essential that the Congress be strengthened and that Kisans should be invited to join it in ever larger numbers and organized to carry on their struggle under its banner. It is thus the duty of every congressman to work for the spread of the Congress

organization in every village in India and not to do anything which weakens this organization in any way.

While fully recognising the right of the Kisans to organize Kisan Sabhas, the Congress cannot associate itself with any activities which are incompatible with the basic principles of the Congress and will not countenance any of the activities of those congressmen who as members of the Kisan Sabhas help in creating an atmosphere hostile to Congress principles and policy. The Congress, therefore, calls upon Provincial Congress Committees to bear the above in mind and in pursuance of it take suitable action wherever called for.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

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

20. CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

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

- (a) The advisability or otherwise of indirect elections of delegates;
- (b) Genuine membership and proper elections;
- (c) Suitability of territorial representation on the A. I. C. C. and in provinces where it may be considered suitable; the method of such representation.

- (d) Suitability or otherwise of the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote in the elections to the membership of the A. I. C. C.
- (e) Any consequential changes that may be necessary as a result of fixing of constituencies in connection with Article VI (e).

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

APPENDIX I

GREETINGS AND FELICITATIONS

Innumerable messages greeting the Congress Session and wishing it all success came from all parts of India, Burma, Ceylon and outside. They were both from notable persons as also from foreign friendly institutions and associations wishing well with the Congress. And the messages of greetings from Indians overseas came from all over the world and bore a stamp of love that they bear to the motherland. The following are some of the noteworthy ones:

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, one of the oldest living congressmen and ex-President wrote from Shivakoti, Allahabad:

"My greetings to Congress and to all fellow-workers assembled at Haripura. Being under treatment, I regret I am unable to attend this great and important Session; but I will be with you in spirit and shall be praying for your success. I have no doubt the Congress will best advise the country how to effectively combat the Federation which has been laid down by Parliament and to impress upon Great Britain that for peace and friendship between India and England, India must cease to be a dependency and become a free and independent country with a constitution framed by her own people and calculated to enable her to promote her own needs and interests."

Sjt. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, an "old, a very old congressman, devotedly attached to the Indian National Congress," and an ex-President wrote from Salem expressing his inability to come all the distance from Salem at his ripe old age.

Babu Rajendra Prasad wrote from his sick bed at Cottage, Hospital, Patna:

"I am more deeply distressed and disappointed than I can express, to tell you that I am unable to be with you at the Congress Session which is going to be a momentous one. I had hoped almost against hope, and the doctors had been encouraging that hope, that it might be possible after all for me to come to Haripura. But I have had several relapses one after the other, the last one being last night, and it is now perfectly clear that I cannot come. I am sure the proceedings will pass off successfully and the Session will give fresh impetus to the struggle for Swaraj in which the country is engaged."

Dr. Khansaheb wired from Peshwar regretting inability to attend the Session, both for his brother, Shri Abdul Gaffar Khan and himself. Shri Bhanjuram Gandhi, Finance Minister, N. W. F. P., wired to say, "May deliberations guide destinies of Nation successful goal."

Babu Shivaprasad Gupta from Benares greeting the Session wired:

"महात्माजी के चरणों में नतमस्तक होकर मैं राष्ट्रपति का अभिवादन करता हूँ। आज हरिपुरा में हमारी कांग्रेस का ५१वाँ महाधिवेशन हो रहा है। देश का बच्चा बच्चा इस अधिवेशन से स्वाधीनता के उस उद्देश को सुनने के लिए लालायित है, जिसे कांग्रेस ने व्यवस्थापिका सभाओं के जंजाल में पड़कर विस्मरणसा कर दिया है। . . . सद्विवेक और सत्साहस का समय है। ईश्वर से प्रार्थना है कि यह अधिवेशन हमें नया जीवन और नया बल प्रदान करे।"

Babu Shri Prakasha wired, "Heartiest felicitations. Regret inability to attend. Best wishes."

Sjt. Satyamurti from Madras wired, "Illness prevents my attending. Please accept convey apologies. Wish Congress complete success. Vande Mataram."

Babu Hardayal Nag from Chandpur, Bengal, wrote to the President, wishing him all success and

praying for God's blessings upon him as President of the Session.

Mayor Shivashunnugam Pillai, Madras Corporation, wired offering best wishes for the success of Congress, and declaring that the Madras City will always show its loyalty to the Congress.

