INDIA'S
STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM
SELECT DOCUMENTS AND SOURCES

Volume II
INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM
SELECT DOCUMENTS AND SOURCES

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VOLUME II

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JAGDISH SARAN SHARMA
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Dedicated
to those martyrs who
died unknown
in the cause of
India's Struggle for Freedom
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply grateful to all those statesmen, politicians, scholars and social reformers from whose speeches and writings I have quoted freely in this study. Since some Government documents included in this book are also included in a few publications* and to which, for the benefit of research workers, I have referred now and then in the footnotes, I thank their authors, compilers, editors, co-editors and publishers. My thanks are also due to various Political and Semi-Political Parties, some manifestoes, resolutions and policy statements of which I have included in this publication. To the Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad, I am thankful for granting me permission to quote freely from Mahatma Gandhi’s speeches and writings.

* Bibliography appears on p. XVII–XXII
Dr. Jagdish Saran Sharma has, indeed, done very valuable work in classifying, annotating and editing select documents and sources relating to India’s Struggle for Freedom in three volumes. His earlier Descriptive Bibliographies on Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vinoba Bhave and Indian National Congress have received well-deserved appreciation not only in India but in foreign countries as well.

In these volumes, Dr. Sharma has not only collected select documents on Constitutional Reforms, Prominent Political Parties, which played role in our struggle for Freedom but also on the social, educational, economic and political aspects of the national liberation movement in India. They include references to all the important political parties, their leaders, places, subjects and events intimately connected with the History of Freedom Movement during the last one hundred years. I have no doubt that the wealth of varied material collected in these volumes will be of immense use to scholars and research workers in the sphere of Politics, Economics, Sociology and Education in this country as well as abroad.

I have been impressed by the objectivity of approach with which the author has dealt with historical events, political parties and personalities. The volumes include documents representing the point of views of the Indian National Congress as well as other political parties in the country. Old records indicating the views of the British Government on various aspects of the National Movement also find a place in these volumes of permanent importance. I would like to congratulate Dr. Sharma on the hard work which he has put in over a number of years in bringing out these volumes in which are shrined relevant documents concerning our History of Freedom Movement.

New Delhi
October, 1964

[Signature] Narayan
INTRODUCTION

At the present time, when humanity stands almost on the brink of a precipice, and when one wrong movement can tumble down all our mighty structure of civilisation, India’s great experiment in non-violence assumes great significance because it is solving such problems as foreign imperialism, racial or colour conflicts, economic backwardness, and even cultural decadence with minimum conflicts.

Indeed this experiment has evoked worldwide interest and a number of statesmen and scholars continue to look at it for inspiration. But, so far, the lack of an adequate and up-to-date documentation on the subject has prevented a fuller utilization of this experiment. I have intended this study to fill in the lacuna.

I am aware of the valuable work done by A.B. Keith, P. Mukherji, J.K. Majumdar, A.C. Banerjee, Sir Maurice Gwyer, A. Appadorai and S.L. Poplai but I feel that the present work deals with the subject matter in a different manner, which may perhaps be found of greater utility by the researcher.

In these volumes, alongwith select documents, on the constitutional reforms, I have also classified in chronological order under appropriate Subject Headings available material on the social, educational, political and economic aspects of the National Movement. To enable easy consultation, under each important Subject-Heading, I have given a short summary of the available material.

At the end of the study, I have given a comprehensive index compiled on dictionary catalogue method, which is the key to the entire study. The index includes references to all names of persons and places, subjects, events, subject-headings used, cross references, authors, compilers, titles of books and other related information appearing in the text. References from the text are made by the page number. It is because of the classified approach and these additional features that this study differs from the previous attempts so far made. Besides, See and See also Cross References are given to connect similar subjects together.

I certainly do not claim to have included in this study all the documents, speeches, letters etc., that are available on India’s Struggle for Independence but I do claim that because of my long experience of working on works like Mahatma Gandhi : A Descriptive Bibliography Jawaharlal Nehru : A Descriptive Bibliography; Indian National Congress : A Descriptive Bibliography; Vinoba and Bhoodan : A Descriptive Bibliography; A.I.C.C. Circulars : A Descriptive Bibliography, and my study of the original materials in the A.I.C.C. Library, New Delhi, where I served as Librarian and Research Officer for some
time, I have included in the present work all the important documents relevant for research on various aspects of India’s Struggle for Independence.

In the preparation of this work, I have tried to be as objective as possible. The study includes not only the material relating to the Indian National Congress which spearheaded the Freedom Struggle, but also the point of views of other political parties such as Akali Party, Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Communist Party, Socialist Party, Swaraj Party, Liberal Party, Forward Bloc, and others. Naturally, the number of documents in the form of resolutions and speeches of other parties on any particular event have been given due prominence. To enable the readers to have a complete view of the problems facing the Indian politicians, I have also included the material emanating from the British Government and others who opposed the national movement.

ARRANGEMENT

VOLUME I

The documents have been classified under the following main subject headings:

1. Agriculture and Land Reforms
2. Arms Act
3. Bengal, Partition
4. Civil Disobedience Movement I-IX
   (a) Satyagraha in South Africa, 1906-1913
   (b) Champaran Satyagraha, 1917
   (c) Kheda or Kaira Satyagraha, 1918
   (d) Rowlatt Act Satyagraha, 1919
   (e) Non-violent Non-co-operation, August 1, 1920
   (f) Salt Satyagraha (or Dandi March, March 12, 1930)
   (g) Non-violent Non-co-operation, December 31, 1931-34
   (h) Individual Satyagraha, October, 1941
   (i) “Quit India” Movement, August 9, 1942
5. Commerce and Industry
6. Communalism
7. Constitutional Reforms
   (From 1767 to 1950)
   I. 1765 to 1884
   II. 1885 to 1919
   III. 1920 to 1935
   IV. 1936 to 1941
   V. 1942 to 1947 (14th August)
8. Constructive Programme: (Mahatma Gandhi's 18-point programme which includes removal of illiteracy, untouchability, etc.)

9. Defence

VOLUME II and III

10. Economic Conditions and Planning
11. Educational Reforms
12. Famines
13. Foreign Relations (General)
   _______ Baluchistan
   _______ Burma
   _______ Ceylon
   _______ Commonwealth
   _______ East Africa
   _______ France
   _______ Goa
   _______ Indonesia
   _______ Italy
   _______ Korea
   _______ North-West Frontier
   _______ Pakistan
   _______ South Africa
   _______ Tibet
   _______ Tunisia
   _______ United Nations
   _______ U.S.A.
   _______ U.S.S.R.
   _______ Waziristan

14. Independence Pledge
15. Independence, Suppression Of
16. "India" (Official Organ of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress)

17. Indian Civil Service
18. Indian Medical Service
19. Indian Military Service
20. Indian National Army (I.N.A.)
21. Jallianwala Bagh tragedy
22. Judiciary
23. Khilafat Movement
24. Labour and Labour Classes
25. Minorities
26. National Integration
27. Pakistan and Partition
28. Political and Semi-Political Parties
   (i) Akali Dal
   (ii) All India States' Peoples’ Conference
   (iii) Bharatiya Jansangh*
   (iv) Chamber of Princes
   (v) Communist Party of India
   (vi) Congress Democratic Party
   (vii) Forward Bloc
   (viii) Hindu Maha Sabha
   (ix) Indian National Congress
   (x) Muslim League
   (xi) National Liberal Federation
   (xii) Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.)*
   (xiii) Radical Democratic Party
   (xiv) Radical Socialist Party
   (xv) Responsive Co-operative Party
   (xvi) Revolutionary Socialist Party
   (xvii) Socialist Party
   (xviii) Swatantra Party*
   (xix) Swarajya Party

29. Politics and Government
30. Press Repression
31. Princes and their States
32. Social Reforms
33. Taxation
34. Swaraj Bhavan
35. World War I & II

Under each Subject-Heading Documents are arranged Chronologically. See and See also Cross References are given to link together likely subjects.

References to original sources from which the documents have been derived are provided alongwith their full bibliographical details so that researcher may be able to quote the original sources directly. These references appear either under each document or as foot-notes. The examples of such references are given below:

Text:

(a) "..........That the question of the introduction of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue Demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other Provinces be referred to the several Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report upon the same, in so far as it affects their respective circles, to the Congress of 1899."

4 : 1888 : Allahabad : XIV.

*These political parties are included to make this study up-to-date.
( xv )

The interpretation of the reference given at the end of the above document is that this resolution was passed in the Fourth Session of the Indian National Congress held at Allahabad in 1888. The number of the resolution that appears in the original proceedings of the session is the fourteenth. In order to furnish these references, I had to read each document from its original source.

(b) Some resolutions and speeches especially in the case of Indian National Congress, are also available in the form of books. In such cases alongwith the original sources even secondary sources are also given. They appear in the footnotes as under:

Summary of the A.I.C.C. meeting held in Allahabad on March 21, 1930. Also in: The Indian National Congress 1930-34 (Being the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee during the period between January 1930 and September 1934). Some important statements and other documents of the period are also given. Allahabad, All India Congress Committee, 1930.

(c) In few cases especially under the Subject-Heading “Constitutional Reforms” Vol. I, it is noticed that a particular document is available in various books which are so far published on this subject. To guide research scholars to the original sources of the documents, references arranged chronologically are given as footnotes.

Examples:

Also in

(d) In case of the documents which are first reported in Journals and Newspapers, only the authentic sources such as “Indian Annual Register, Harijan, The Congress Bulletin etc. are referred to.

(e) All reasonable efforts have been made to refer to the sources where the reports of various commissions were originally published. Their secondary sources are frequently quoted because they are easily available to scholars in various important Libraries all over the world.

The nature of the material this study includes is: resolutions passed and manifestoes adopted by the various political and semi-
political parties, speeches delivered by the officers of these parties and the officials of the British Government. It also includes text of various acts, bills, official orders, correspondence and comments on political issues by eminent authors and leaders.

Special attention has been paid to include documents relating to the British Proposals after 1941 representing views of the British Government, the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, Forward Bloc, Communist Party and other political parties. This has been done to present to readers all the actors and the parts played by them in the drama of India’s Struggle for Independence.

Every attempt has been made during the course of this study to be as objective as possible but if this study proves to be of some use to scholars and others interested in the Indian Independence Movement, I shall feel duly rewarded for my labour spread over the last eight years. I shall also be indebted to any one who may help me to correct information given here or to make good any omissions in subsequent editions.

I express my profound gratitude to Shri U.N. Dhebar and Shri Shriman Narayan, who in 1955 inspired me to take up a National Project of this nature. To Shri Shrimanj I am also indebted for valuable “Preface” to this study.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. A.C. Joshi, D.Sc., F.N.I., Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University, without whose unstinted help and blessings it would not have been possible for me to complete this study and present it to readers in the printed form.

I also feel grateful to Dr. I.D. Sharma, Head of the Department of Political Science, Panjab University for his valuable advice in selecting the documents out of enormous materials available on India’s Struggle for Freedom.

Turning to my colleagues I thank Shri Joginder Singh Ramdev for compiling the Index. To Shri Amar Singh Kashya and Shri Rama Kant Sharma, I thank, for typing the manuscript in their leisure time.

Finally I feel grateful to Shri Shyamalal Gupta, Proprietor, M/s S. Chand & Co. for undertaking the publication of such an ambitious project.

Chandigarh, Oct. 30, 1964

JAGDISH SARAN SHARMA
SOURCES CONSULTED

Vols. II & III


Akali Dal

Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
All India Muslim League.
Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
—The Report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League to inquire into Muslim grievances in Congress Provinces, 16th November, 1958.

All-India States' Peoples' Conference.
Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.


Aryanayakam, E.W. Story of Twelve Years. Sevagram, Hindustan Talim Sangh.


Bhartiya Jan Sangh:

Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.

Chamber of Princes:

Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.

Communist Party of India.
—Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
—Communist violence in India. New Delhi, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1949; p. 3-7.
Congress Democratic Party.
Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
House of Commons, 1921.
Debates on Indian Affairs:
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Gandhi-Jinnah Talks. New Delhi, The Hindustan Times, 1944.
—Why the Constructive Programme; Selections from writings and utterances of Gandhi, New Delhi, A.I.C.C., 1948.
Gazette of India (different years).
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A Weekly (different volumes).
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Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, Basic National Education.
India Government:

— Report of Committee on Franchise and Committee on Divisions of Functions, 1919.
— Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, (1924)


— Experiments in Primary and Basic Education. Delhi, Ministry of Education, 1956, pp. 33.
— Progress of Education in India, 1927-52, pp. 27
— Report of the Second Wardha Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, 1939 together with the decision of the Board.
— University Education in India. Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1956, pp. 361.


India Unreconciled. New Delhi, The Hindustan Times, 1944.
*Indian Annual Register*, Calcutta (different volumes).

The Indian National Congress

(Being the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee during the period between Jan. 1930 to September, 1934. Some important statements and other documents of the period are also given). Allahabad, A.I.C.C. 1935 p. 200 to 210.

*Also* Resolutions passed at various Annual Sessions, A.I.C.C. and Working Committee sessions held at various places upto 1963.


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—Report of Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress. Published by K. Santhanam, Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry, Lahore, 1920.


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—*Also* consulted all the resolutions passed at the Annual Sessions of I.N.C., A.I.C.C. and Working Committee Sessions, held at various places upto 1963. They are available in the form of pamphlets published by the A.I.C.C, New Delhi.

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The Indian National Congress, The A.I.C.C., Library, New Delhi is well equipped with new and current materials on India's Struggle for Freedom.

Indian Round Table Conference, Proceedings.
Indian States and Nationalist India:
Presidential Address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Annual Session of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference, 15th February, 1939.
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by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed, Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1943.
Keith, A.B. Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1912. 2 Vols.
Legislative Assembly Debates. (different years)
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  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Responsive Co-operative Party.
  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Revolutionary Socialist Party.
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  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
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  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface  
Introduction  
Sources consulted  

**CHAPTER**

I—Economic Conditions and Planning  
II—Educational Reforms  
III—Famines  
IV—Foreign Relations (General)  
   Foreign Relations (Countrywise)  
      Baluchistan, Burma, Ceylon, Commonwealth,  
      East Africa, France, Goa (Before it was annexed to the Indian Union), Indonesia, Italy, Korea,  
      Malaya, North-West Frontier, Pakistan, South Africa,  
      Tibet, Tunisia, United Nations, U. S. A.,  
      U. S. S. R., Waziristan  
V—Independence Pledges  
VI—Independence, Suppression of  
VII—India (An official organ of I.N.C.)  
VIII—Indian Civil Service  
IX—Indian Medical Service  
X—Indian National Army (I.N.A.)  
XI—Jallianwala Bagh  
XII—Judiciary  
XIII—Khilafat Movement  
XIV—Labour and Labour Classes  
XV—Minorities  
XVI—National Integration  
XVII—Pakistan and Partition  
XVIII—Police Reforms  
XIX—Political and Semi-political Parties  
   1. Akali Dal  
   2. All India States’ Peoples’ Conference  
   3. Bharatiya Jan Sangh  
   4. Chamber of Princes  
   5. Communist Party of India  
   6. Congress Democratic Party  
   7. Forward Bloc  
   8. Hindu Mahasabha  

INDEX  

**Pages**  
ix  
vi  
xvii—xxii  
1—80  
81—166  
167—172  
173—212  
213—271  
272—288  
289—297  
298—302  
303—318  
319—321  
322—367  
368—399  
390—399  
400—403  
404—415  
416—423  
424—486  
487—573  
574—578  
579—810  
579—598  
598—605  
605—640  
640—663  
664—759  
760—763  
763—775  
776—810  
I—XIV
Preface
Introduction
Sources Consulted

CHAPTER

XIX—Political and Semi-political Parties (contd.)

9. Indian National Congress
10. Muslim League (See also Pakistan and Partition)
11. National Liberal Federation
12. Praja Socialist Party
13. Radical Democratic Party
14. Responsive Cooperative Party
15. Revolutionary Socialist Party
16. Socialist Party
17. Swarajya Party
18. Swatantra Party

XX—Politics and Government
XXI—Press Repression
XXII—Princes and their States
XXIII—Social Reforms
XXIV—Swaraj Bhavan
XXV—Taxation
XXVI—World Wars I and II
INDEX
CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND PLANNING

Note. This chapter includes important select documents on the economic conditions which prevailed in India during the course of India’s struggle for freedom.

* * *

"That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people." 2:1886:Calcutta:II.

* * *

"That this Congress hereby tenders its sincere thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons; and while fully appreciating what has been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the resolution of the House of Commons." 5:1889:Bombay:IV.

* * *

"That the following telegram be despatched in reply to General Booth:—

"The Congress having received and considered your kindly message thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to sixty millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary raison d'être of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in same field, and we have to thank you that your army too is now engaged in the work of elevating our masses. May your efforts and ours, in both directions be crowned
with success. Congress, including men of many creeds, welcomes cordially all who seek to benefit our suffering brethren.”

7 : 1891 : Nagpur : IX.

*  *  *

“That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency Question, and the importance of the question itself, this Congress desires to express its earnest hope that unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, necessitating a change in the currency, or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labors of the Brussels Conference have been completed: and, further, that the Government will lay before the public, for discussion, the proposals which Lord Herschell’s Committee may recommend, before definite action, if any, is resolved upon.”

8 : 1892 : Allahabad : IV.

*  *  *

“That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual Military Expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the Military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of the country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion that, in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden.”

8 : 1892 : Allahabad : VII.

*  *  *

“That this Congress, concurring in the views set forth in previous Congress, affirms:

That fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation and that in every decade, several millions actually perish by starvation.

And humbly urges once more, that immediate steps be taken to remedy this calamitous state of affairs.”

9 : 1893 : Amritsar : VIII.

*  *  *

“That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Exchange Compensation Allowance granted to the undomiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of Rupees, and to the Banks, to the extent of £138,000 at a time when the financial situation of the country is far from satisfactory and the country is threatened with additional taxation.”

9 : 1893 : Lahore : XV.
“That this Congress tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India’s claim to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and respectfully entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at some equitable settlement of the matter.”

* * *

“That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty’s Government for the promise they have made to appoint a Select Committee of Members of Parliament to enquire into the financial expenditure of India, regards an enquiry with so limited a scope as inadequate, and is of opinion that if the enquiry is to bear any practical fruit it must include an enquiry into the ability of the Indian people to bear their existing financial burdens and into the financial relations between India and the United Kingdom.”

* * *

“That this Congress is of opinion that the enquiry by the Expenditure Commission will not be satisfactory to the people of this country, nor be of any practical advantage to the Government, unless the lines of policy which regulate expenditure are enquired into and unless facilities are afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. And this Congress also feels that the enquiry would, in all probability, yield better results, if the proceedings were conducted with open doors.”

* * *

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

* * *

“That this Congress repeats its protest of the last two years against the grant of Exchange Compensation allowance to the un-
domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving now an annual expenditure of over a crore and a half of rupees.”

"The taking of immediate steps to improve the lot of the poorer classes in India, fully fifty millions of the population—a number yearly increasing, dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and several millions actually perishing, in every decade, by starvation.”

"That this Congress is of opinion that the enquiry by the Expenditure Commission will not be satisfactory to the people of this country, not be of any practical advantage to the Government, unless the lines of policy which regulate expenditure are enquired into, and unless facilities are afforded and arrangements made for receiving evidence other than official and Anglo-Indian. And this Congress also feels that the enquiry would, in all probability, yield better results, if the proceedings were conducted with open doors”.

"That this Congress again records its firm conviction that in view of the embarrassed condition of the finances of the country the only remedy for the present state of things is a material curtailment in the expenditure on the Army Services and other military expenditure. Hence the Home Charges and the cost of Civil Administration; and it notices with satisfaction that expert opinion in England has now come over to the view of the Indian Parliamentary Committee that growth in military expenditure is a more potent cause of Indian financial embarrassment than the condition of exchange.”

"...That in view of the great extensions of the British power on the North West and North East of the proper frontiers of India into regions not contemplated by Parliament when it passed Section 56 of the Government of India Act, the Congress is of opinion that over and above the sanction of Parliament necessary before the revenue and forces of India are employed outside the frontiers of India, the interests of India absolutely demand that the expenses of all such expeditions should be shared between England and India. Without some such additional guarantee, the forward Military policy will involve India in hopeless financial confusion.”

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

(i) As regards the Machinery to control Indian Expenditure, it is prayed—(1) that the non-official Members of the Viceroy’s Council may be made more directly representative of the Indian people, and that they may have the right to move amendments and divide the Council upon the provisions of the Budget; (2) that a sufficient number of representative Indians of position and experience may be nominated to the Council of the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the elected Members of the Viceroy’s and Local Legislative Councils; and (3) that each year a Select Committee of the House of Commons may be appointed to inquire into and report upon the financial conditions of India;

(ii) As regards the progress of Expenditure, it is prayed that the Military and other unproductive expenditure be reduced, that larger amounts be spent in promoting the welfare and the progress of the people, and that a large saving and a more efficient administration may be obtained by the substitution, as far as practicable, of Indian for European agency in the higher grades of the Public service; and

(iii) As regards apportionment of charges, it is prayed that the Imperial Treasury may bear a fair proportion of all expenditure in which the common interests of India and the rest of the Empire are involved; and especially that the expenses of the present war beyond the frontier may be largely borne by the Imperial Exchequer. Lastly, that it be an instruction to the President to submit a copy of this Resolution under his own signature to the Chairman of the Royal Commission with the least practicable delay.”

13 : 1897 : Amraoti : III.

*  *

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

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

(c) That the Congress regrets that, save Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt and Mr. Merwanji Rastamji, competent and qualified Indian representatives have not yet been invited as witnesses to represent the Indian view of matters on the subject which now engages the attention of the Currency Committee of which Sir Henry Fowler is the President.

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

“(a) That, having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by Exchange is the steady growth of the demand on the Indian Exchequer for expenditure in England, this Congress regrets the introduction of a gold standard in India on the recommendation of the Currency Committee for the purpose of preventing loss by exchange, and is of opinion that the new measure is calculated to increase the gold obligation of India.

(b) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government will in effect add to the indebtedness of the poorer classes in India, depreciate the value of their savings in the shape of silver ornaments, and virtually add to their rents and taxes.

(c) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government is likely to be prejudicial to the indigenous manufactures of the country.”

“That this Congress, while expressing its grateful acknowledgements for the annual contribution of £2,570,000 promised to be made from the British to the Indian Exchequer in accordance with the recommendations of the majority of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, respectfully desires to point out that for doing adequate justice to the claims of India so far as admitted by that Commission it is necessary that she should be granted the arrears payable on this account for the past many years, and prays that the British Parliament will be pleased to make this grant.”

“(a) That the following gentlemen do form a Committee to
report to the Congress next year whether it is desirable to adopt the following resolutions, with or without amendments and alterations:—

Mr. B. G. Tilak
,, Madan Mohan Malaviya.
,, Bhupendra Nath Basu
,, J. Chowdhuri
,, B. Pathak
,, Ranade
,, Ganga Prosad Warma
,, Umar Buksh
,, Harkissen Lal.

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress much of the present state of economic depression of the country is owing to want of knowledge of the methods of production and distribution which prevail in foreign countries, and that it behoves our countrymen to adopt means to bring advanced knowledge and exact information within the reach of the people.

(c) That one of the most important economic questions that requires solution at our hands is the organisation of Capital and Credit, in villages, towns, provinces and the country. This Congress invites attention of their countrymen to make sustained and extensive efforts to organise Capital and remove one of the many difficulties in the way of improvement of our economic condition.”

17:1901: Calcutta: VVI.

*   *    *

“That the Congress earnestly desires to draw the attention of the Government of India to the great poverty of the Indian people, which, in the opinion of the Congress, is mainly due to the decline of indigenous arts and manufactures, to the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years, and to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity large numbers are forced to throw themselves on State help. And the Congress recommends the following amongst other remedial measures:—

(1) That practical steps in the shape of State encouragement be taken for the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures and for the introduction of new industries.

(2) That Government be pleased to establish technical schools and colleges at important centres throughout the country.

(3) That the permanent settlement be extended to such parts of the country, as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for
India’s Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject; and that reduction of and judicial restrictions of over-assessments, be imposed in those parts of India where Government may still deem it inadvisable to extend the permanent settlement.

(4) That the drain of the wealth of the country be stopped at least in part by a much wider employment of the children of the soil in the higher branches of the public service.

(5) That Agricultural Banks be established for the better organisation of rural credit and for enabling solvent agriculturists to obtain loans on comparatively easy terms.”

18 : 1902 : Ahmedabad : III.

“* * *

That this Congress strongly reiterates its protest against the currency legislation of 1893 which has artificially enhanced the value of the rupee by more than 30 per cent, which indirectly enhances all taxation to that extent and which, whilst giving the Government large surpluses from year to year, affects most injuriously the interests of the agriculturists and other producers of this country.”

18 : 1902 : Ahmedabad : VI

“* * *

That this Congress enters its most emphatic protest against the fresh permanent burden of £786,000 per annum, which the increase, made during the course of the year in the pay of the British soldier, would impose on the revenues of India, and views with alarm the recent announcement, of the Secretary of State for India hinting at a possible increase in the near future of the strength of the British troops in the country. In view of the fact that during the last three years large bodies of British troops have with perfect safety been withdrawn for service in South Africa and China, the proposal to increase the strength of the existing British garrison manifestly involves a grievous injustice to the Indian taxpayer, and the Congress earnestly trusts that the proposal will either be abandoned or else be carried out at the cost of the British Exchequer, which, in fairness, should bear not only the cost of any additional British troops that may be employed but also a reasonable proportion of the cost of the existing garrison.”

18 : 1902 : Ahmedabad : VII.

“(a) That in the opinion of this Congress, the principles and policy enunciated by the Government of India in their Resolution, dated 24th May 1904, on the subject of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, are inconsistent with
those laid down in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 by the late Queen-Empress, and this Congress enters its respectful but emphatic protest against an attempt to explain away pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the people of this country, and to deviate from arrangements deliberately arrived at by the Government after a careful examination of the whole question by a Public Commission.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that the true remedy for many existing financial and administrative evils lies in the wider employment of Indians in the higher branches of the country's service; and while concurring with previous Congresses in urging that immediate effect should be given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June 1893 in favour of holding the competitive examinations for service in India simultaneously in England and in India, this Congress places on record its firm conviction that the only satisfactory solution of this question is to be found in the reorganization of the Indian Civil Service, which should be reconstituted on a decentralized basis its judicial functions in the meantime being partly transferred to persons who have been trained in the profession of Law.

(c) That this Congress deplores the abolition of the competitive test for the provincial service in most provinces of India. Past experience has amply established the fact that a system of Government nomination degenerates, in the special circumstances of this country, into a system of appointment by official favour, and this, by bringing unfit men into the service, impairs the efficiency of the administration, and in addition unfairly discredits the fitness of Indians for high office. This Congress, therefore, respectfully urges the Government of India to restore the competitive test for the Provincial Service, wherever it has been abolished.”

20 : 1904 : Bombay : I.

* * *

“That this Congress is of opinion that the deplorable poverty of the people of this country is mainly due to the drain of wealth from the country that has gone on for years, to the decay of indigenous arts and industries, to over-assessment of land, and to the excessively costly character of the system of administration. And the Congress recommends the following among other remedial measures:

(a) That Government be pleased to afford greater encouragement of education, as indicated in the previous resolution.

(b) That the Permanent Settlement be extended to such parts
of the country as are now ripe for it, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State for India’s Despatches of 1862 and 1867 on the subject, and that where Government may still deem it advisable to introduce the Permanent Settlement, judicial restrictions be imposed on over-assessment.

(c) That steps be taken to employ a much larger number of Indians in the higher branches of the Public Service.”

20:1904: Bombay: III.

* * *

"That this Congress expresses its profound regret that in the case of the recent Tibetan Expedition the object of the Act of 1858 in providing that India’s revenues shall not be spent outside the Statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression, without the previous sanction of Parliament, was frustrated in practice by the Government continuing to describe the Expedition as a “Political Mission,” till it was no longer possible for Parliament to withhold its sanction to the required expenditure, and that Indian revenues were thus unjustifiably deprived of the protection constitutionally secured to them. This Congress further places on record its regret that the House of Commons refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of that Expedition, when it was in furtherance of Imperial interests and to carry out an Imperial policy that the Expedition had been undertaken.

The Congress protests strongly against this injustice and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan Expedition was but part of a general forward policy, which, with the Missions to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country.”

20:1904: Bombay: X.

* * *

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

“This Congress renews its protest against the excessive and alarming growth of military charges in recent years and their undue preponderance in the public expenditure of the country.

This Congress is of opinion that the military expenditure of the country is determined, not solely by its own military needs and requirements, but also by the exigencies of British supremacy and British policy in the East, it is only fair that a reasonable share of such expenditure should be borne by the British Exchequer.

This Congress strongly urges that, by a substantial reduction of military expenditure and by a steady substitution of the Indian for the European agency in the Public Services, funds should be set free to be devoted to the promotion of education in all its branches, to improve sanitation and to the relief of the Ryot’s burdens, such as, a further reduction of the Salt-tax, a reduction of the land-revenue demand of the State and measures for dealing with agricultural indebtedness”.

“This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the fresh burden of £300,000 which the British War Office has imposed on the Indian Exchequer for military charges on the recommendation of the Romer Committee, the proceedings of which, the Under-Secretary of State for India has refused to lay on the table of the House of Commons, in contravention of previous practice in such matters.

The Congress views with the deepest regret the repeated imposition of military charges by the British War Office on the Indian tax-payer from the date of the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859, in regard to which imposition the Government of India has repeatedly remonstrated.

The Congress respectfully urges upon the attention of His Majesty’s Government the necessity of revising the Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1859 in the light of the experience of the last fifty years and the desirability of laying down a fair and reasonable principle which shall free the Indian Exchequer from unjust exactions of this character.”
prices of food-stuffs for the past several years and the hardships to which the middle and poorer classes are put thereby, an enquiry should be instituted by Government into the causes of such high prices with a view to ascertain how far and by what remedies such causes could be removed.”

HAVING regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that a mixed commission of inquiry composed of officials and non-officials be appointed to enquire into the causes which have led to this increase and to suggest remedies.”

That having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, this Congress urges that the early steps be taken towards effective retrenchment in all the spending departments of the Imperial and the Provincial Governments and specially the Military Department.”

THAT having regard to the enormous growth that has taken place in the public expenditure of the country, the Congress urges that early steps be taken towards effective retrenchment, in all the spending departments, of the Imperial and the Provincial Governments and specially the Military Department.”

This Congress is strongly of opinion that it is essential for the welfare of the Indian people that the Indian legislature should have the same measure of fiscal autonomy which the self-governing dominions of the Empire possess.”

This Congress urges that consistently with imperial interests the Government of this country should have complete freedom in all fiscal matters.”

That the question of Provincial Contributions to the Imperial Exchequer be referred to the Provincial Congress Committees for opinions to be placed before the next Congress at Delhi.

THAT having regard to the unprecedented economic strain to which India has been subjected during the period of the War,
and considering the injury likely to be caused to the infant or nascent industries of the country by the addition of any further burden of heavy taxation, as well as by the facilities enjoyed by competing foreign industries, and in view of cessation of hostilities, this Congress urges that the Government will, as indicated by Sir William Meyer in his introductory speech, reconsider the matter and relieve India of the burden of the contribution of £45 millions for War purposes."

* * *

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

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

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

* * *

Economic and Industrial Problems*

(Election Manifesto, Swaraj Party, 1924-26)

"Since the beginning of British Rule India has continued to suffer from the evils of overtaxation. Indian patriots like Dadabhoj Nowroji and Gopal Krishan Gokhale made repeated efforts without much avail to relieve the country from the disastrous effects of this grievous burden of taxation that is sapping the vitality of the vast

masses of the people of this country. These evils were accentuated during the War and by 1923 the country had become saddled with additional taxation to the tune of 40 crores a year since 1914. The Swarajists in the last Assembly have fought hard for remission of taxation and during their three years tenure, taxation to the extent of 9 crores of rupees a year has been reduced. It will continue to be the policy of the Swarajists to press their demand for substantial remission of taxation. The Party is convinced that so far as central finance is concerned the further reduction of the salt tax and of railway rates and fares and the restoration of the price of postcard and half an anna envelope are absolutely necessary as the first steps in the policy of bringing taxation to some extent at least in consonance with the capacity of the people to bear it. The high scale at which taxation is maintained in this country is due to the extravagance involved in a top heavy administration particularly owing to the appalling military expenditure imposed on India at the dictation of the Imperial Government. The party will, therefore, strenuously press for drastic reduction in all expenditure and particularly in military expenditure.

2. The Swarajya Party was instrumental in getting an enquiry into the currency policy of the Government. The report of the Royal Commission on Currency has failed to win the approval of the country as a whole on any material point and the attempt to fix the ratio between the rupee and the sovereign at one shilling six pence gold to the rupee has created widespread alarm amongst the agricultural and industrial classes. There is no doubt whatever that this artificial raising of the value of the rupee will result in serious economic distress and will bring countless suffering on the already indebted agricultural population by reducing the prices of agricultural produce and thereby cutting down the wages of tillers of the soil. Nor will its repercussions on our industries be less beneficial. The party will offer a most determined resistance to the passage of the proposed Currency Bill so far as its main provisions are concerned. The party will also advocate every measure which will make the currency and exchange mechanism of the country as free from manipulation as possible. An honest gold standard with a free market for gold and with gold in active circulation is the ideal which the party is keeping steadily in view.

3. The industrial development of the country has always had very high place in the programme and policy of the party and all proposals for granting discriminating protection to vital national industries will continue to receive the sympathetic support of the party. Unemployment is as is well known very common in our
urban population and agriculture alone does not any longer suffice to provide our growing population with their daily bread. The only sound solution is to so develop the various industries in the country that they may provide wider and wider avenues of employment to our rising generation. India with its 315 millions provides within its own borders an immense market for the products of various manufacturing industries. There is no reason why such industries should not rapidly develop if a well thought out industrial policy is steadily followed. The Party has consequently made this one of the most important plans in its programme.

3. It is impossible to divorce railway administration from the consideration of the economic well being of our country. It will be obvious on the slightest consideration that heavy rates and fares are a serious impediment in the way of trade and travel. Both agriculture and industries have to suffer a heavy handicap owing to the existing railway policy and the part is resolved to pursue the line of action which will remove the said handicap at the earliest possible time.

In general reduction of taxation economy in administration and resistance of extravagance will always receive the support of the Swaraj Party in the Assembly and the various Councils."

See also under Political Parties—Swaraj Party.

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This Congress is of opinion that the financial burdens directly or indirectly imposed on India by the foreign administration are such as a free India cannot bear and cannot be expected to bear. This Congress, whilst re-affirming the resolution passed at the Gaya Congress in 1922, therefore, records its opinion for the information of all concerned that every obligation and concession to be inherited by Independent India will be strictly subject to investigation by an independent tribunal and every obligation, every concession, no matter how incurred or given, will be repudiated if it is not found by such tribunal to be just and justifiable." 44: 1930: Lahore: X.

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Social And Economic Changes*

"In the opinion of this Committee the great poverty and misery of the Indian people are due not only to foreign exploitation in India but also to the economic structure of society, which the alien rulers support so that their exploitation may continue. In order, therefore, to remove this poverty and misery and to ameliorate the condition of the Indian masses it is essential to make

revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove the gross inequalities.”

* * *

Fundamental Rights and Economic Programme
(Karachi Congress, 1931) *

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

1. Fundamental Rights of the people including:
   (i) freedom of associating and combination;
   (ii) freedom of speech and of the press;
   (iii) freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion subject to public order and morality;
   (iv) protection of the culture, language and scripts of the minorities;
   (v) equal rights and obligation of all citizens without any bar on account of sex;
   (vi) no disability to attach to any citizen by person of his or her religion, caste or creed or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and in the exercise of any trade or calling;
   (vii) equal rights to all citizens in regard to public roads, wells, schools and other places of public resort;
   (viii) right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations and reservations made in their behalf;
   (ix) no person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with law.

2. Religious neutrality on the part of the state.
3. Adult suffrage.
4. Free primary education.
5. A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.
6. Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.

7. Protection of women workers and specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.

8. Prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories.

9. Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration.

10. Substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue paid by the peasantry and in case of uneconomic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary relief being given to small zamindars wherever necessary by reason of such reduction.

11. Imposition of a progressive income tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum.

12. A graduated inheritance tax.

13. Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one-half of the present scale.

14. Expenditure and salaries tax in civil department to be largely reduced. No servant of the state other than specially employed experts and the like to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.

15. Protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country.

16. Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.