Mr. Silva, President, Jubbulpore Municipality wired wishing success and assuring all support to the Congress.

The All India Trade Union Congress greeted the Congress Session with the resolution :

" This meeting of the Executive Concil of the A. I. T. U. C. conveys its greetings to the 51st Session of the I. N. Congress which is meeting at a critical situation created by the Viceroy and the Governors of the U. P. and Behar. . . . and assures the Congress of its full support and co-operation in any effective steps they propose to take to meet the situation."

Tinplate and Cable Workers' Unions, Jamshedpur, wired wishing success. The G. I. P. Workers wired saying, ' Heartily welcome bold ministry resignations in U. P., Bihar ' and assuring that ' Workers (were) behind the Congress in the anti-imperialist struggle. '

Raja Mahendra Pratap wired greetings to the Congress, from Tokyo. Rash Behari Bose wired from Kyoto ' Congratulating ministers' wise resignation. '

Gangasingh, ex-president, Congress Committee, Rangoon, wired, " Burma's independence depends on India's independence. Convey Burma greetings. "

The representative meeting of the Indian Community in the United Kingdom assembled wired to " send its warmest greetings and expresses solidarity with Congress in its struggle for Indian Independence, and sends best regards for Mahatma Gandhi and expresses anxiety for his health."

The Zanzibar Indians' Association, The Indian Association, Auckland (New Zealand), The Indian

National Committee, Japan, sent their greetings praying complete success in achieving freedom for the mother-country.

The Ceylon Indian Association, The Indian Merchantile Chamber of Ceylon, Young Folk Brotherhood, Maskeliya (Ceylon), The Gujarati Hindu Mandal, Colombo, Bharata Seva Sangam, Colombo, Youngmen Indian Association, Peraderuiya, (Ceylon) sent their warmest greetings to the Session and thanked the Congress for its sympathy with the cause of Ceylon Indians. The Lanka Sava Samaja Party of Ceylon sent their representatives to the Congress.

Editor, 'The Indian' of Malaya wrote :

"On behalf of the 630,000 Indians in this country, I have the rare privilege of sending our greetings and best wishes for the success of the Haripura Session."

Port Elizabeth Indian Congress wired wishing long life to Mahatmaji and complete success to the Session in its deliberations to liberate from "vassalage, and serfdom Indians within and overseas."

The Hindustan Association, Vienna, wired, 'Congratulations wishing progress with faith in the cause.

Bharat Welfare Society, Marysville, California, sent their greetings and felicitations to the Congress.

Indian Association, Georgetown (B. G.), Indians in Mauritius, sent their greetings.

Tanyunsen from Shantiniken wired "Congratulations of 450 million Chinese people. All success unite whole India under Congress. India China join together; all peace-loving democratic nations join together (to) combat war-danger and annihilate militarism....."

The International Peace campaign representing 43 countries wired to Pandit Jawaharlal, "inspired by action (of) Indian people in defence (of) peace and vigorous support (to) China, send warmest greetings to you and Congress."

Friends of India, Oslo, Norway, "Send to the Haripura Congress our warmest greetings, sympathy and best wishes for the present and future of ancient and glorious Aryavarta. . . May India enjoy full Swaraj and continue to give the example of Satyagraha and Ahimsa to her younger sister nations. is the fervent wish of Friends of India in Norway,"

Dr. Harold H. Maan wrote from London :

"Unfortunately I cannot leave England at present but I shall think of the great assemblage and shall hope that great policies will be decided upon which will carry further the work which has already begun for the benefit of the Indian masses, and especially for the benefit of the peasant population.

My heartiest good wishes for all attempts at progress in this direction."

The Joint Chairman of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Geneva, sent the following message to the Haripura Congress :

"I am sending in the name of my organization the sincerest wishes for the full success of the Congress."

In communicating its decision to send a representative to the Haripura Congress the "Friends of India" in London wrote :

"We send the most hearty good wishes for the success of your Conference. We feel that this will be one of the most momentous sessions in the history of the Indian National Congress and we hope that world-publicity will be given to its decisions. Never did the people of Great Britain so much need enlightenment as to the true feeling of the Indian people than at the present juncture and we look forward to this opportunity for Indian Statesmen to make the issues clear beyond dispute. May your great Leader's health be restored and the power and prestige of the Indian National Congress go from strength to strength."