17. No duty on salt manufactured in India.

18. Control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses.

19. Control by the state of key industries and ownership of mineral resources.

20. Control of usury—direct or indirect.

It shall be open to the A.I.C.C. to revise, amend or add to the foregoing so far as such revision, amendment or addition is not inconsistent with the policy and principles thereof.

* * * 

A.I.C.C. 1936 (Election Manifesto)*

At Karachi session of the Congress in 1931 the general Congress objective was defined in the Fundamental Rights solution. That general definition still holds. The last five years of developing crisis have, however, necessitated a further consideration of the problems of poverty and unemployment and other economic problems. With a view to this the Lucknow Congress laid particular stress on


See also under Political Parties: Indian National Congress.
the fact that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry fundamentally due to antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems and intensified in recent years by the great slump in prices of agricultural produce "and called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to frame full agrarian programme. The Agrarian programme which will be drawn up by the A.I.C.C. on the basis of these provincial programmes will be issued later.

Pending the formulation of a fuller programme the Congress reiterates its declaration made at Karachi that it stands for a reform of the system of land tenure and revenue and rent and an equitable adjustment of the burden on agricultural land giving immediate relief to the smaller peasantry by a substantial reduction of agricultural rent and revenue now paid by them and exempting uneconomic holdings from payment of rent and revenue.

The question of indebtedness requires urgent consideration and the formulation of a scheme including the declaration of a moratorium, an enquiry into and scaling down of debts and the provision for cheap credit facilities by the State. This relief should extend to the agricultural tenants, peasant proprietors, small landholders and petty traders.

In regard to industrial workers the policy of the Congress is to secure to them a decent standard of living, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity as far as the economic conditions in the country permit with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen, protection against the economic consequences of old age sickness and unemployment and the right of workers to form unions and to strike for the protection of their interests.

AGRARIAN PROGRAMME*

Congress regrets this delay but realises that the subject is a vast and intricate one requiring close study and investigation. It trusts that such P.C.C.s as have not reported so far will take early steps to send in their recommendations.

The Congress is convinced that the final solution of this problem involves the removal of British Imperialistic exploitation and a radical change in the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems. It feels, however, that the deepening crisis has made the burden on the peasantry an intolerable one and immediate relief is urgently called for. Pending the framing of an All India Agrarian Programme, therefore, the following steps are necessary.

1. Rent and Revenue should be readjusted having regard to present conditions and there should be substantial reduction in both.

2. Uneconomic holdings should be exempted from rent or land tax.

3. Agricultural incomes should be assessed to income tax like all other incomes on a progressive scale subject to a prescribed minimum.

4. Canal and other irrigation rates should be substantially lowered.

5. All feudal dues and levies and forced labour should be abolished and demands other than rent should be made illegal.

6. Fixity of tenure with heritable rights along with the right to build houses and plant trees should be provided for all tenants.

7. An effort should be made to introduce co-operative farming.

8. The crushing burden of rural debt should be removed. Special tribunals should be appointed to inquire into this and all debts which are unconscionable or beyond the capacity of peasants to pay should be liquidated. Meanwhile a moratorium should be declared and steps should be taken to provide cheap credit facilities.

9. Arrears of rent for previous years should generally be wiped out.

10. Common pasture lands should be provided and the rights of the people in tanks, wells, ponds, forests, and the like recognised and no encroachment on these rights should be permitted.

11. Arrears of rents should be recoverable in the same manner as civil debts and not by ejectment.

12. There should be statutory provision for securing of living wage and suitable working conditions for agricultural labourers.

13. Peasants' unions should be recognised.”
The Congress has noted with deep sorrow that an unprecedented number of natural calamities has ravaged our country during the past year and flood and drought and famine and cyclone have brought intense suffering to vast numbers of our people, whom poverty and unemployment have already reduced to such dire straits. The Congress expresses its deep sympathy with the victims of those calamities and its appreciation of the fortitude displayed by the people in facing them.

It congratulates those individuals and non-official agencies who, by their loving service and assistance, have helped to alleviate distress.

The Congress feels that no sufficient effort has been made so far by the Government to institute scientific inquiries into the causes of the floods, which are becoming more frequent and wide-spread, and that it should certainly be possible to control such floods to a large extent, or prevent waters from accumulating, by measures taken in that behalf, especially by an examination of the effect of building numerous railway embankments without a sufficient number of culverts to allow free passage of water.

The Congress is of opinion that the wide-spread misery caused by the various calamities should be relieved by state action on an adequate scale, in particular, by a total remission of rent and revenue and water and other rates of the current year in the worst affected area; and a substantial reduction in the partly affected area; and by a moratorium of arrears of rent, revenue and agriculturists' debts. Interest-free loans and other help, free or at reduced rates, should also be given to enable those who have been rendered destitute, to start life afresh. 50: 1936 (Dec.) : Faizpur : VI.

**Election Manifesto**

*Working Committee, 1945 (Dec.)*

"The most vital and urgent of India's problems is how to remove the curse of poverty and raise the standard of the masses. It is to the well being and progress of these masses that the Congress directed its special attention and its constructive activities. It is by their well being and advancement that it has judged every proposal and every change and it has declared that anything that comes in the way of the good of the masses of our country must be removed. Industry and agriculture, the social services and public

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See also under Political Parties: Indian National Congress."
utilities must be encouraged, modernised and rapidly extended in order to add to the wealth of the country and give it the capacity for self growth without dependence on others. But all this must be done with the primary object of benefiting the masses of our people and raising their economic, cultural and spiritual level removing unemployment and adding to the dignity of the individual. For this purpose it will be necessary to plan and co-ordinate social advance in all its many fields to prevent the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of individuals and groups to prevent vested interests inimical to society from growing and to have social control of the mineral resources, means of transport and the principal methods of production and distribution in land, industry and in other departments of national activity so that free India may develop into a co-operative commonwealth. The State must, therefore, own or control key and basic industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport. Currency and exchange, banking and insurance must be regulated in the national interest.

Though poverty is widespread in India, it is essentially a rural problem caused chiefly by overpressure on land and lack of other wealth producing occupations. India under British rule has been progressively ruralised, many of her avenues of work and employment closed, a vast mass of the population thrown on the land which has undergone continuous fragmentation till a very large number of holdings have become uneconomic. It is essential, therefore, that the problem of the land should be dealt with in all its aspects. Agriculture has to be improved on scientific lines and industry has to be developed rapidly in its various forms, large scale, medium and small so as not only to produce wealth but also to absorb people from the land. In particular cottage industries have to be encouraged both as whole-time and part-time occupations. It is essential that in planning and the development of industry maximum wealth production for the community should be aimed at and it should be borne in mind that this is not done at the cost of creating fresh unemployment. Planning must lead to maximum employment, indeed to the employment of every able-bodied person. Landless labourers should have opportunities of work offered to them and be absorbed in agriculture or industry.

The reforms of the land system which is so urgently needed in India involves the removal of intermediaries between the peasant and the State. The rights of such intermediaries should, therefore, be acquired on payment of equitable compensation. While individualist farming peasant proprietorship should continue progressive agri-
culture as well as the creation of new social value and incentives require some system of co-operative farming suited to Indian conditions. Any such change can, however, be made only with the goodwill and agreement of the peasantry concerned. It is desirable, therefore, that experimental co-operative farms should be organized with state help in various parts of India. There should also be large state farms for demonstrative and experimental purposes.

In the development of land and industry there has to be a proper integration and balance between rural and urban economy. In the past rural economy has suffered and the town and city have prospered at the cost of village. This has to be righted and an attempt made to equalize as far as possible the standards of life of town dwellers and villagers. Industry should not be concentrated in particular provinces so as to give a balanced economy to each province and it should be decentralised as far as this is possible without sacrifice or efficiency.

Both the development of land and of industry as well as the health and well being of the people require the harnessing and proper utilization of the vast energy that is represented by the great rivers of India which is not only largely running to waste but is often the cause of great injury to the land and the people who live on it. River commissions should be constituted to undertake this task in order to promote irrigation and ensure an even and continuous supply of water, to prevent disastrous floods and soil erosion, to eradicate malaria, to develop hydroelectric power and in other ways to help in raising the general standard of life especially in the rural areas. The power resources of the country have to be developed rapidly in this and other ways in order to provide the necessary foundation for the growth of industry and agriculture.

Adequate arrangement should be made for the education of the masses with a view to raising them intellectually, economically, culturally and morally and to fit them for the new forms of work and service which will open out before them. Public health services which are essential for the growth of the nation should be provided for on the widest scale and in this as in other matters the needs of the rural areas should receive special attention. These should include special provisions for maternity and welfare.

Conditions should thus be created in which every individual has an equal opportunity for advance in every field of national activity and there is social security for all.

Science in its innumerable fields of activity has played an ever-increasing part influencing and moulding human life and will do so in even greater measure in the future. Industrial, agricultural
and cultural advance as well as national defence depend upon it. Scientific research is, therefore, a basic and essential activity of the State and should be organized and encouraged on the widest scale.

In regard to labour the state shall safeguard the interests of industrial workers and shall secure for them a minimum wage and a decent standard of living, proper housing, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity as far as economic conditions in the country permit with international standards, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen and protection against the economic consequences of old age sickness and unemployment. Workers shall have the right to form unions to protect their interests.

Rural indebtedness has in the past crushed the agricultural population and though owing to various causes in recent years this has grown less the burden still continues and must be removed. Cheap credit must be made available through co-operatives. Co-operatives should also be organised for other purposes both in rural and urban areas. In particular industrial cooperatives should be encouraged as being especially suited for the development of small-scale industry on a democratic basis."

* * *

Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee

FOOD-CRISIS

"Where the war and its after effects have already created a serious food situation which has been materially aggravated by the failure of rains in many parts of India with the result that the country is faced with both food and cloth famine, it is essential that the policy of the Government and the people should be one at this time of crisis. Hunger makes no distinction between high and low, Hindu and Muslim, or any other. But the real burden of suffering, however, inevitably will fall on the poor. In the circumstances the Working Committee would like to make its policy clear.

1. The first thing in these difficult times is for the people not to lose heart. Everyone should realise his personal duty and perform it to the best of his ability, believing that if everyone acted likewise India will be able to surmount all difficulties with courage and confidence and be able to save thousands of poor lives.

2. Everyone who possesses any land should in the shortest time grow such foodstuffs on it as he can. Cultivable land lying waste should be speedily brought under the plough and every facility should be given for this purpose by the State."
3. After fulfilling his own minimum requirements from this produce, he should make the remainder available for others who may be in need.
4. Preference should be given to food crops over money crops wherever practicable.
5. People should sink ordinary wells and dig tanks wherever there is scarcity of water and all facilities for this purpose should be given by the State and local bodies.
6. It is the duty of the rich to-day to live simply and divert their energy and wealth towards productive and constructive activities for the relief of distress.
7. Every effort should be made to secure supplies from abroad; but we should not feel helpless in any case. On the contrary, we must produce all we can in India and be prepared to face all emergencies with the resources available. It must be remembered that even the receipt of additional imports or the raising of additional crops will not serve the purpose in view unless the supplies reach in time the starving places and are equitably distributed there.
8. All food should be economically used and expenditure on occasions of marriages and other ceremonies must be avoided.
9. Processes of canning and preservation of fruits should be encouraged and widely adopted so that full use may be made of all available fruits and no part thereof may be wasted.
10. It is the duty of the State to put all their available resources of manpower, technical skill and mechanical appliances, whether civil or military, for growing, preserving and transporting food to wherever necessary. All exports of cereals, foodstuffs, oilseeds, oilcakes, groundnuts, oil and other edibles should be absolutely prohibited.
11. The State should sink deep wells and adopt other means of water supply wherever necessary. Demobilised and discharged personnel from the defence services including the I. N. A. should be utilised for increasing the production of foodstuffs.
12. The Committee expects the nation to make all necessary sacrifices for relieving distress in the country and for making successful any reasonable schemes of rationing and procurement and any measure for checking hoarding, blackmarketing and corruption that may have to be taken on hand.
13. It is clear that just as it is the duty of the public to cooperate in all helpful ways, so it is the primary duty of the Government to understand and fulfil the essential needs of the people. Measures for meeting the serious situation cannot be fully successful
and effective unless power vests in the people.

14. So far as want of cloth is concerned it is the duty of the State and the people alike to render every assistance to the villagers in order to enable them to produce by their own effort, enough Khadi in the villages. The State should provide facilities for cotton growing or cotton itself and instruments of production and instructors where necessary.

15. The Congress Committees and Congressmen are advised to help in every way to give effect to the recommendations in this resolution.”


* * *

Objectives and Economic Programme*

(A.I.C.C., Delhi, November 1947)

“Political independence having been achieved the Congress must address itself to the next great task namely the establishment of real democracy in the country and a society based on a social justice and equality, such society must provide every man and woman with equality of opportunity and freedom to work for the unfettered development of his or her personality. This can only be realised when democracy extends from the political to the social and the economic spheres. Democracy in the modern age necessitates planned central direction as well as decentralisation of political and economic power in so far as this is compatible with the safety of the State with efficient production and the cultural progress of the community as a whole. The smallest territorial unity should be able to exercise effective control over its corporate life by means of popularly elected Panchayats. In so far as it is possible national and regional economic self-sufficiency in the essentials of life should be aimed at. In the case of industries which in their nature must be run on a large scale and on centralized basis they should belong to the community and they should be so organized that workers become not only co-sharers in the profits but are also increasingly associated with the management and administration of the industry. Land with its mineral resources and all other means of production as well as distribution and exchange must belong to and be regulated by the community in its own interest.

Our aim should be to evolve a political system which will combine efficiency of administration with individual liberty and an economic structure which will yield maximum production without

the creation of private monopolies and the concentration of wealth and which will create proper balance between urban and rural economies. Such a social structure can provide an alternative to the acquisitive economy of private capitalism and the regimentation of a Totalitarian State.

With a view to drawing up the economic programme for the Congress in accordance with the above mentioned principles and the election manifesto of the Congress dated December 19th, 1945 the following committee is appointed:

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
3. Shri Jai Parkash Narain.
4. Prof. N.G. Ranga.
5. Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda.
7. Shri Achyut Patwardhan.
8. Shri Shankar Rao Deo with powers to co-opt.

The recommendations of the Committee were as follows:

I. Aims and Objectives.

(1) A quick and progressive rise in the standard of living of the people should be the primary consideration governing all economic activities and relevant administrative measures of the Central and Provincial Governments. The achievement of a national minimum standard in respect of all the essentials of physical and social well being within a reasonable period must be pursued as the practical goal of all schemes for economic development.

(2) A parallel aim of the nation’s economic activity should be to afford opportunities for full employment of a kind which could draw out the best in every individual in the service of the community and for the highest development of his or her personality. Such a scheme of full employment should result in fuller utilisation of our manpower specially on land and the rural industries.

(3) For the earliest realisation of this two-fold aim an adequate and expanding volume of production is an indispensable pre-requisite. All schemes and measures of the state should be so designed as to obtain the maximum utilisation of material and manpower resources of the nation.

(4) To establish a just social order and to raise the standard of living of the people it is necessary to bring about equitable distribution of the existing income and wealth and prevent the growth of disparities in this respect with the progress of industrialisation of the country. In the process of eliminating disparities, prior
consideration should be given to the income groups farthest removed from the national minimum.

A ceiling for incomes should be fixed which should not exceed 40 times the national minimum income for the primary needs of food-clothing, etc. The upper limit should be brought down by successive steps to 20 times the national minimum. Such a minimum should be determined from time to time in relation to the cost of living and productive efficiency of the people. A return of property should be called for periodically along with the income return to check violation of this provision. A census of national income should also be instituted.

5) To secure the widest diffusion of opportunity for gainful occupation of a suitable character and to reduce to the minimum opportunities for exploitation, the economic organisation of the country should function on a decentralised basis as far as it is compatible with the requirement of an adequate standard of living and the country's internal and external security. Towards the same end the requirement of national and regional self-sufficiency and of a proper balance between rural and urban economy should be kept in view in laying down the lines of economic development in the country.

II. Agriculture.

1) In every province and every prescribed area minimum levels of assured production of food, cloth and building materials should be determined on the basis of a scheme of balanced cultivation.

2) All intermediaries between the tiller and the State should be eliminated, all middlemen should be replaced by non-profit making agencies such as cooperatives.

3) Satisfactory means should be evolved for achieving and maintaining more equitable exchange relations between agricultural and non-agricultural products. This should be done by fixing a juster level of prices of agricultural commodities and manufactured goods and commerical and other social services calculated to result in remunerative prices for basic agricultural products and in the achievement of living wage levels for agricultural workers.

4) The individual peasant is generally so ill-equipped that he cannot be expected to assume complete responsibility for better farming. Implements, manure, seeds, bullocks and such other essential equipment should, therefore, be made available to him by a Central Agency (Provincial) not directly but through the Village Multi-purpose Co-operative Society.

5) The state should undertake direct investment in non-re-
curring permanent land improvements like anti-erosion, irrigation and drainage measures, the Government providing the resources and the village supplying the labour power.

(6) To raise the efficiency of our existing human resources technical education besides general education must be provided to all children, adolescents and even adults. The Wardha education system with agriculture as the basic craft should be adopted.

(7) With a view immediately to raise the standard of efficiency and culture of the agricultural population the Provincial Governments should organise and maintain schools and demonstration farms to provide refresher courses and to ensure that Kisan youths and skilled Kisans are educated and trained in the most efficient and practical modern methods of agriculture including accounting, marketing and other business activities associated with agriculture.

(8) The State should organise pilot schemes for experimenting with cooperative farming among small holders and should set up cooperative colonies on Government unoccupied but cultivable lands and should also directly own and run farms for purposes of experiment and demonstration.

(9) Every effort should be made to minimise the present wastage and high cost of cattle service by organising cooperative stock breeding and cattle maintenance stations and veterinary dispensaries in as many villages as possible thereby enabling the peasant to hire out cattle services. There should be provision of stud bulls and pedigree cattle for both draught and milk yielding purposes.

(10) Government must organise expeditiously Agricultural and Cooperation Information Service to work in cooperation with and through the local cooperative organisations, village panchayats and agriculturists, organisations and see that every village is brought in direct contact with this service.

(11) Cooperative Multipurpose Enterprises and their Unions should be organised systematically and according to a plan in all centres to cut down the costs of agricultural credit processing and marketing of agricultural produce and the supply of manufactured goods from the towns to villages, from the factories and industrial cooperatives to the villagers.

Organisation and working of co-operative societies should primarily be the concern of the local population. District Cooperative Federations and Unions should be organised to de-bureaucratise the Co-operative movement so that the function of Government will be confined to assisting the societies in every possible way in keeping
proper accounts in supervision of their working and in auditing and by providing the necessary trained personnel.