The demonstration of 8,000 men held in Trafalgar Square in London to reiterate India's Independence Pledge for 1938 sent their greetings and wrote :

" This mass demonstration called by the India League in support of national independence for India, assembled at Trafalgar Square, historic in many fights waged by British men and women for their own freedom and in support of justice and liberty in other lands and for other peoples, proclaims the solidarity of the democratic and progressive people of Britain with the people of India in their great struggle against the forces of British imperialism and Indian reaction for the political independence of India and the social and economic emancipation of her masses."

Ben Bradley of the Meerut Conspiracy case wrote :

" The British Government are planning the introduction of the federal side of the constitution. They will steamroller it across with whatever support they can get. Therefore, the struggle against the constitution should be strengthened and concretised. A mass struggle should be developed for a Constituent Assembly based upon universal adult suffrage. This struggle should be linked up with the States peoples' struggle for responsible government and democratic rights."

Mr. C. T. Fegn, Consul General of the Republic of China in India, wrote :

" In view of the fact that our two countries are bound with the ties of a long standing friendship and since so much sympathy and support has been shown by the people of India towards our nation, it is therefore with much regret that I am unable to come owing to some urgent matter which will require my presence in Calcutta. Otherwise it would be a great honour for me to attend."

The India Independence Central Committee of Detroit, United States of America, wrote :

"Hindustanees of Detroit, Michign, consisting of Hindus and Moslems, join with us wholeheartedly in wishing you success and the speedy attainment of your goal of complete independence. We hope that under the banner and leadership of the Indian National Congress it will be possible for the people of India to forget their communal differences and present a united front against British Imperialism.

May I request that you will be kind enough to convey our message to the Congress in its Annual Session?"

The American League for India's Freedom sent 'warmest fraternal greetings from all of your American friends.'

APPENDIX 2

The following office-bearers with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel formed the Working Committee of the R. C.

OFFICE BEARERS

of the

RECEPTION COMMITTEE OF THE SESSION

Darbar Gopaldas A. Desai	Chairman
Shrimati Bhaktilakshmi Desai	Vice Chairman
„ Vijayagauri Kanuga	„ „
„ Mithubahen Petit	„ „
Sjt. Manibhai Chaturbhai Shah	„ „
„ Kanaiyalal N. Desai	General Secretary
„ Narhari D. Parikh	Joint Secretary
„ Jivanlal N. Diwan	„ „
„ Bhogilal D. Lala	„ „
„ Kalyanji V. Mehta	„ „
„ Sanmukhlal G. Shah	„ „
Shrimati Jyotsnabahen Shukla	„ „
Sjt. Harivaden Thakor	G. O. C.
Shrimati Mrudula Sarabhai	Captain of the lady volunteers
Sjt. Chhotubhai Marfatiya	Treasurer
„ Dahyabhai L. Mehta	„
„ Mayabhai Teli	„
„ Venibhai Balubhai Jariwala	„

CHIEF ENGINEER

Sjt. Ramdas Gulati

AUDITORS

Ramanlal Govindlal & Co.

Natverlal Vepari & Co.

NAMES OF THOSE WHO GAVE THEIR LANDS FOR THE CONGRESS SITE

Owners	Acres
Sjt. Chhotubhai Ambelal Desai	43
„ Kadod Masjid	86
„ Malek Mustafa Gulab	62
„ Hargovandas Narottamdas Shah	34
„ Maganlal Sunderlal and others	33
„ Sarvarvninga Ajamminya	32
„ Madhavbhai Kalyanbhai	27
„ Kevalchand Kapurchand Shah	23
„ Hariprasad Laxmishanker Bhatt	13
„ Ismail Ahmed Bangi	11
„ Nathubhai Vallabhbhai Patel	10
„ Kalabhai Kahnabhai Patel	9
„ Vallabhdas Shambhulal Shah	6
five other gentlemen	11

CONSTRUCTION DEPT.

(Some notable figures)

Residential Accommodation provided for :

Workers and Volunteers	10,000
Delegates	2,000
Families — persons	2,000
Visitors	16,000
Peasants	20,000
No. of shops	375
The Area occupied by the Exhibition	3,00,000 sq. ft.
Total area built over	35,00,000 sq. ft.