(12) Land should be held for use and as a source of employment. The use of lands of those who are either non-cultivating landholders or otherwise unable for any period to exercise the right of cultivating them must come to vest in the village cooperative community subject to the condition that the original lawful holder or his successor will be entitled to come back to the land for genuine cultivation. In the case of minors and the physically incapacitated a share of the produce of the land should be given to them.

(13) The maximum size of holding should be fixed. The surplus land over such a maximum should be acquired and placed at the disposal of the village cooperatives. Small holdings should be consolidated and steps taken to prevent further fragmentation.

(14) Priority should be given by the State in its plans for the early development of river valley projects and also for the production and distribution of cheap electricity for rural industries and agricultural purposes and for assuring protected water supply to the people of the rural areas.

(15) Provision should be made for grain storage, rural communications, manure collection and preservation, tree planting, fuel supply and the organisation of seed supply farms under the state and co-operative auspices to bring all land under improved seeds and varieties.

(16) Statutory village Panchayats should be organised for a village for self-governing purposes with well defined aims and adequate financial resources and with supervisory jurisdiction over all other institutions in the locality.

(17) The present land revenue system should be replaced by progressive taxation of agricultural income.

(18) To finance agricultural operations and development, the state should organise Agricultural Finance Corporation which should function through cooperative societies.

(19) Suitable machinery should be created for conciliation and mutual assistance between landless and landholding peasants.

(20) Provincial Governments should take steps for the relief of indebtedness of agricultural labour.

III. Village and Cottage Industries.

(1) The aim of economic planning with reference to small-scale and cottage industries shall be full employment of human, animal and natural resources with maximum productive efficiency in order to reach the national minimum standard of living which should
ensure a balanced diet, sufficient clothing and living accommodation to every family.

(2) The Government should undertake and encourage research for the purpose of developing these industries efficiently and for better utilisation of available natural resources. A permanent Board of Research should be set up for this purpose.

(3) Arrangements should be made for demonstration of and training in the application of better tools and processes. For this purpose the training should follow the lines of the post basic plan of the Wardha Education Scheme. The success of the programme of development will largely depend on the education of the worker both technical and cooperative.

(4) The small-scale and cottage industries should be promoted on non-profit lines through industrial co-operative societies that undertake, to supply raw materials, guide the production and sell the goods of the members and if possible provide them with a common workshop where they can produce jointly. The responsibility of organizing these industries on co-operative lines or otherwise must be undertaken by the State working through non-official promotional bodies free from official control and interference though the Government may be represented on them. The structure that is build up should be a strong federal structure consisting of primary societies, their regional unions and associations and the apex federation. This should allow production by small units with the benefits of centralised organisation and should control and guide the production by the worker and should undertake the disposal of the goods so produced. The artisan and the worker should not be expected to take the responsibilities of procurement of raw materials and sales of goods. He should be allowed to concentrate on production. The onus of purchases, sales, arrangement of tools, workshops, guidance and supervision should fall on the industrial co-operative structure.

(5) No state aid should be given to an individual except through his co-operative society.

(6) As far as possible the industries should be so organised that the movement of raw materials from one area to another is minimised. In case of forests the Government should change its present revenue based policy and aim at producing materials needed by the people and serving the general purposes of the national economy such as increasing the rainfall, prevention of erosion and conservation of sub-soil water. Priority should be given to supply such forest produce to these industries at standard rates and the industrial
co-operatives should not be expected to compete with contractors in auction sales.

(7) The workers in these industries are not in a position to collect necessary funds. The co-operative banks and other local sources might be tapped if the Government could stand guarantee against margins. Direct loans, subsidies by Government will however be necessary in many industries in the initial stages specially in the case of losing industries and new industries. These loans and subsidies of the Government should be made available through the co-operative structure.

(8) The major portion of the produce of these should be sold through the consumers’ societies and multipurpose agriculturists, societies with whom the industrial societies and their associations should maintain a close contact. Sales depots run by the industrial societies and their associations may also be encouraged specially in towns.

(9) The Government and public bodies should give preference to goods produced by small-scale and cottage industries for use by their departments. Patronage by large-scale industry of such goods should also be encouraged. There is a large possibility of these units working as feeders to large-scale industries. The industrial co-operative societies should, however, not be expected either by the Government, public bodies or large industries to submit tenders and compete with the merchants through the existing store purchase channels. A system of placing order at standard rates with the industrial co-operative societies should be introduced.

(10) The organisation and marketing of the products of these industries should be so arranged as to reduce the strain on the transport system to a minimum. The transport policy of the Government will, however, have to be substantially altered so as to give high priority and concessional rates for the transport of raw materials and other accessories required by these industries and the articles produced by them.

(11) The raw materials and accessories required by cottage and village industries and their products may be exempted from payment of octroi duties, terminal taxes, sales tax and other such charges.

(12) The Government at its own cost should organize propaganda and advertisement through the press, the radio, the platform and by means of museums, exhibitions, demonstrations, posters, magic lantern shows, etc.

(13) It will be necessary to create the right type of leadership to guide the development of these industries. A cadre of organisers,
technicians, secretaries, etc., devoted to the principles of co-operation will have to be established whose salaries should be in consonance with the prevailing standard of payment in other industries and whose salaries and promotion should not be made to depend upon the pleasure of the elected office bearers but should be on the lines of similar cadres in public bodies.

(14) In any scheme of formal or informal control over distribution of raw materials in short supply to industries such as steel, coal, caustic soda and other chemicals adequate and definite provisions should be made to meet the needs of village and cottage industries.

(15) The special interests of village and cottage industries should be borne in mind by the Tariff Board while framing its recommendations regarding industries referred to it.

IV. Industry

(1) Industries producing articles of food and clothing and other consumer goods should constitute the decentralised sector of Indian economy and should as far as possible be developed and run on co-operative basis. Such industries should for the most part be run on cottage or small-scale basis. Larger units are inevitable in the case of heavy industries, e.g., manufacture of machinery and other producer goods. The choice of size will be determined by the net balance of economic and social advantage preference being for smaller as against the larger units.

(2) The respective spheres of large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries should be demarcated as clearly as possible to avoid economic insecurity and destructive competition. Measures should be taken to co-ordinate the various types of industries and link them up in a supplementary complementary relationship. Large-scale industry should make the fullest use of cottage industries for processes which can be handled on handicraft basis without serious loss of efficiency. In the conditions prevalent in our country emphasis will be on providing opportunities for employment of our unutilised or partially utilised reservoir of labour and minimising the use of costly capital goods. Large-scale industry should also be utilised to improve the economic basis and the operative efficiency of small-scale and cottage industries. Certain lines of manufacture should be reserved for cottage industries. In order to avoid competition between production so reserved for cottage industries and large-scale production the State may bring under its control such competing large-scale industry. Where a cottage industry is allowed to co-operate in the same field as large-scale merchandise industry its output should be protected from the competition of the latter by subsidies or some method of price equalisation. This applies specially to cotton textile
industry. In this and similar cases further expansion of large-scale machine industry should be restricted except where this is considered necessary. In such cases it should be undertaken under State auspices.

(3) Regional self-sufficiency should be the aim with regard to all types of industries. Development on these lines should help to provide full and varied employment of man-power and raw materials in each unit and to reduce the pressure on the transport system. Location of industry should be so planned as to make a district of average size having roughly a population of 10 (ton)lakhs as nearly self-sufficient as possible in respect of consumer goods which supply the daily needs of the people. In this respect particular attention should be paid to essentials like food and cloth.

(4) The position regarding raw materials and other factors may entail the location or concentration of certain industries in a few areas. It would not be desirable to erect physical barriers in respect of movement of goods in the interests of regional development. Fiscal and other measures may however be adopted to foster suitable industries in different regions. Such measures will be particularly appropriate for the industrial development of backward areas to ensure their social, economic and educational progress.

(5) Control of investment and licensing of new undertakings should be resorted to for the purpose of effective coordination and harmonious development of different types of industry.

(6) New undertakings in defence key and public utility industries should be started under public ownership. New undertakings which are in the nature of monopolies or in view of their scale of operations serve the country as a whole or cover more than one province should be run on the basis of public ownership. This is subject to the limit of the states' resources and capacity at the time and the need of the nation to enlarge production and speed up development.

(7) In respect of existing undertakings the process to transfer from private to public ownership should commence after a period of five years. In special cases a competent body may after proper examination decide on an earlier transfer. The first five years should be treated as period for preparation during which arrangements should be made to take over and run these undertakings efficiently.

(8) The progress of transition of public ownership should be controlled so as to avoid the dislocation of the economic life in the country, fall in production, uneconomic acquisition of inflated assets
and the diversion of valuable resources from more urgent to less-urgent uses.

(9) Acquisition should take place when the excessive margins of profits which prevail in the existing abnormal conditions have declined to a reasonable level in consequence of the fall in price or under pressure of appropriate legislation or administrative measures.

(10) To secure efficient development and conduct of public-owned industries suitable administrative agencies should be set up. Particular attention should be given to the following matters: (i) creation of an economic Civil Services which will furnish industry with executive of different grades; (ii) training of the requisite industrial cadre; (iii) technical training and general education of the workers; (iv) organisation of research and information; (v) control of investment and of scarce or strategic resources; (vi) intensive and detailed economic surveys.

(11) State departmental control should be confined to questions of policy. The system of Statutory corporations for the management of Industry.

Trade and Transport should be developed with necessary adaptations to suit Indian conditions.

(12) In private industry the existing system of managing agency should be abolished as early as possible. Private industry should be subject to all such regulations and controls as are needed for the realisation of the objective of national policy in the matter of industrial development.

(13) Employed capital i.e. capital plus reserves should be adopted as the basis for the computation of the return on capital. Steps should be taken to prevent excessive distribution of the profits earned by an industry or establishment or undertaken distributed profits. A five per cent dividend in terms of employed capital will be the maximum limit for distribution of profits. The profits to be transferred to the reserve funds should be limited to such sums as in the opinion of a competent authority may be effectively utilised for productive purposes by the industries concerned. Out of the profits earned in any year the surplus after setting apart 3 per cent on employed capital as dividend and another portion to be earmarked by Government for schemes of social welfare and industrial improvement should be shared between the workers and the shareholders in proportion to be fixed by Government. The employees' share will not exceed in any year a third of the basic wage or the national minimum whichever is high.

(14) All resources available for investment should be subject
to the control and direction of the State. The State should set up finance corporations for financing industries. Banking and Insurances should be nationalised.

V. INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Stable and friendly relations should be established between labour and capital through increasing association of labour with management in industry and through profit sharing. The establishment of works committees in such undertakings to settle differences in the day to day administration and of Regional Labour Boards in each industry to determine wages and conditions of labour should be on the basis of adequate representation being given to duly elected representatives of labour. In the interest of uninterrupted production all disputes between employers and workmen should be settled through the machinery of conciliation, arbitration and adjudication. The workers should be guaranteed a minimum wage, proper housing and protection against the economic consequence of old age, sickness and unemployment.

VI. CO-OPERATION

(1) Promotion of co-operative distribution is necessary to secure a balanced progressive economy in which regulated distribution will form an integral part of a comprehensive economic plan for the country. If wages are to be controlled and consequently the prices of agricultural products and manufactured articles, the distribution of consumer goods should be controlled by the encouragement of co-operative effort.

(2) A multipurpose co-operative society with branches for agricultural producers, consumers and small industries should be set up to develop an integrated economy for the village.

By bringing together producers’ and consumers’ organisations the co-operative method can avoid to a large extent the use of money. It also minimises transport.

(3) The usual line of action should be to promote, encourage and where necessary assist cooperative consumers’ societies to control a large and growing volume of the retail trade in the necessities of life of the humbler section of the population. Organisations may be for a locality or for groups of wage-earners and where possible for salary-earners engaged in separate establishments owned by private concerns or the State itself.

(4) The State should grant special facilities for transport, storage etc., and make commercial intelligence freely available to cooperative societies.

(5) Where producers’ cooperatives are found the State should
use its good offices to see to it that they deal direct with consumers’ cooperatives.

**VII. CONCLUSIONS**

(1) To implement the programme outlined above a permanent Central Planning Commission should be appointed to advise and assist the Congress Governments in the practical steps that should be taken.

(2) Such planning commission will also review the present tax structure and amend it to fit into the economic policy indicated above making it possible for the government to implement this programme through its scheme of taxation.

(3) The complexion of the country’s foreign trade should be carefully scrutinised to enable the country to build up its economic structure on a sound basis so as to make it possible for the nation to provide its primary needs and buttress its independent position.

(4) In the development of the country the place of foreign capital should be carefully examined so as to ensure that the economic controls remain with the nationals of the country.”

* * *

Report of the Economic Programme Committee

The Committee discussed the report which it had already considered at its earlier meeting at the time of the last A.I.C.C. meeting and recommended it for general approval. The report needed further and closer consideration. The Working Committee passed the following resolution for recommending to the A.I.C.C.

The A.I.C.C. has already given its general approval to the report of the Economic Programme Committee of the A.I.C.C. The A.I.C.C. now gives its specific approval to the aims and objects as laid down in this report.

In regard to more detailed suggestions made in the Report and in view of Industrial Policy announced by the Government of India the A.I.C.C. appoint the following Standing Committee to consider the implementation of the general programme, more especially in regard to priorities and make recommendations from time to time to the - Working Committee.

The following are the members of the Committee:
1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman)
2. Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai
3. Shri Shankar Rao Deo
4. Prof. N.G. Ranga
5. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
6. Shri Jagjivan Rama
7. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
8. Shri J.C. Kumarappa
9. Shri Ananda Prasad Choudhury.

W.C. : April 21—22, 1948, New Delhi : V.

"Economic Programme Committee"
of the A.I.C.C.

"Shri Shankarrao Deo, the General Secretary, A.I.C.C., then moved the following resolution about the report of the Economic Programme Committee. It was seconded by Prof. N.G. Ranga:

"The A.I.C.C. had already given its general approval to the Report of the Economic Programme Committee of the A.I.C.C. The A.I.C.C. now gives its specific approval to the aims and objects as laid down in this Report.

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6. Shri Jagjiwan Ram
7. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
8. Shri J.C. Kumarappa
9. Shri Ananda Prasad Choudhury."

Some amendments were moved to the resolution but they were all rejected by the House. The resolution was passed unanimously.

After the closing speech by the Congress President, the open session of the A.I.C.C. ended by 8-30 P.M. on the 25th. There was however a special session of the A.I.C.C. in the Congress House, Bombay to discuss the Hyderabad situation. Some members of the A.I.C.C. spoke on the situation in Hyderabad. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru replied to some queries and explained the policy of the Government in regard to the Hyderabad situation."

A.I.C.C. : April 24-26, 1948, Bombay : IV.
Economic Programme*

as adopted at the Jaipur Congress, in December 1948.

The Congress generally approved the report and recommendations of the Economic Programme Committee of the All India Congress Committee.

In view of the economic crisis through which the country is passing it is the duty of the Government as also of the people to further the objectives that the Congress has laid down and in so spreading the burden of today that it may be shared by all and that none may escape it while others are crushed by it. The nation must undergo a period of austerity and must avoid all wasteful expenditure.

Conscious and concerted effort must be made on a national scale to meet this crisis in production and price inflation. All the nation's resources human and material should be utilised to increase production. While the people must produce more they must consume less and invest their savings in Government Securities and undertakings. There must be economy all round. Government must ruthlessly cut down their expenditure consistently with the efficiency of administration and the safety of the State.

While it is essential to press forward large-scale projects in order to increase the food supply and the power resources of the nation so that the nation may be self-sufficient in regard to food and other essential commodities, small-scale projects should be particularly undertaken as they yield quicker results. This must be done in a planned manner. Attention must be specially directed to the rapid development of cottage and small-scale industries preferably on a cooperative basis which will provide employment to many and will immediately produce more consumer goods. This plan of decentralised production should form part of the permanent economy of the country.

To assure the urban population specially industrial workers a regular supply of foodgrains at the controlled rate during this period of shortage, foodgrains, be procured from the cultivator at a price remunerative to the cultivator and fair to the consumer after leaving enough for the peasant and his family. Peasants should cooperate with the Government in making the procurements of foodgrains a success.

This Congress endorses the textile policy of the Government

of India and calls upon the provincial Governments to see that a fair quota of mill cloth and other essential goods necessary for a minimum standard of living be made available at controlled rates preferably through cooperatives to the villagers. The services of the A.I.S.A. and A.I.V.I.A. should be enlisted to organise an intensive campaign throughout the country for production of Khadi and other commodities.

In order to put forth the utmost effort in production it is essential that industrial and agrarian conflict should be avoided for each conflict means loss in production and a set back to the nation. The Congress congratulates the Central Government on its efforts in the interest of industrial truce and social insurance and recommends early establishment in all the provinces, States and Unions on a uniform basis of statutory machinery for the resolution of industrial disputes in a just and peaceful manner and also the establishment of machinery, Central, regional and functional, for the study and determination of fair wages and conditions of labour and fair remuneration of capital and methods for the association of labour in all matters concerning industrial production such as formation of central, regional and unit production committees.

The Congress further appeals to all who are concerned in production to try their utmost to make every effort to this end. The proprietors of industry should bring down their profits and help in raising production. Labour must realise that every strike and lock-out at this stage is a grave ill-service to the general community.

The Government of India have announced their Industrial Policy favouring a Mixed Economy and leaving a very large sector for development and expansion by private enterprise. The industrialists in this hour of crisis must do their duty to the nation. While it is the policy of the Congress to see that the industries are operated in the interest of the nation and the key industries are progressively brought under State control and ownership, it is not its intention to injure the legitimate interests of the industrialists.

The Central, Provincial, States and Union Government are further requested to take steps to have adequate housing facilities provided for industrial labour. Locally available materials should be used to the largest possible extent in order to lessen cost and expedite construction.

The Congress is fully aware of the hardships due to the rising cost of living and the defective system of settlement of disputes and is anxious to find effective remedies for both. At the same time the Congress would like to place the working class on its guard against the disruptive forces which want to exploit the
working class for the fulfilment of their political aims. There is no better and greater duty today for all those engaged in industry in whatever capacity than to keep the wheels of production constantly going.

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Economic Planning Conference*

On the invitation of the Congress President Dr. P. Sitaramayya, the Chief Ministers of the States and P.C.C. Presidents met in a conference in April 1950 in Delhi to formulate an economic programme for the country and to devise the best methods to implement the programme.

The following resolutions were adopted in the conference:

1. Objectives

The Congress has declared the establishment of a democratic classless society in a non-violent and peaceful manner as its ultimate objective. The Constitution of India has guaranteed fundamental rights to her citizens and has enunciated the directive principles of State policy to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may be a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall influence all the institutions of national life. For achievement of these objectives it is necessary to formulate not only a short-term but also a long-term plan initially to cover a period of five years.

While the long-term plan will necessarily have to be well integrated and all inclusive and will require a clear demarcation of the phases through which it should be worked out by the country and the people for the purpose of the immediate programme, attention will have to be concentrated on a few major items and priorities will have to be determined to indicate the order in which action for the fulfilment of the programme can most effectively be taken.

For the implementation of such a programme emphasis should be laid on the rousing of mass enthusiasm and consciousness which alone can make it a people's programme. It will also be necessary to create such institutions as co-operatives in agriculture and industries and panchayats, and to arrange for the training of local leadership to man the institutions. In the background of our limited resources economic planning pre-supposes a period of austerity on the part of the people. In order to secure a voluntary self-denial on a nation-wide scale for the purpose of a programme of

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planned regional development efforts should be made to create a sense of equality of sacrifice among all sections of the community.

In the immediate programme every effort has to be made to raise the level of production and to repair the damage to the economy of the country caused by neglect of the past and the ravages of the Second World War, the economic consequences of partition as well as the devaluation and its aftermath.

The successful implementation of the immediate programme will create conditions for the attainment of a stable and fair price level and for a more comprehensive planning with a view to (a) promoting a balanced economy in agriculture, large-scale and basic industries, village, industries and social services; (b) rationalizing production in agriculture and industry and taking steps for the establishment and administration of a just and decentralised co-operative economy; (c) bringing definite rise in the standard of living of the people as a result of planned economy which guarantees a fair remuneration of those who participate in the creation of wealth.

2. Agriculture and Agrarian Reforms

India's economic and social progress will in large measure be conditioned by the extent to which her land and water resources are developed. On the efficiency of the country's agricultural production will depend not only the satisfaction of the basic need of an adequate balanced diet for its growing population but also the supply of raw materials for some of her major industries.

The immediate object in agriculture that the country has set before itself is self-sufficiency in food to be attained by the end of 1951 as well as in cotton and jute; and concerted measures to this end are already under way. These consist of reclamation of land, offering of incentives and assistance for the diversion of land from other crops to the cultivation of cotton and jute and improving the yield and quality of agricultural products. What is needed for the purposes of the immediate programme is an intensification of some of these measures as well as the creation of conditions conducive to better farming. Increased efficiency of agriculture postulates more than improvement in facilities organisation and techniques; the maintenance and restoration of soil fertility; and the provision of irrigation. All this will fail to confer full or lasting benefit unless the tiller of the soil is given a sense of security and self-respect and the economic and social condition of the agricultural labour.

The specific measures which have to be planned for the improvement of agriculture as part of the immediate programme will comprise the following:
(1) The provision of irrigation facilities by way of reconditioning old and constructing new tanks and wells including tube wells. Such minor works will appeal most readily to the rural population and secure their active co-operation. They will supplement the irrigation that will be provided by the river valley projects which should be completed as early as possible as part of the long-term plans of the Central and State Governments.

(2) The rapid multiplication of better seed. A well regulated procedure is required in all the States for the production of nuclear seed, its multiplication under carefully controlled conditions and its testing before final distribution to the cultivator.

(3) The stimulation of compost-making if necessary by legislation and the full utilisation of the various other forms of organic manures available in the country. Definite planning is required for the conservation and use of waste material, human and animal excreta and residual matter from the carcases of animals and for maintaining soil fertility.

(4) The reclaimation and conservation of the soil. There are still large areas in most states which could be brought under cultivation with the help of tractors and other machines. New areas brought under cultivation could assist materially in the settlement of displaced population and works undertaken to prevent soil erosion will provide employment very appropriate to the agricultural worker.

(5) The development of an effective and widespread agricultural extension service. Such a service will act as a two-way link between the cultivator and the scientific departments of the State, so that the cultivator's practical difficulties are solved in the laboratories and the results are conveyed to him convincingly. It should be the special concern of the services to bring about an improvement in the arrangement for the designing, production and maintenance of better implements. (The quotas for the supply of iron and steel required for agricultural implements must be raised for a significant improvement in this direction to be possible.)

Agriculture will remain in a state of flux so long as the structure and pattern of rural economy does not become clear and definite. It is, therefore, necessary to shorten the period of transition
by expediting the abolition of zamindari and malguzari by paying compensation if necessary in bonds. Provision should be made for fixity of tenure to the tiller, subletting even if allowed should be for a period of just less than five years and for regulated rates of rent.

Co-operative Better Farming Societies should be organised in every region in a planned manner with fixed targets. Experiments in co-operative joint farming may also be made in selected areas. Both to multipurpose co-operatives and co-operative joint farms special facility should be granted by the State and they should receive priority in all matters of State assistance. In areas where fragmentation is intense, consolidation of holdings should be undertaken in a determined manner. Special efforts should be made to organise co-operatives for uneconomic holdings.

Special attention should be given to the organisation of agricultural labour for the betterment of their condition. Agrestic servitude should be made a cognizable offence and the President of the Union Board of the village panchayat might be empowered to enforce the law. Debts of agricultural labourers should be selected down and wherever found inequitable wiped out. High priority should be given to provision of house sites for agricultural labourers and to the removal of the disabilities attached to the present house-sites.

The problem connected with the development of India’s agriculture offers a challenge to the planner and an immense scope for purposeful co-operation between the Government and the people; and success or failure in solution of these problems will make all the difference between growing prosperity and continuing poverty in the land.

3. Cottage and Small-Scale Industries

The programme of planned development of village and small-scale industries can while increasing avenues of employment and ensuring more equitable distribution make a significant contribution to the volume of production in the country. In the background of our limited resources in money and capital and the vast manpower the decentralised co-operative economy has the double virtue of increasing production as well as employment speedily without consuming much capital. The policy of restricted import, closure of certain mills, growing unemployment and the recent flow of refugees from East Pakistan have further enhanced the urgency for and underlined the importance of the organisation of such industries in a planned manner.
The cottage and small-scale industries by and large present a spectacle of low technical efficiency, antiquated methods of work and organisation, extreme exploitation by *sowkars* (moneylenders) and unsatisfactory conditions of life and labour. To remove these deficiencies there should be a rapid survey of the regional resources suitable for the development of these industries and the requirements at home and abroad which can be met by their products. Such a survey can be carried out by a co-ordinated effort of the State Governments in liaison with the National Planning Commission.

Every State Government must have a target in its plan for the organisation of industrial cooperatives which should receive essential materials on a priority basis from the Governments and look after the supply of other raw materials and marketing of the products of the village and small-scale industries.

Emphasis should be laid on research in design and pattern and improvement of implements. Facilities should be provided for training of artisans for different industries in improved methods. While cottage industries in general should be developed on the basis of regional potentialities provision should be made for inter-regional training centres so that the peculiar efficiency of the artisans of a particular region may be transmitted to the artisans of other regions.

In a properly co-ordinated plan large-scale and small-scale cottage industries can be supplementary and complementary to each other. A small cess on the large-scale industry may be levied to be utilised for subsidy to cottage and small-scale industry in order to reduce the disparity in the costs of production between them.

Modern technique of salesmanship should be applied to the cottage industries. Such methods of producing should be adopted as will ensure a steady flow of standardised mass produced utilities having an artistic appeal so as to add to our export specially to hard currency areas.

The handloom industry which is by far the most important cottage industry in the country suffers from a number of handicaps. These should be removed if it is to grow and prosper and hold its own against competing mill production. The following steps may be taken: (1) To reduce the charges borne by the handloom weavers but not so either by a composite or a weaving mill; (2) to organise a syndicate of handloom weavers co-operative for purpose of dyestuff and chemicals; (3) to make necessary adjustments in the specifications of the textile requirements of the governments to suit the
capability of the handloom industry; (4) to reserve certain varieties of cloth and requisite number of counts in order to protect this industry from mill competition and to regulate the setting up of additional looms by mills with due regard to the interests of the handloom industry; (5) to ensure adequate supply of yarn required to the handloom industry.

Every State Government has a programme of promoting the Khadi industry. Suitable subsidies and other form of State assistance should be devised to protect and promote Khadi industry. The following steps should be taken: (a) Governments should purchase as far as practicable Khadi for their cloth requirements; (b) Certification of Khadi should be the responsibility of A.I.S.A. and allied bodies. Uncertified Khadi should be allowed to be sold in the name of Khadi.

Industries like ghani industry for edible and non-edible oil, palm gur making, hand pounding of rice, paddy, husking, dairy farming, paper-making, button-making, poultry farming, ceramic, silk, spinning and weaving, leather-making and tanning and industries connected with horticulture and dead animals should be encouraged. Measures should be devised to protect ghee from adulteration and put a stop to further expansion of the vanaspati industry.

4. A Programme of Rural Development

The fulfilment of any scheme of economic development depends in a large measure on the standard of education and civic consciousness, health and efficiency of the people and a feeling of general contentment and goodwill. In this sphere of nation building activities where there is so much to be done the primary consideration should be to fix priorities. Instead of frittering away our energies on a diversified programme an attempt should be made to tackle the problem at the root and to have a practical programme yielding quick results and maximum satisfaction.

Under Gandhiji’s leadership the Congress accepted the policy of developing a system of Basic Education which centres round a major craft so that in every student a sense of dignity of labour is generated and he grows into a productive member of society. While the comprehensive reorganisation of education is bound to take time we feel that even during the transitional period whatever may be the nature of training every student today must not only develop the body and the brain but also acquire those qualities which would equip him for earning his livelihood by means of productive labour.

As the organisation and development of a decentralised cooperative economy will largely rest on the initiative spirit of self-help and leadership on the part of the common man, a practical programme
of adult education has special significance and should receive high priority.

Under any scheme of fixation of priorities in the sphere of public health where we are confronted with a large number of problems attention should be concentrated on eradicating malaria which impairs the vitality and efficiency of our rural and agrarian population. High priority should be given to supply of pure drinking water in the villages. And above all there should be a well-conceived programme of education of the people in healthy ways of life.

There should also be a programme of building village roads, trench latrines, small water channels and clearing of jungles on a co-operative basis. This sector of our programme offers a unique opportunity for harnessing our abundant manpower. To build a happy life and society the labour potential should be mobilised. The village panchayat and other local self-governing bodies should prepare a budget of the labour power and implements of the localities which can be enlisted for this purpose and the government should be prepared to offer assistance in money and materials in such proportion to the contribution of the people as may be decided upon by State Government.

In this programme of rural development specially in the Grow More Food Campaign and improvement of the technical efficiency of small-scale industries by imparting technical knowledge on a wide scale to the people and in the building of roads, bridges and canals the military personnel when not employed on active operations may take an important and worthy role. Such participation will create a sense of urgency among the people and train them in disciplined action and bring them in closer contact with our military personnel and establish complete cordiality between the people and the army in a democracy.

5. Planned Investment of Capital

To finance the planned development of the country it is the paramount duty of every citizen of the State who can possibly do so to lay by a portion of his or her income. In recent times while the claims on our capital resources have been numerous the rate of capital formation has considerably declined. As a result of the war time shift in our economy purchasing power has passed in some degree to sectors which have neither the habit of nor the facility for investment. Steps have already been taken to introduce compulsory savings among some income groups and to intensify the campaign for small savings but as the quantum of investible surplus has not
been commensurate with the demands of planned economy some further steps should be taken in this direction.

The most important of these is the linking of local projects to local investible surplus. Maximum facilities should be given to multipurpose co-operatives which are to be started in a planned manner on a nation-wide scale to canalise the surplus of the countryside. In order to make the co-operative organisation a fit instrument for this purpose it is imperative to reorganise the co-operative movement and to introduce a definite policy of subsidy by the State. There should also be a programme under which persons who are well placed in life might regularly put a certain percentage of their income into the shares of co-operative societies. Establishment of regional Industrial Finance Corporation, extension of the facilities for postal insurance to all government servants and to lower income groups in non-governmental occupations, slight increase in the rate of interest on postal savings and increase of the limit to individual deposit in Savings Banks should go a great way in stimulating capital formation.

A programme of planned economic development presupposes a definite policy of priority rating in the matter of investment of national surpluses. To implement such a scheme of priority rating is imparted to our programme of capital investment in large-scale industries. It is also necessary to establish Credit and Finance Corporations for agriculture substantially subsidised by the Government operating through co-operative societies wherever possible and to start in every State an Industrial Finance Corporation charged primarily with the task of advancing capital to cottage and small-scale industries.

6. Machinery for Rural Development

At the basic level three institutions should operate on a functional basis viz. the village Panchayat, the Multipurpose co-operative and the Industrial co-operative. The villagers should be encouraged to outline their plans for local development, social and economic, in the light of their original resources and their readiness to contribute by way of labour other services and money so that the people might have the satisfaction when the plan finally emerges after co-ordination at the district, provincial and national level that it is their own plan. Such a method of planning serves to reconcile the conflicting claims of centralisation involved in planning with those of democracy and local initiative.

At the district level there should be a Rural Development Board consisting of the representatives of these functional institutions, the President of the District Board and one representative each of
the nation building departments of the Government, the Chairman being the district officer. There should be provision for nomination of the representatives of labour and large-scale industry wherever necessary and of eminent constructive workers. So long as the institutions at the basic level do not come into existence the Board should be nominated by the State Government from a panel of names suggested by the district officer on the basis of the functions essential to the development of rural economy. At the provincial level Board representative of the District Development Boards with the provision for nomination of representatives of labour and industry and eminent economists, doctors, educationists and constructive workers. The Provincial Board should serve as a Standing Advisory Committee to the State planning machinery and should be consulted by it in fixing priorities for various development activities and allocation of materials in short supply. It should function as the spearhead of publicity for mobilising labour and capital for the purpose of regional development schemes.

It is, therefore, necessary to have at least a few development centres under the auspices of District Development Board for the implementation of the whole programme of rural development. To work in the cause of this programme a special cadre should be trained from local artisans, kisans and self-sacrificing young men and women.

While today every State Government has a machinery for co-ordination of developmental activities there are wide differences in their composition and functions from State to State. It is, therefore, necessary to have a uniform machinery for this purpose in the shape of a sub-committee of the Cabinet consisting of the Ministers in charge of nation building departments, the Chief Minister being its Chairman. After considering the advice tendered by the various departments and the provincial development Board, the State planning machinery should draw up a comprehensive plan for development making proportionate allocation of available resources in money and material. Such well integrated and all inclusive machinery alone which associates the people and the Government in this endeavour of formulation and execution of the programme of development can achieve the supreme objective placed before the nation and the country.

7. Labour and Housing

Low productivity is a conspicuous feature of large-scale industry in this country and is adversely affecting the interests of the consumers as well as of the workers themselves. The appointment of working parties by the Central Government for effecting rationalisa-
tion comprehensive lines in certain industries with due safeguards for the interests of labour is a welcome step. This process should be expedited and extended to other industries.

Special attention should be given to the improvement of conditions of work and better provision of amenities like drinking water and sanitary arrangements.

Considerable unemployment has arisen in certain industries owing to closure of mills and the retrenchment of a number of employees. Steps should be taken to avoid unemployment as far as possible. Where it becomes inevitable safeguards should be provided for the employees in the shape of suitable gratuity in the case of retrenchment and facilities for absorption in other establishments or occupations. A proposal for retrenchment by an employer should however when dispute arises be subject to the approval of the agency to be set up by the State Governments.

Progress of industrial housing under the scheme announced by the Central Government has so far been negligible. It is imperative in the interests of raising industrial efficiency and for ensuring industrial peace that large-scale construction of houses for industrial workers should be undertaken without delay. Any hindrances in the way of the execution of such a programme should be removed.

8. Controls

Controls are a legacy of the war and were in operation when the national Government came into power. On account of the inevitable strains imposed by controls the question whether they should continue or not has attracted considerable attention and roused acute controversy and widespread feeling. Some two years ago the Government decided to lift controls on food and cloth but their expectations were not realised and controls had to be reimposed. In view of the developments that have since taken place such as devaluation as well as the lack of social consciousness against anti-social elements and the inability of governmental machinery to enforce the controls effectively and strictly a review of the entire position is called for. It is necessary to examine this question dispassionately in its true setting and correct perspective so that controls which are considered to be unnecessary may be lifted at the earliest suitable opportunity consistently with the interest of the community and the demands of a planned economy. In regard to certain articles at any rate there would appear to be a prima facie case for removing controls (e.g., salt, paper, coal and cement).

9. Export and Import Policy.

Our exports and imports should be so planned that even at some sacrifice to the people of the country, industrial raw materials,
capital goods, other essentials and the service of foreign loans for the development of our agriculture, basic and large-scale industries may be financed. A review of present policy is called for with a view to restricting import of consumer goods to an austerity level. It is also necessary to devise ways and means to promote exports even at the cost of some privation to the people so that the gap in our balance of payments may be bridged.

10. Control of Speculation

While the stock and community exchanges have a place in the present economy the wagering element in transactions in various forward markets which often lead to violent private fluctuations has to be kept under rigid control. Legislation on an all-India basis may be enacted forthwith to provide for the necessary degree of control to be enforced over various forward markets.

Growers of cotton and other agricultural commodities should be organised on a cooperative basis and be provided with suitable credit facilities so as to place an indirect check on undue speculation in commodities."

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Indian National Congress Manifesto as adopted and approved at the New Delhi Annual Session of the Congress, 1951.

"This Congress approves of the Election Manifesto adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at its Bangalore meeting in July 1951.

The Congress believes that the establishment of a planned economy is essential for the most effective utilisation of the country’s resources, for increasing national wealth and distributing it equitably, and for harnessing the energies of the people in the tasks of national reconstruction. The Congress, therefore, welcomes the draft Five-Year Plan formulated by the Planning Commission and calls upon the nation and, in particular, upon all Congressmen to offer the fullest cooperation in the execution of the National Plan.

The largest possible increase in production in every sphere of economic activity by all available means must figure in the forefront of our immediate economic programme. The production of food must be the first concern so as to put an end to dependence on foreign aid in this respect. It is also essential to make sure of an adequate supply of raw materials to keep the people employed and industries running to full capacity.