Space allotted to each section was as under :

Dairy	10 Acres
Congress Pandal	20 „
Zanda Chawk	15 „
Exhibition	10 „
General Offices	5 „
Subject Committee Pandal	3 „
Workers' Quarters	5 „
Leaders' camp	15 „
Volunteers' camp	12 „
Lady volunteers' camp	3 „
Sanitation workers' camp	9 „
Kitchen workers' camp	10 „

MATERIAL USED IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND ITS COST

Name of the material	Quantity	Cost		
		Rs.	As.	Ps.
Teak-rafters	70,000	35,499	14	3
Bamboos	4,00,000	26,060	4	9
Bamboo-matting	2,00,000	45,746	9	9
Palm-leaves' mats	1,00,000	14,609	15	6
Coir-string bundles	1,000	5,182	6	6
Pack-string bales	16	765	12	6
Manilla ropes Cwts.	30	668	15	3
Khadi yards	17,000	6,246	3	6
Cement tons	230	9,901	9	0
Bricks	2,00,000	1,973	11	0
Tiles rent		462	15	0
Cement stone-slabs and pipes		9,771	5	6
Iron		1,765	6	0
Implements and tools		2,847	11	0
Vehicles		1,255	0	0
Total		1,62,757	12	6

ACCOMMODATION CHARGES

	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Family hut	100	0	0
Special family hut with kitchen	150	0	0
Visitors — per cot	6	0	0
Delegates and R.C. members — per cot	5	0	0
Peasants' camp — per seat	0	4	0

WATER-WORKS

Following is the description of pumps installed on the water-works.

Four motor-driven centrifugal pumps each delivering 40,000 gallons of water per hour.

Two oil engine-driven centrifugal pumps each delivering 20,000 gallons of water per hour.

Following are the length of mains and distributing pipes laid throughout the camp

Diameter	16"	12"	8"	6"
Length	600'	2,500'	2,500'	2500'
Diameter	4"	3"	2"	1½"
Length	6,000'	6,000'	6,000'	1,200'
Diameter	1½"	1"	¾"	½"
Length	700'	1,700'	800'	900'

ELECTRICITY

Total number of lights and other connections were as under :

Lights	6,177
Strip lights	2,878
Flood lights	39
Fans	18
Switches	535

ENERGY CONSUMED

32,235 units for lights and fans

14,750 units for pumps and the printing press

SANITATION

Following is the arrangement provided for the sanitation of the Nagar :

Latrines	2,248
Urinals	1,472
Dustbins	2,000
Large pits for burying rubbish	64
Small pits for the same purpose	65
<i>Kachha</i> Channels	75,000 ft.
<i>Pacca</i> Channels	2,500 ft.

LIST OF MATERIALS USED FOR SANITARY WORK

Brooms	1,550
Spades and shovels	416
Iron casks for storing water near the latrines	99
Curved tin plates with handles (<i>Supdis</i> and <i>Tavethas</i>)	300
Buckets	448
Racks of iron and wood	100
Carts for carrying rubbish	30
Bullock-carts	56
Bicycles	15

And baskets, iron basins, brooms of various sizes, knives, axes, carpentry tools etc.

DAIRY

Total milk production 3,07,880 lbs.

This was disposed of as under :

Turned into butter 11,360

Separated, the cream whereof turned
into ghee and the skimmed milk
turned into condensed. 48,000

Turned into sweets 8,000

Fresh milk supplied to Congress kitchen 2,40,520

Total 3,07,880

The Congress Dairy cows' purchase price

	No.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Rs. 10 to 20	15	287	12	0
Rs. 20 to 30	130	3,530	10	3
Rs. 30 to 40	218	8,272	14	0
Rs. 40 to 50	110	5,271	12	0
Rs. 50 to 60	26	1,392	0	0
Rs. 60 to 70	4	248	0	0
Rs. 70 to 80	3	230	0	0
Total	506	19,233	0	3
Transport and other charges		9,220	11	0
		28,453	11	3

of these: 150 were of Gir breed

356 were of Kankreji breed.

Cows' Selling Price

	No.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Rs. 1 to 10	33	222	4	0
Rs. 10 to 20	106	1,530	8	0
Rs. 20 to 30	135	3,451	8	0
Rs. 30 to 40	169	4,477	4	0
Rs. 40 to 50	29	1,244	0	0
Rs. 50 to 60	14	1,044	8	0
Rs. 60 to 70	8	556	0	0
Rs. 70 to 80	8	584	0	0
Total	502	Rs. 13,110	0	0
	4 died			

Total 506

Donations in kind 3,402 0 0

16,512 0 0

This amount is earmarked for the improvment of
the cow-breed and other cow-service work in Gujarat.