The underlying defects in the economic and social organisation of the country, which have led to economic stagnation, have to be removed so as to lead to higher standards of productivity and welfare.
Future progress depends on capital formation and the amount saved by the community every year for this purpose. In order to enlarge the savings of the community, consumption will have to be restricted. Traditional sources of investment should give place to corporate and collective savings as well as the small savings of a very large number of persons. Tax evasion and blackmarketing, which have grown during the war and post-war period, have become social evils which are a serious impediment to economic progress and which may interfere with any effective planning. It is essential that the Government should take effective steps and the whole community should cooperate in order to destroy this menace to our social stability and welfare.

The administrative machinery of the State, both general and economic, has to be attuned to present-day needs in India and to the effective working of the National Plan. This necessitates the building up of an industrial and commercial cadre to plan for the country’s economic life and reorganise the existing economic structure in terms of the Plan and in accordance with the needs of social justice.

The building up of basic industries has to be given high priority. The Congress stands for the progressive extension of the public sector according to the resources and personnel available. For the present, however, the bulk of the resources available to the State have to be invested as a matter of priority in agriculture, irrigation and power, transport and cottage and small-scale industries. The private sector should function in close accord with the public sector in the fulfilment of common national objectives. Labour should be able to participate in the day to day working of industrial undertakings and in the handling of the general problems of each industry.

Land is the base of India’s economy. The agrarian system should be so organised that the fruits of labour are enjoyed by those who toil and land is worked as a source of wealth for the community. Some measures of land reform, notably abolition of the zamindari and jagirdari system, protection of tenant cultivators, regulation of rents, the imposition of a ceiling on future acquisition of land and the fixation of minimum wages for agricultural workers, have already been given effect to in many States. These should be extended and completed, as speedily as possible, so that their full benefit reaches the masses.

The first step in the reorganisation of rural economy is to strengthen the village as a social and economic entity as against the separate interests of individuals and for the purpose of effective administration of developments. Village production councils should
be charged with the responsibility of developing and increasing production and should serve as the link between the people and the agencies of the State. They should mobilise voluntary labour for community works. Large co-operative farms are therefore necessary and agriculture and agrarian economy should be reorganised on the lines of co-operative village management.

Until co-operative village management is fully developed and organised, substantial individual farms should, as an interim measure, be brought under State direction and control. They should be required to conform to standards of cultivation and management laid down by Government. Inequality should be reduced through measures such as enforcement of minimum wages, levy of betterment fees in kind, agricultural income-tax, and control of land values. In the event of failure, their management should be taken over by Government.

Incentives should be provided for the organisation of small uneconomic holdings into co-operative farms, and a large-scale programme should be undertaken for the organisation of multi-purpose co-operatives.

The greatest asset of the country is its manpower. But if this is not used to proper advantage, it becomes a drag and a burden on the country. Apart from those who are wholly unemployed, there are a vast number of able-bodied persons who are only partially employed. Many of those who are employed or partially employed exhibit a low level of skill, thus leading to economic loss. Full employment and raising the level of efficiency are thus the most important objectives of national endeavour.

The growth of basic industries envisaged in the Plan as well as the improvement in agriculture, will provide additional employment. But the only way to provide useful employment on a large scale is by the development of cottage industries. Definite programmes of production through cottage and small-scale industries should therefore be framed and such industries should be given facilities for organisation, research, training, finance, materials, marketing, and an adequate measure of protection. It is necessary that such cottage industries should be worked on the highest technical level of efficiency. By this method unused human working capacity will be mobilised and harnessed for constructive activity.

The whole system of production and distribution has to be reorganised with the deliberate object of achieving the ends of social
justice. The existing disparities in respect of material well-being between the rural and urban areas, the backward and more advanced regions and communities and the different economic layers of the population must be progressively narrowed down, and a ceiling should be fixed for the higher incomes. Taxation and fiscal policies should be examined from this point of view.

The aim of planning must be the progressive removal of economic and cultural inequalities, in order to realise and establish a co-operative commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political and social rights, aiming at world peace and fellowship, which is the object of the Indian National Congress”.

Also see under
Political Parties—Indian National Congress.

Economic Policy of the Congress as adopted and approved at the A.I.C.C. Session held at Indore, in September, 1952.*

“The great and urgent task before the people of India is to fight poverty, unemployment, ignorance and disunity and to direct all their energies in a disciplined and organised way towards economic progress, greater production, more equitable distribution and the raising of the standards of the people and thus to realise the objectives laid down in the construction of India. In order to do this the rate of economic progress will have to be quickened and deliberate steps will have to be taken to bring about equality of opportunity and progressively reduce disparities of income and property. Advance must be based on a transformation of the structure of the economy of the country enabling greater capital formation by all feasible methods and a greater investment in development schemes which expand employment and increase the purchasing power of the people. For this purpose the voluntary labour of the people should be enlisted to the largest possible extent and the public should subscribe to the development loans of the States. Savings including compulsory savings should be encouraged.

Conditions should be created in which the community through various organs of the State and through co-operatives exercises a much greater initiative in the conduct and development of industry

and trade and the people themselves with the help of the State
can play a greater role in accelerating the pace of economic progress.
Production and trade should be based progressively on co-operation
and the service of the community instead of competition and
private profit. This will necessitate a change of outlook and
methods on the part of the administration and large sacrifices on
the part of the people which must be according to capacity and on
an equitable basis.

Such a transformation will necessarily have to pass through
various stages. The A.I.C.C. trusts that the Five-Year Plan will
reflect a full appreciation of the need for such a change and will
move in this direction as far possible. In particular the A.I.C.C.
hopes that the immediate programme of the Five-Year Plan will
lay adequate stress on the achievement of food self-sufficiency, the
growth of basic and small-scale industries and increasing opportuni-
ties for employment.

The policy of the Central Government as well as the State
Governments must be directed to this end. These objectives, how-
ever, cannot be realised by governmental action alone and require
for their fulfilment public co-operation in the largest measure”.

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This resolution on the FIVE-YEAR PLAN* was adopted
and approved at the Hyderabad Session of the Congress,
in January 1953.

“The most important and urgent task before the country is to
ensure economic advance for the nation and to raise the living
standards of the people with a view to ending poverty and unem-
ployment by greater production and equitable distribution and thus
realise the objective of social justice and equality laid down in the
Constitution. To this end all the resources of the nation must be
directed in a planned manner aiming more particularly at providing
productive employment for all so that every one becomes a partner
in the welfare State sharing in its burdens and benefits alike.

The Congress welcomes the First Five-Year Plan, the adoption
of which is an event of greater significance and promise for the people
of India as it initiates a process of planned economic development of
the country with the purpose of realising progressively the objectives
aimed at. The plan is a realistic and flexible approach to this great

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*Resolutions on Economic Policy and Programme 1954-55. New Delhi,
A.I.C.C., 1954., pp. 77-78.
problem and its full implementation will lay the sound foundation of rapid progress in the future.

The Congress agrees that the programme for rural development and increase in agricultural production in respect of both food grains and industrial raw materials is of the first importance and food self-sufficiency must be realised at the earliest possible date. The Congress welcomes the recommendations in the plan in regard to land policy and the emphasis laid on the expansion and strengthening of village and small-scale industries and the building of the community on co-operative lines.

The Congress views the Plan as a first planned and important step designed to prepare the way for much more rapid advance on all fronts of national activity and welcomes it as the promise of the progressive fulfilment of its aims and objectives. The plan depends for its success on the co-operation of the people in the largest measure in every phase and at every stage of the process of implementation. It is a call to the country and an invitation for leadership at all levels to mobilise this co-operation and voluntary effort of the people. To this great enterprise and magnificent adventure of building up New India the Congress invites all the people of the country."

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Social and Economic Programme

"The following resolution on Social and Economic Programme was adopted:

Since the attainment of independence economic and social programmes have become matters of urgency and the pace of such progress has to be swift enough in order to yield adequate results. The Congress welcomes the First Five-Year Plan as the basis of national advancement and every effort should be made towards implementing this plan in full.

The Working Committee welcomes the proposals for a National Extension Service which they hope will especially cover nearly the whole of India and bring relief and opportunity of progress to the very door of the peasant and the worker.

In the opinion of the Working Committee every effort should be made to quicken the pace of progress more especially in regard to land reform and industrial growth. In terms of the recommendations of the Planning Commission immediate steps should be taken in regard to the collection of land data and the fixing of ceilings on land holdings.

The major test of the success of any plan is the measure in which one deals with the problems on unemployment. In a welfare Sate there should be practically no unemployment and opportunities for work should be available to all those who desire it. The committee recognise that this problem in a vast country like India is of great magnitude and cannot be fully dealt within a short period of time. Nevertheless the aim of social, economic progress must be the attainment of full employment and the pace towards this goal should be as speedy as possible. The existence of unemployment is not only a social evil and a burden to the nation but it also comes in the way of fuller production as this potential productive labour power is wasted.

The problem of unemployment should, therefore, be tackled on all fronts and more particularly by the organised growth of cottage and village industries on an efficient basis as well as by other productive and development schemes which utilise this labour, increase the purchasing power of the people and add to general production.

Every effort should be made to add to the volume of investment for developmental purposes and compulsory savings should be progressively introduced. The small savings scheme should be encouraged. A system of State insurance should be extended to rural areas and credit facilities for production purposes should be provided on an adequate scale more especially through cooperatives.

The Committee welcome the State Duty Bill and are of opinion that taxation policy should have for its basic aim the reduction of economic inequalities.

Legislation relating to social reform such as is envisaged in the various parts of the Hindu Code Bill should be expedited. The legal system should be revised with a view to making it simpler less costly and more expeditious.

The machinery of administration has now to face new problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State. The Services should, therefore, be re-organised from this point of view.”
Social and Economic Programme*

"The Congress welcomes the First Five-Year Plan as the basis of national advancement. That Plan envisages numerous other activities and the A.I.C.C. welcomes the proposal for a National Extension Service which it hopes will speedily cover the whole of India and bring relief and opportunity of progress to every peasant and worker.

2. The pace of progress must, however, be quickened more especially in regard to land reform and industrial growth. The Committee attaches the greatest importance to the introduction of far reaching land reforms in India. While progress has been made in this direction by several State Governments much yet remains to be done in order to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land. The State Governments should take immediate steps in regard to the collection of the requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings with a view to redistribute the land as far as possible among landless workers.

3. Every effort should be made to add to the volume of investment of developmental purposes. With this end in view small saving schemes as well as other methods of savings should be encouraged and wherever possible compulsory saving should be progressively introduced. A system of State Insurance should be extended to rural areas and credit facilities for production purposes should be provided on an adequate scale more especially through co-operatives.

4. The machinery of administration and in particular the services should be organised with a view to deal effectively with the problems connected with the establishment of a Welfare State.

5. Economic progress is intimately connected with the social structure and social reform, therefore, should be given priority. The passage of the various parts of the Hindu Code Bill should be expedited.

6. The present legal system is expensive and dilatory. It should be revised and made simpler, less costly and more expeditious so as also to serve the purpose and objectives of a Welfare State."

Unemployment*

"The aim of a Welfare State is to provide full employment to the people. An important test of national planning with a view to realise a Welfare State must, therefore, be progressively fuller employment of the people. The A.I.C.C. recognises that as the implementation of the Five-Year Plan proceeds the benefits in terms of employment will grow. Nevertheless the Committee expresses its concern at the increase in unemployment in certain fields of economic activity notwithstanding the fact that generally there has been an upward trend of production both agricultural and industrial during the last 18 months. While the starting of new industries and public works has increased to some extent the volume of employment the difficulties of large numbers of people in seeking employment have been accentuated. Employment is influenced to some extent by fluctuations in business resulting from changes in the international situation and other factors. But the major cause of unemployment is the insufficient expansion of opportunities of work in relation to the increasing population of the country. In view of the under-developed condition of the country this deficiency can be made up only by a vigorous, adequate and many-sided programme of economic development.

2. The situation, therefore, requires a re-examination of the Plan with a view to its expansion more especially in such directions as would lead to an increase in the volume of employment.

3. The State must accept an increasingly active and positive role in regard to the development of industries. Such obstacles as exist in the implementation of the Five-Year Plan should be removed by the Central or State Governments concerned. In particular the State must assume a larger degree of responsibility in regard to cottage and small-scale industries by developing particular lines of production and the channels of distribution and in providing technical, financial and other assistance. The success of cottage and small-scale industries depends upon constant improvement in the skill of the workers and the techniques of manufacture. Facilities for training should, therefore, be provided especially in rural areas for this purpose. The success of small-scale industries depends upon the adoption of the co-operative method. Co-operative

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*Resolution passed at the A.I.C.C. meeting held at Agra in July, 1953.

Quoted in Resolutions on Economic Policy and Programme 1924-54, New Delhi, A.I.C.C., 1954, pp. 82-84.
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND PLANNING

societies should, therefore, be organised for cottage and small-scale industries.

4. Where unemployment becomes aggravated owing to special circumstances the State should undertake programmes of work including public works of different kind in order to give relief and greater purchasing power to the people.

5. The problem of employment for those who receive education in schools and colleges is also becoming increasingly difficult. The number of such persons has increased out of proportion to the possible openings of the kind sought by them in present conditions and the quality and kind of education which they receive is in many cases not well adopted to the present requirements. The educational system should, therefore, be organised from this point of view and the admission to the public services should depend on special tests and merit and ability and not merely the possession of degrees”.

* * *

Economic Progress*

“The Congress notes with satisfaction the achievement of many of the targets of the Five-Year Plan, notably in regard to the production of foodgrains, cotton, jute and sugarcane, and also in regard to the reclamation of land and the installation of additional power capacity. Adequate progress has also been made in regard to the production of cotton yarn, mill cloth, cement and fertilizers. The building of locomotives has exceeded the target and increasing numbers of coaches and wagons are being made. Progress in the building of national highways and roads has also been considerable.

The magnificent river valley schemes are nearing completion and numerous small irrigation schemes have been completed. Great factories for certain basic industries are also functioning or are under construction.

The Congress particularly welcomes the progress made in the community projects and the national extension service and records its appreciation of the widespread popular response to these far-reaching activities which are meant to cover, with the co-operation of the people, the whole of rural India within a short space of time.

While appreciating the very considerable progress made by the

* Resolution passed at the 59th Session of the Indian National Congress, held at Kalyani in 1954.
country in many sectors of the national economy, the Congress is of opinion that the pace of progress has to be quickened. In particular, improvement in village and small-scale industries has been slow and demands greater attention, more especially with a view to providing employment.

The Congress has also noted with concern the fact that there has been in many cases a shortfall in the execution of projects which have been approved and for which money has actually been sanctioned. This has taken place both in the Central Government and in the States. This appears to be due principally to administrative difficulties and to the fact that the rules of procedure, both at the Centre and in the States, are elaborate and complicated and lead to delays. These rules and conventions were framed long prior to Independence and do not suit the conditions of a democratic State aiming at rapid development. Unless the procedures are so revised as to make such rapid development possible, even the resources at the disposal of the country will not be fully utilised. The Congress recommends, therefore, that early action should be taken in revising these rules, including those for the recruitment of the Public Services, and bringing them more in line with present-day conditions and the demands made upon the State for rapid action.

The success of planning depends upon the people's understanding of it and their co-operation with it. It is clear that where the people have been properly approached they have appreciated the work done and have given their co-operation in full measure. It is necessary to keep in constant touch with the people and to invite them to share in the execution of the Plan and the building up of new India. In particular, the Second Five-Year Plan should be built up with the co-operation of the 'panchayats', village communities, local bodies and the like so that it should be a People's Plan and local leaders should assume responsibility both in the formulation of the Plan and later in executing it.

Future progress should envisage the completion of land reform so as to make the actual tillers of the soil the owners of the land. Particular attention should be paid to the industrial sectors, more especially in regard to the basic and key industries, as well as the small-scale and village industries. In regard to small-scale and village industries, techniques of manufacture must be improved and, wherever possible, spheres of production should be demarcated.

The aim of planning must always be the establishment of a Welfare State and full employment. This involves not only greater
production and equitable distribution but progress along all sectors of the national economy. It involves also social reform and cultural progress, more particularly in regard to the educational system which should be progressively based upon the principles of Basic Education and the training of technical personnel.

1959 : 1954 : Kalyani: VIII.

* * *

Congress President's Letter to Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees (May 1954)*

"Our basic questions are after all economic and the land question is the most important of all. We have gone a good way in the direction of putting an end to zamindaris, jagirdaris, and the like. Yet even this step has not been completed in some States. But that step itself is not the final step and others have to follow. Ultimately as the Congress has often said there should be no intermediaries of any kind between the State and the cultivator. Also we move progressively limiting the extent of a holding. Any hard and fast rule is difficult to make because of the differences in various parts of the country. Also we have always to bear in mind that production must not suffer.

The Second Five-Year Plan will gradually take shape in the coming year or so. We want it to be a plan of the people making in which to some extent millions share. In that work Congressmen can give a great deal of assistance and also in the work of the Community Projects and National Extension Service which have begun so promisingly in a great part of India. We must all co-operate to the fullest extent."

* * *

Land Policy**

"The Committee discussed the Economic Policy specially relating to the land problem and reviewed the progress so far achieved with regard to the introduction of progressive land reforms in the different States. The question of fixing ceilings on land holdings was discussed at length. The Committee reiterated its earlier decision that there should be ceilings on land holdings in the


country although the exact size will be determined by the special conditions obtaining in each State.

The Committee was further of the opinion that adequate and effective steps should be taken in the different States to stop ejection of tenants'.

* * *

Planned Development (A.I.C.C Ajmer July, 1954)*

"The objective of the Congress is the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth and a Welfare State. This necessarily involves the elimination of unemployment, the production of much greater wealth in the country and the proper and equitable distribution of this among the people.

1. For this purpose the present social structure which still continues to be partly based on an acquisitive economy has to be progressively changed into a socialised economy.

2. Planning must keep this in view and in working out programmes the physical content should be emphasised. The great manpower and labour force of India should be utilised to the largest possible extent and changes brought about in the economy by improved techniques which are so essential should be such as not to lead to an overall increase in unemployment. Planning should further aim at satisfying the needs of the people as the national and per capita income increases.

3. As there can be no effective planning without full statistical data and systematic knowledge every effort should be made to collect these data all over the country. In particular full information should be obtained about the mineral resources. The development of railways, transport and other forms of communications must keep pace with increasing production. Planning thus must keep in view an integrated picture not only of the whole country but also of the various activities which form part of the Plan."

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*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in the meeting held at Ajmer, in July, 1954.*

Quoted in Resolutions on Economic Policy and Programme, 1924-54. *cf Delhi, A.I.C.C., 1954, pp. 87-88*
Review*

The A.I.C.C. has noted with satisfaction the improvement in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievements of some of the targets laid down in the National Plan. Production generally has increased and at the same time prices have come down thus indicating a healthy tendency which should enable the State to proceed at a much faster pace with programmes of development and public works. In particular the Committee is gratified at the very great improvement in the food situation in the country which has exceeded expectations and the targets laid down and has assured the country of an adequate supply of food-grains.

2. The Committee also expresses its satisfaction over the improvement in the handloom industry which had suffered considerably during past years, resulting in distress to the large numbers of weavers engaged in this industry. Rural conditions generally have shown some progress even in regard to employment.

3. The opening of the Bhakra-Nangal canal system is also a symbol of achievement in a project of great magnitude over which the country can legitimately take pride.

4. The Committee is particularly gratified at the substantial progress made in the Community Projects and the National Extension Services Schemes which already cover over 50,000 villages and a population of 36 million and through which it is intended to reach every village in India by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan. This tremendous undertaking will bring about basic changes in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. The success in these schemes is not only due to the trained workers but also to the public response which such schemes have evoked.

5. These advances and the progress made all over the country in various directions have produced a sense of self-reliance and achievement in the people and thus strengthened them for the great task ahead.

6. While fully appreciating these achievements and the progressive improvements in the rural areas of the country the Committee views with concern the unemployment that exists more especially in the urban areas. This problem demands an approach from various directions including large-scale public works and the

*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. held at Ajmer in July, 1954.
growth of cottage and, small-scale industry as well as big industry."

* * *

Industry*

"The rapid growth of industry in the country is essential in order to increase the wealth of the people and give full employment to them. The First Five-Year Plan laid particular stress on agriculture and food production and has achieved considerable success in those objectives. While agriculture must continue to be important and demand full attention the growth of industry must henceforth be emphasised and find a major place in the Second Five-Year Plan.

2. The basic objectives of our economic policy should be:—
1. Maximum production;
2. Full employment; and

The country already has a powerful State owned public sector in industry. This should be enlarged by the addition of other basic and new industries wherever possible. Where social ownership of basic industry is not possible in the near future effective social control should be exercised. The resources of the country should be utilised in building new State industries and not in nationalising existing private industries except where this is considered necessary in the national interest.

3. In the conditions at present prevailing in the country the private sector is both important and necessary. In the industrial development of India such private sector should be given adequate freedom to develop within the limit of the National Plan and subject to the conditions laid down by it. It should function as a part of the National Plan keeping before it the national good and not merely the individual or group interest. Wherever necessary the pattern of management should be changed so as to fit with the objectives of the plan and to remove the evils which have existed in the past.

4. While attaching importance to the growth of big-scale industry the committee is strongly of opinion that small-scale village and cottage industries are and will continue to be an essential part of the economy of India and must be encouraged in every way. Such industries are likely to help in providing employment even more

than the big industries. Improved techniques should be introduced in them and wherever possible electric power used. But in any change over due to new techniques the question of adding to unemployment must be borne in mind.

5. Wherever possible the spheres of production between large-scale, small-scale and cottage industries should be demarcated.

6. Widespread provision should be made for cheap electric power. Where power is being generated by the river valley projects or otherwise special attention should be paid to taking this to the village for utilisation in agriculture and small-scale industries.

7. Financial assistance in the form of cheap credit should be provided for the organisation of industrial co-operatives and co-operative marketing for products of small-scale and village industries should also be organised.

8. Research and training in improved techniques and methods of production should be organised.

9. The Committee has noted that certain enquiries have been instituted in regard to cottage and small-scale industries and valuable reports have been received. Some further reports are likely to be presented to Government soon. The Committee hopes that early attention will be paid to the recommendations made in these reports with a view to organising cottage and small-scale industries on a widespread and progressive basis.

10. An organised effort should be made and scheme prepared to tap the financial resources in the rural areas. In particular it is desirable to start State Insurance through the Post Offices, especially in the villages."

* * *

Land Reform*

"The reform of the land system has always been a matter of deep concern to the Congress. Considerable progress has been made in the abolition of the Zamindari and Jagirdari and like systems. But much remains to be done in order to ensure social justice and at the same time to help in the economic development of the country. While in a large number of States intermediaries have been eliminated this has not necessarily resulted in the tiller owning the land. As conditions differ in various States, a uniform approach is not feasible.

*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. held at Ajmer in July, 1954.
but the general principles and objectives should apply to all parts of
the country. The process of eliminating the intermediaries must be
completed all over India without delay.

2. In a number of States legislation has been enacted as a
result of which the scale of rents has been progressively brought down
and tenants have obtained security of tenure and the right to
acquired ownership of their holdings on payment of a moderate com-
ensation. The pace of progress in this direction has however not
been rapid enough.

3. The essential purpose underlying all these measures of
reform is to make the tiller have full rights over the land he culti-
vates and at the same time to build up a co-operative organisation
of rural life and agricultural activities so as to ensure the most
rational and effective use of the country’s resources.

4. The enforcement of an upper limit for purposes of future
acquisition of land as well as in respect of existing holdings as laid
down in the Five Year Plan is a necessary step and early attention
should be given by the States to this aspect of land reform. To
take effective steps to this end adequate data are necessary. For
this purpose a census of land holdings was initiated some time ago.
The committee regrets that there has been delay in carrying out this
census; it trusts that every effort will be made to expedite this pro-
cess.

5. In the transitional stage and because of varying conditions
in different States many problems arise the solution of which has
to be adjusted to these conditions. The ejection of tenants result-
ing from the resumption of land by owners for personal cultivation
has in certain States become a matter for anxious consideration.
Every tenant must be assured secure occupation of at least a mini-
mum holding.

6. While an equitable distribution of land is necessary this
has to be accompanied by a full and proper utilisation of the land
for increased production. Improved techniques should, therefore,
be used and co-operative methods progressively introduced.”

* * *

Socialistic Pattern of Society *

“In order to realise the object of the Congress as laid down in
Article 1 of the Congress Constitution and to further the objectives

*Resolution passed at the annual session of the Indian National Congress
held at Avadi in January 1956.
stated in the Preamble and Directive Principles of State Policy of the Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialistic pattern of society, where the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of the national wealth.

Economic Policy

The Congress records its satisfaction at the improvement made in the general economic situation in the country and the progressive achievement of many of the targets laid down in the Five-Year Plan, which have often exceeded expectation. In particular, the Congress is gratified at the great improvement in the food situation in the country and the progress made in the river valley schemes which have become symbols not only of great conceptions but—also of great achievement. The Congress also records its gratification at the advance made in the Community Projects and the National Extension Service which already covers over eighty thousand villages and fifty million people. This great undertaking will bring about basic changes in the entire structure and functioning of rural India. This progress has been made not only because of the work of the trained personnel, but is due also to the public response and co-operation which these schemes have evoked.

2. The progress made thus far has laid a substantial foundation for all-round advance of the people of India. This is evident from the social awakening throughout the country and the great interest taken in the Five-Year Plan. The time has now come for a substantial advance on the economic and social plane with the definite objective of increasing production greatly, raising standards of living, and having progressively fuller employment so as to lead to full employment within a period of ten years. The national aim is a welfare State and a socialist economy. This can only be achieved by a considerable increase in income and much greater volume of goods and services and employment. Economic policy must, therefore, aim at plenty and at equitable distribution.

3. The Second Five-Year Plan must keep these objectives in view and should be based on the physical needs of the people, which should be mainly provided for by production within the country. This necessitates the building up of heavy industry, including machine-making industry, as well as a wide extension of small-scale and cottage industries. The success of the Plan depends not only upon careful estimates and planning and proper directions
being given, but also on the full co-operation of the people. Planning should, therefore, be based on the widest consultation of the people.

4. In view of the declared objective being a socialist pattern of society, the State will necessarily play a vital part in planning and development. In particular, it will

(i) initiate and operate large-scale schemes providing services such as power, transport, etc.;

(ii) have overall control of resources, social purposes and trends, and essential balances in economy;

(iii) check and prevent evils of anarchic industrial development by the maintenance of strategic controls, prevention of private trusts and cartels, maintenance of standards of labour and production;

(iv) plan the economy of the nation in its basic and broad aspects.

5. The First Five-Year Plan was based on a public sector and a private sector. The public sector must play a progressively greater part, more particularly, in the establishment of basic industries.

The private sector or the non-State and voluntary enterprises will, however, continue to have importance. Such enterprises include co-operatives and small-scale industries. In the present conditions in India, such non-State enterprises are necessary for adding considerably to production and employment. There can thus be a speedier and fuller achievement of our objective, provided that the functioning of the private sector is in terms of the National Plan. The private sector has thus a definite place in our economy at present and should be encouraged to play its part within the broad strategic controls of the Plan.

6. India is faced today by a great challenge. Not only the urge of the people to progress, but also the compulsion of circumstances necessitate rapid advance so as to bring about far-reaching social, economic and industrial changes. The challenge is to bring these about speedily and effectively by peaceful and democratic processes. In view of the progress already made and the strong foundations laid down, the Congress is confident that the people of India will meet this challenge and fulfil the great hopes placed on them.

Agrarian Reforms and Rural Credit

The Congress welcomes the emphasis and attention which the development of rural economy has received in the First Five-Year
Plan. As a result of a number of measures taken by the Government, there is a gratifying increase in agricultural production. But the man-power and physical resources of the villages are still not being put to full use and employment and standards of living of the rural community still remain far below optimum levels. The major cause of this unsatisfactory situation is the dearth of funds for the production and marketing requirements of agriculture as well as rural industries. The facilities for rural credit must, therefore, be greatly enlarged for short, medium and long-term investment. This requires reorganisation of co-operative credit and its development on a much larger scale than has been done so far. In the present circumstances, the success of this programme depends on a more active and extensive participation by the State itself in a co-operative enterprise. The announcement by the Government to nationalize the Imperial Bank is a welcome move in this context.

2. During recent months there has been an abrupt and heavy fall in the prices of a number of agricultural commodities in several areas. Government should take all possible steps to secure reasonable stability in the price-level and to sustain the purchasing power of the people in the rural areas in the interests of general well-being and maximum production.

3. The Congress welcomes the decision of the Government to accelerate the pace of land reforms and to implement the recommendations of the Planning Commission in this connection by means of a phased programme. The Congress expects that the States will give special attention to this programme and take every possible step for its speedy completion."

Second Five-Year Plan*

"The Congress at its Avadi Session passed a resolution on economic policy which laid down the broad principles which should govern planning in order to increase production, ensure equitable distribution, and progressively raise the standards of the people and bring about fuller employment. This policy must now be considered in concrete terms in order to draw up an adequate balanced and planned programme of development.

*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. held at Barhampur in May, 1955.
2. The A.I.C.C. has noted with satisfaction that the Planning Commission is now engaged in preparing the broad frame-work of the Second Five-Year Plan in concrete terms and have issued for public consideration and consultation a Plan Frame as well as the views of the Economic Section of the Planning Commission and of a panel consisting of distinguished economists. The National Development Council has recently considered these important papers and broadly approved of the approach to planning made in them, subject to a more detailed consideration later. The Committee would invite the attention of the public, and more especially of Congressmen, to these and subsequent papers on the subject so that there might be the widest thinking and consultation in the preparation of this Second Five-Year Plan.

3. While the progress made in the last few years in the national income has been appreciable and conditions have been created for a more rapid advance, the rate of progress in future will have to be considerably greater than in past years so as to raise the living standards of the people, bring about a greater measure of social justice and make substantial and progressive reduction in unemployment in the country. Keeping in view the additions to the population. This will necessitate larger resources than have hitherto been available. While all normal channels of raising resources will have to be utilised, it would be necessary to explore other avenues also, and more particularly, to broaden them as widely as possible. The rate of future progress inevitably depends, to a large extent, on the resources available and the A.I.C.C. trusts that wide sections of the public will avail themselves of the opportunities to contribute to these resources in various ways.

4. In any scheme of development of the country, the tribal areas and backward sections of the community should necessarily receive relatively more attention.

5. The most important aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan should be the establishment of heavy and capital goods industries and a great development of small-scale, household and village industries, which have to play a role of crucial importance, both in relation to providing fuller employment and for the purpose of ensuring an adequate supply of consumer goods. The successful development of village industries demands a widespread organisation, the improvement of techniques, the supply of raw materials and credit, marketing of goods, and the development of co-operatives. Common production programmes will also have to be laid down and the scope of village industries demarcated, wherever possible, so as to avoid overlapping and competition between the
products of these village industries and those of other industries. The Committee wishes to emphasise that progressively improved techniques are necessary in order to give a permanent place to village industries in the economy of the country. The use of electric power for such industries should be provided wherever possible. Full co-operation should be sought of the All India Khadi and Village Industries Board for the development of these village industries.

6. The A.I.C.C. welcomes the growth of the Community Projects and the National Extension Service, both of which now cover nearly 100,000 villages in the country. This community development programme in the rural areas has been a marked success and has evoked great public response and co-operation. The Community Projects, more especially, have become vital and dynamic centres which not only increase production but also raise the standards of the people and improve them in many ways. The Committee hopes these community programmes, which have proved so successful in the conditions prevailing in rural India, will be progressively enlarged and intensified.

7. The A.I.C.C. is of opinion that the Community Projects and the National Extension Service should be utilised more fully than hitherto in the development of village industries as well as in the raising of resources from the people.

8. The successful implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan, which will be much bigger in dimension than the first, will require the fullest co-operation of the people. The A.I.C.C. is confident that in this high adventure of building up a new India and bringing prosperity to our vast population this co-operation will be forthcoming. In particular, the A.I.C.C. calls upon all Congressmen to assist in this great task, more especially in the formation of co-operative societies and in the working of small-scale and village industries."

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Economic Policy and Five-Year Plan*

“The Avadi Session of the Congress laid down that, in order to realise the object of the Congress and to further the objectives and Directive Principles laid down in the Constitution of India, planning should take place with a view to the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. The Congress further defined broadly

*Resolution passed by the Annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar, in February, 1956.
the economic content of such a socialist structure. The decisions of the Congress were widely welcomed and they gave a new direction to the programmes of planned development of the country. Economic and social planning must, therefore, keep this aim and objective in view and seek to further it.

2. The First Five-Year Plan is now approaching the end of that period. Its aims and targets have been largely realised and in many cases exceeded, and the national income has risen by 18 per cent as against the original target of 11 per cent. There has been an increase of nearly 50 per cent in industrial production and 15 per cent in agricultural production. The increase in the production of foodgrains has been 20 per cent. Shortage of food and the consequent dependence on foreign imports in this vital matter have been removed. Prices are being maintained at a reasonable level.

3. In the rural areas, striking advance has been achieved through the Community Projects and the National Extension Services, which have created a new method and machinery for developing the potential of manpower and other resources in the rural areas of the country. In particular, they have produced a new psychology of hope and self-reliance and have been instrumental in bringing about a silent but far-reaching revolution in the countryside.

4. The conversion of the Imperial Bank of India into a public-owned and public-managed State Bank, and the recent nationalisation of Life Insurance are significant steps towards the evolution of a socialist structure.

5. There has been, however, during this five-year period, delay in developing the production of steel and in the setting up of heavy industries. There have also been certain deficiencies in regard to the training of the personnel required for industrial and other purposes.

6. The First Five-Year Plan has thus not only recorded substantial progress in many directions, but has also prepared the ground for a more rapid advance in the future. The Second Plan has now to build on these foundations and to proceed more rapidly towards the solution of the chronic problems of poverty and unemployment and the achievement of a large measure of economic independence.

7. For this purpose, the rapid progress of industrialisation has become imperative and social stress has to be laid on the development of industry of basic importance, such as, steel, the building of heavy machines, coal and heavy chemicals. The mineral
wealh of India still remains largely unexplored and unexploited and it is essential to carry out extensive and intensive mineral surveys with a view to exploiting these resources. Planning necessarily depends upon a full knowledge of the available resources. The generation of power and transport facilities have to be co-ordinated with the developments in other fields.

8. Far greater opportunities for employment have to be created. While heavy industries and capital-intensive undertakings will provide some employment, they cannot adequately meet the urgent needs of the country in this respect. For this purpose, therefore, household, village and small-scale industries have a vital role in affording a large volume of employment as well as in the supply of certain essential consumer goods. The decentralised sector of industry, as an integral part of the economic structure, must therefore be given every help and encouragement to increase its efficiency and perform its tasks effectively. For this purpose a much wider extension of rural electrification should be undertaken.

9. The public sector has to expand rapidly, but the private sector also has to play an important part within the framework of the Plan. The two sectors must be viewed as parts of a single plan to be worked in co-ordination with each other, and not as two independent sectors of our economy. Within the scope indicated for the private sector, encouragement should be given to private initiative and enterprise. Thus every effort should be made to increase production, keeping always the social objectives in view. The basic test for determining the lines of advance should be social gain and service of the community and not private profit. Where considered necessary and feasible, there can be joint participation between State and private capital. The public sector should expand to the fullest extent of the country's capacity and the State should, more especially, assume larger responsibilities in regard to industries of strategic importance. The possibility of increasing State trading, wherever possible, should be considered.

10. The organisation of industry, commerce and agriculture should be increasingly on a co-operative basis. Industrial co-operatives should be encouraged in decentralised industry. In view of the distribution of land among a large number of small holders, agrarian co-operatives for various purposes are necessary and should be fully encouraged. It may be desirable to have different types of such agrarian co-operatives to suit different conditions. The programme of land reforms, in which considerable progress has already been made, should be carried forward vigorously, keeping in view especially the problem of landless labour. The system of local administration,
particularly through the Panchayats, should be strengthened. The participation of workers in the administration of industry should be progressively increased.

11. Community Projects and National Extension Services, which have already justified themselves completely and have drawn world-wide attention, have to be encouraged and spread over the rest of the country. An attempt should be made to cover the entire rural area of the country with these Community Projects and National Extension Services during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

12. The claims of social justice, both in its individual and regional aspects, should always be kept in view and should be made through changes in economic organisation and suitable administrative and fiscal measures. Existing disparities in income and wealth should be progressively removed. Special attention should, therefore, be paid to removing the disadvantages of the economically backward sections of the people. A socialist structure of society necessarily involves equality of opportunity for all and a progressive equalisation of income. This aim should always be kept in view and the endeavour should ensure that the benefits of economic development accrue to the less privileged classes of society and their standard of living rises.