RECEPTION
51ST INDIAN NATIONAL
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

INCOME				Rs.	As.	Ps.
TICKET SALE				2,83,714	8	0
Reception Committee	1,34,623	0	0			
Visitors special	51,354	0	0			
„ General	63,867	8	0			
Subject Committee	33,870	0	0			
Exhibition proceeds				42,446	15	6
Ticket Sale	29,603	0	0			
Other income	12,843	15	6			
Kitchen				31,032	15	0
Cow donation				37,934	10	9
Dairy				13,843	3	0
Bazar				29,034	7	9
Printing				2,048	10	0
Accommodation fees				96,630	5	6
Family quarters	27,600	0	0			
Delegates' camp	5,855	0	0			
Visitors' camp	58,497	8	0			
Villagers' camp	3,255	12	0			
Water stand & other income	1,422	1	6			
Film proceeds				5,661	2	5
Photography licence fee				550	0	0
General donation				39,920	15	9
Construction Dept.	8,115	0	0			
Sheets etc.	4,229	11	6			
Corn etc.	5,983	5	6			
Medicines	4,036	11	0			
Cash & other income	17,556	3	9			
				5,82,817	13	8

Gopaldas Ambaidas
Chairman, R. C.

Kanaiyalal Nanabhai Desai
General Secretary, R. C.

Bardoli, 15-10-'38

COMMITTEE
CONGRESS, HARIPURA
FOR THE PERIOD ENDING 11-10-1938

EXPENDITURE		Rs.	As,	Ps.
DEPARTMENT				
Construction		2,24,388	11	1
General Office		21,520	14	9
Volunteers		36,141	8	6
Sanitary		20,732	1	11
Exhibition		23,565	14	9
Food supply		8,136	15	0
Kitchen		85,043	1	11
Dairy		49,897	10	3
Propaganda		2,105	7	3
General Stores		10,259	7	6
Printing Press		8,242	8	3
Accommodation		41,902	14	9
Publicity		1,350	13	0
Hospital		8,511	3	3
Preliminaries		1,304	6	9
Water-works		34,557	14	1
Electricity		19,718	12	0
Lights & Lamps		3,376	2	0
Bridge		19,070	14	9
Loud Speakers		5,034	8	0
Reserved for Report & other expenditure		5,000	0	0
		<u>6,29,861</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>
Less Sale proceeds of material		69,144	8	10
Construction matrl.	49,094	15	3	
Other matrl. sales	20,049	9	7	
		<u>5,60,717</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
	(Surplus)	<u>22,100</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
		<u>5,82,817</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>
Chhotubhai Bhaidas	Examined and found correct.			
Marfatia	(Sd.) Ramanlal Govindlal			
Dahyabhai Mehta	Shah			
Mayabhai Teli	(Sd.) Nataverlal J. Vepari			
Treasurers, R. C.	Registered Accountants,			
	Hon. Auditors			

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

51 ST INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HARIPURA

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 11-10-'38

LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
Dairy Department	16,408 15 9	Sundry Debtors	4,026 13 3
Chicago Radio Co.	1,001 0 0	Cash & other Balances	
For expenses (Stationery, Postage, & Report printing etc.)	5,000 0 0	with Bank of India	26,834 4 2
Surplus of income & expenditure account	22,409 15 9	Ltd., Surat	
as per statement		with Surat Dt.	13,557 6 7
		Co. Bank	92 0 6
		Cash on hand	40,483 11 3
		Total	44,510 8 6

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We have examined the Balance sheet of the Reception Committee of the 51st Indian National Congress, Haripura, as on 11th Oct., 1938 and found correct according to the informations and explanations given to us, and as shown by the books of the Reception Committee.

(Sd.) Ramanlal Govindlal Shah

(Sd.) Nataveral J. Vepari

Registered Accountants

Hon. Auditors

Gopaldas Ambaidas
Chairman,

Chhotubhai Bhaidas
Marfatia

Kanaivalal Nanabhai Desai

General Secretary,
Reception Committee

Dahyabhai Mehta
Mayabhai Teli

Tresurers,
Reception Committee

Bardoli, 15-10-'38

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