13. Planning has evoked great interest in the country and in preparing the Second Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission has proceeded on the basis of consulting public opinion on a wide scale. Their proposals have been generally endorsed by the National Development Council and an outline of the Second Five-Year Plan has been issued. The Congress generally approves of the approach, policy and proposals embodied in this outline. These proposals envisage an increase in national income by 25 per cent during the Second Plan period. Some of the principal targets of the new Plan are: new irrigation for 21 million acres, an additional 10 million tons of foodgrains, an increase in the installed capacity for power generation by 3.4 million k.w. and additions of 23 million tons of coal, 3 million tons of finished steel, 5.2 million tons of cement and 1.7 million tons of fertilizers. In addition, it is proposed to lay the foundations for the making of heavy machines and provide for an expanding programme of exploration and production of mineral oil. The implementation of the various schemes is expected to produce a total of nearly 10 million new jobs, including 2 million in agriculture. These will absorb the new entrants into the labour force. In addition to this, it is expected that under-employment will diminish considerably.
14. As the country progresses in its economy, and in other
directions, planning becomes more complex and far-reaching. It has
to be considered both in perspective for long-term and for current
and short-term periods. It is necessary, therefore, to have this pers-
pective planning and at the same time, flexible short-term plans
which can be adjusted from time to time in the light of experience,
changing conditions and a better knowledge of the working of the
economy.

15. Planning is a great adventure in building up the country
and the lives of 370 million people. It involves an effort, not only
from the Central and State Governments and the official machinery
but, more particularly, the enthusiastic support and participation of
the people at every step. The message of the Plan should reach
every part of the country, so that every citizen can know the promise
which the Plan holds out for him and the obligations which it
creates. It is a unique adventure in partnership and co-operation
of the hundreds of millions of the people of this country.”

*  
*

Second Five-Year Plan*

“The allocations proposed for the Second Five-Year Plan,
involve a total outlay of Rs. 4,800 crores. This is more than double
the expenditure in the First Plan period which is estimated to be
Rs. 2,120 crores. To raise these resources will demand a great
effort on the part of the nation. Fresh taxation and large-scale
borrowings by the Central and State Governments will be necessary.
In particular, small savings by a very large number of people
will have to play a vital part. This is not only necessary from
the point of view of raising money but also to make as large a
number of our countrymen as possible, partners in this great
undertaking.

2. The Congress, therefore, appeals to the nation and, more
particularly, to Congressmen, to help in the campaign for small
savings. Every Indian should participate to the extent of his
capacity in this campaign. Even small sums given by a very large
number of people will total up to a great figure, covering the present
gaps in our estimated resources. This will make the country feel
confident and self-reliant.

* Resolution passed by the Annual Session of the Indian National Cong-
ress held at Amritsar in February, 1956.
3. In addition to these savings, voluntary or compulsory, there is the large field of voluntary labour for carrying out many of the schemes in the Plan. Thus every Indian can have sense of personal participation in the building of new India.

4. When there is this call for saving, any conspicuous and unnecessary spending is completely out of place and anti-social and must be discouraged. Every Indian must realise that, after fulfilling his essential needs, his first duty is to spend for India and not for himself. In investing in Government loans and small savings, he is not only participating in this great adventure but is doing good to himself and his family. The prosperity and well-being of India necessarily means higher standards and better living conditions and opportunities for all our people.

* *

Economic Programme*

Eight years ago, India embarked on a planned development of her resources with a view to increasing the pace of economic development, raising the standards of living of the people, progressively reducing social inequalities, and establishing a socialist pattern of society. The First Five-Year Plan was based chiefly on the continuation of some major projects such as river valley schemes, development of agriculture, rehabilitation of transport, and certain other priorities. The data and information necessary for proper planning were not available then, and the Plan was modest in scope. Though it achieved success, it did not bring about a rate of growth of the size that the country needed.

2. More information and statistical data were available for the Second Five-Year Plan. This was on a larger scale than the First and, in fact, visualised a doubling of investment. It sought to lay emphasis on industrialisation, especially steel, coal, power and transport, and therefore, required foreign exchange resources of a much larger volume than the First Plan. Unfortunately a succession of bad agricultural seasons, due to floods as well as drought, reduced the output of foodgrains and other agricultural produce considerably. Certain international factors also affected exports. Difficulties arose in regard to meeting its foreign exchange requirements as well as obtaining the required volume of domestic finance.

*Resolution passed by the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress held at Nagpur in January 1959.*
Savings fell short of Plan targets, our Sterling Balances suffered serious depletion and domestic prices recorded an increase. We have had to rely on foreign aid to a much greater extent than was originally contemplated. Even though the Second Five-Year Plan was larger in comparison to the First and succeeded in stepping up the rate of investment, this was inadequate to the needs of the situation. The back-log of unemployment would, therefore, tend to increase at the end of the Second Plan period.

3. In the light of the country's requirements, the Second Five-Year Plan was certainly not over-ambitious in size or in pattern of investment, nor should it be beyond the capacity of the country to achieve it if an adequate effort is made to that end. It has become vitally necessary to fulfil the targets laid down in the Second Plan both in agriculture and industry. A rapid increase in agricultural production is essential in order to put an end to the necessity for importing foodgrains and to increase the resources of the country for industrial growth.

4. Fortunately, the current agricultural season gives promise of a good harvest. Full advantage must be taken of this so as to ensure food supplies in the future. Every effort should be made to build up reserve stocks of two million tons of rice during the season and to promote intensive agriculture ensuring yields per acre. While the agriculturist must be ensured a reasonable return for his labour, prices of foodgrains should not be allowed to rise.

5. It is essential from the point of view of planning that the prices of certain essential commodities, such as foodgrains, cloth and some others, should be kept within reasonable bounds.

6. The remaining years of the Second Five-Year Plan should be utilised for intensive campaigns to mobilise domestic savings and to fulfil the targets of the Plan in agriculture and industry. It is in the measure that we succeed in the Second Plan that sound foundations will be laid for the Third Five-Year Plan. The experience of the First and Second Plans has shown that the present rate of investment is too small in relation to the needs of the country and is not adequate to ensure the solution of the problem of unemployment. Even this relatively low rate of investment has had to be financed to a considerable extent from foreign loans and assistance. Such foreign loans are not unusual in developing an under-developed country and should be welcomed in order to alleviate the stresses and strains inevitably associated with the early phase of economic development. But foreign credits must not be tied up with any political or economic conditions which come in the way of the country following its independent policies.
7. It has to be remembered, however, that the main burden of carrying out a programme of economic development must fall on the people of the country and, therefore, it is to the extent that domestic resources are increased that adequate progress can be made.

8. An important factor to be constantly kept in mind is the rate of growth of population. Planning must take into account this population growth. Efforts should be made to reduce this rate of increase in population by suitable methods of birth control and family planning. But, in any event this increase is going to be considerable because of the success that is being attained in improving health conditions and lowering mortality rate. The experience of industrialised countries indicates that the birth rate begins to decline after a certain stage of industrialisation. A lasting solution of the problem of population is to be found in raising standards of living, education, particularly of women, and changes in attitudes and outlook.

9. The main characteristic of an under-developed country is low productivity and its basic problem is unemployment and under-employment, and the low income content of employment. The task of finding more and fuller fruitful employment depends to a great extent on the ability to achieve a sufficiently high rate of capital formation or investment. This is the main determinant of the rate of economic development, apart from the population growth and the return by way of additional output on the investment undertaken. It must always be remembered that progress depends essentially on the quality of the human being and on skills, training, hard work and efficiency.

10. Thus it becomes essential to step up the rate of investment in future in order to cope with the problem of unemployment and to ensure a progressive rise in per capita income of the order envisaged in the projections discussed in the Second Five-Year Plan. A very great part of this total investment must necessarily be financed from domestic savings, as too much dependence on foreign assistance is neither possible nor desirable. It is only when a sufficiently high rate of capital formation is kept up and the national income rises with some rapidity that the process of economic development becomes self-accelerating. Further, progress should bring benefits to the mass of the people, so that a spirit of co-operation and of enthusiasm and initiative be developed in them.

11. In order to achieve the minimum requirements for a progressive and dynamic growth of India's economy, considerable efforts are necessary to add to resources and, at the same time, to reduce
public as well as private expenditure. The marked increase in recent taxation has been absorbed by increase in expenditure. Measures for mobilisation of resources and for economy should include the following:

(i) Public enterprises and State trading should be conducted so as to yield additional resources for public purposes.

(ii) Imports should be strictly controlled and non-essential goods should not be imported. Import duties should be raised wherever possible. Imports and exports should be coordinated to prevent accumulation of commitments which lead to undue pressure on foreign exchange.

(iii) Expansion of life insurance and other institutions engaged in stimulating and collecting savings.

(iv) Patterns of production should be so adjusted as to supply essential needs of the people.

(v) Wages and salaries should be increasingly dependent on work done and on production and should be related to the conditions existing in India. Profits in the private sector should also be controlled.

(vi) The construction of large or expensive buildings, whether for public or private purposes, should be discouraged except for such public structures as are considered absolutely essential for the Plan. Equipment for these buildings should also avoid items of luxury. The specifications laid down for public buildings should be simpler.

(vii) While steps should be taken to see that prices do not rise any further, it is necessary that agricultural incomes do not fall with an increase in output. It is essential for providing incentives for increased production in the agricultural sector that increased output also leads to increased income.

12. Steps should be taken to utilise the vast manpower resources in the country, especially in the rural areas, for direct capital formation. This is important both for building up lasting assets as well as for giving employment. Village and cottage industries, soil conservation and reclamation, digging of irrigation channels, tanks and wells, bunding, afforestation, housing and road construction offer fruitful opportunities for the utilisation of unused manpower.

13. Planning is a continuous process, even though it might be divided into five-year or some other convenient periods. It has to be dynamic and progressive, and there can be no standing still or slowing down in this process, as otherwise difficulties and
problems will increase. Therefore, it is essential that both in the agricultural and industrial sectors, targets of the Second Five-Year Plan should be achieved and the Third Five-Year Plan should be so conceived as to lead to more rapid growth.

14. The creation of a democratic and socialist society should be clearly and unambiguously placed before the nation as the objective of planning, and all the implications of socialism, in terms of individual and co-operative effort it requires, should be clearly explained to the people. The stress should be not only on individual and social demands and needs, but equally on duties and obligations and the work that is necessary for meeting these needs."

64 : 1959 : Nagpur : III.
CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

Note: The original motives of the British Government, in promoting education according to Macaulay’s plan, were mainly two: (a) to train clerks and junior officials and (b) to give Indians a purely literary education. Naturally, therefore, no opportunity of studying courses relating to science and technology was provided to them. The result was that the Indians rushed either to take up competitive examinations, to qualify for the Indian Civil Service or to take up the Law profession. This attitude towards education resulted in neglecting the studies and careers which might have ended Indian poverty by the development of Indian agriculture and industry on scientific lines.

The Indian intelligentsia who in the beginning were loyal and full of praise of the British culture, literature and democratic principles, began to develop leftist tendencies, mainly because they were not treated well by their masters and could not be absorbed by the British Government in the services. It were they who later found their solace in social and political agitations. Mr. Macaulay being a loyal Englishman designed this scheme of education for Indians in good faith, in order to help the roots of the British Imperialism grow deeper in the soil of India, day by day. But it was beyond his imagination that some day his own scheme will be a major cause for the downfall of the British Empire in India.

The suppression of the first revolt in 1857 against the British Imperialism brought the end of the East India Company’s rule and in 1858 India directly came under the British Crown. The formal proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858 awakened hopes for a brighter future. But soon the high hopes of the people were dashed to ground because of the anti-Indian economic, political and social policies of the British Government. The physical suffering of the many, acted on by the apathy and selfishness of the few, was rapidly bringing popular unrest to the danger point. The attitude of the educated Indians gradually changed and they were convinced that the British policies were absolutely detrimental to the progress of India. They were also sure that the Britishers will not only
enslave the entire country but also ruin her culture, civilization and industries. As a result of discontentment among the educated people, they began to dislike and criticise the British system of education. That is why, perhaps, as a counterpart of the British educational policies, the Congress also attempted to set up national educational institutions whenever and wherever possible.

The Indian National Congress, in its third, fourth, seventh, tenth, twelfth, fourteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first annual sessions held in 1887, 1888, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, and 1905 respectively, passed resolutions either mildly criticising or suggesting minor alterations in the British system of education. But it was in the 22nd session of the Congress held in 1906, at Calcutta under the Presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji, that the idea of taking up national education as a part of the Congress programme first materialized. The Congress resolved that the Government should take immediately steps for:—(a) making primary education free and gradually compulsory all over the country, (b) assigning large sums of money to secondary education (special encouragement being given, where necessary, to educationally backward classes), (c) making the existing Universities more free from social control and providing them with sufficient means to take up the work of teaching, and (d) making adequate provision for technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements. This resolution was re-affirmed by the 27th session of the Congress held at Calcutta in 1911. The same Congress accorded its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale’s Elementary Education Bill and appealed to the Government in vain to provide necessary facilities to get the Bill passed by the Council. After the defeat of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale’s Elementary Education Bill, the Congress in its 28th session, held at Bankipur in 1912, expressed its regrets. In the 29th session held at Karachi in 1913 Congress advocated the need for Higher Education among the poorer classes. In its 32nd session held at Lucknow in 1916 the Congress passed a very important resolution on the development of education in India. It suggested to the Government “that to faster the development of High Education in India it is necessary that (a) administration and educational service should be filled mainly by qualified Indians, the existing distinction between the Indian and Provincial Services being done away with, and that (b) a substantial majority of the members of the Senates of the Universities, now existing or to be established, should be elected by the graduates of the Universities and by the professors and teachers of institutions affiliated thereto, and that such
Senates should have full control over their own executive and educational policy.” By a resolution passed at the 36th Session held at Nagpur in 1920, the Congress urged “on all Congress organizations to introduce and enforce the same in their respective areas on national lines.”

In 1921 when Mahatma Gandhi launched his first non-violent non-co-operation movement the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in Nagpur in January, 1921 passed the following resolution:

“This Committee, having carefully considered the student movement in all its bearings, is of opinion that the organizers and professors and teachers of colleges and high schools nationalized or to be nationalized or opened in accordance with the Congress resolution or non-violent non-co-operation, should draw up and publish a new curriculum to be in keeping with the national requirements and to be enforced in full at the end of the current year preparation period to confine their attention:

(a) to teaching hand-spinning and manufacture of yarn in order forthwith to supplement the shortage of yarn spun in Indian mills and to encourage the revival of the art of spinning,

(b) to teaching Hindustani through the Devanagri and Urdu scripts,

(c) to enable the students to assimilate through their mother-tongues the instruction already acquired, and

(d) for those students who desire to devote themselves to immediate national service in the way of village organizations etc., to give them a short course of training to fit them for the purpose.”

The above resolution was confirmed by the Belgaum Congress in 1924 presided over by Mahatma Gandhi. It resolved: The Congress is strongly of opinion that the hope of the future of the country lies in its youth and therefore trust that the Provincial Committee will strive more vigorously than they have done to keep alive all national educational institutions. But whilst the Congress is of opinion that existing educational institutions should be maintained and new ones opened, the Congress does not regard any such institution to be national which does not employ some Indian language as the medium of instruction and which does not actively encourage Hindu-Muslim unity, education among untouchables and removal of untouchability, which does not make handspinning and carding and training in physical culture and self-defence compulsory, and in which teachers and students over the age of 12
years do not spin for at least half-an-hour per working day, and in which students and teachers do not habitually wear Khaddar."

One may gauge from the above paragraph, Mahatma Gandhi's concept of National Education for India. He believed that education must have a social purpose. In his opinion the University education in India was nothing but the hand-maid of capitalism, training scientists and engineers for heavy industries and not caring for the cottage industry—the spinning wheel. That is why Mahatma Gandhi felt the necessity of inaugurating the "Basic Education" or "Wardha Scheme" of Education to help the uplift of villagers who form 85% of India's population.

On October 22nd and 23rd, 1937, under the auspices of the Silver Jubilee of the Merwandi Sikhsha Mandal, an Educational Conference at Wardha was held. After the first day's proceedings the Conference converted itself into a Committee to express its opinion on the following propositions originally formulated by Mahatma Gandhi:

(1) The present system of education does not meet the requirements of the country in any shape or form. English, having being made the medium of instruction in all the higher branches of learning, has created a permanent bar between the highly educated few and the uneducated many. It has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses. This excessive importance given to English has cast upon the educated class a burden which has maimed them mentally for life and made them strangers in their own land. Absence of vocational training has made the educated class almost unfit for productive work and harmed them physically. Money spent on primary education is a waste of expenditure inasmuch as what little or no value in terms of gained by the existing system of education is not gained by the chief taxpayer, his children getting the least."

(2) "The course of primary education should be extended at least to seven years and should include the general knowledge gained up to the matriculation standard less English and plus a substantial vocation."

(3) "For the all-round development of boys and girls all training should so far as possible be given through a profit-yielding vocation. In other words, vocations should serve a double purpose—to enable the pupil to pay for his tuition through the products of his labour, and at the
same time to develop the whole man or woman in him or her through the vocation learnt at schools......"

(4) “Higher education should be left to private enterprise and for meeting national requirements whether in the various industries, technical arts, belles-lettres or fine arts......”

The next day the draft resolutions of the Committee were placed before the house and discussed and ultimately passed. Here is the text of the resolutions:

(1) “That in the opinion of this Conference free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nationwide scale.

(2) That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue.

(3) That the Conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre around some form of manual and productive work, and that all the other abilities 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.”

(4) That the Conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers.”

Thereafter a Committee composed of the following personnel was appointed to prepare a planned syllabus on the lines of the resolutions, to submit their report to the Chairman of the Conference within a month:

Dr. Zakir Hussain (Chairman)
Shri Aryanayakam (Convener)
Shri Khwaja Gulam Saiyidain
Shri Vinoba Bhave
Shri Kakasaheb Kalelkar
Shri Kishorlal Mashruwala
Shri J.C. Kumarappa
Shri Shri Krishnadas Jaju
Prof. K.T. Shah
Smt. Ashadevi

with power to co-opt more members.

Dr. Zakir Hussain, the Chairman of the All-India National Education Conference, submitted the report to Mahatma Gandhi, the President of the Conference, on December 2, 1937.

At the 51st session, held at Haripura, in 1938, the Congress endorsed Mahatma Gandhi’s scheme of “Basic Education” or
the "Wardha Scheme of Education" by passing the following resolution:

"......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 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 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."

At the same time in order to popularize Mahatma Gandhi's scheme of "Basic Education" the "Hindustani Talimi Sangh" was started. An account of the progress of its work is available in the form of its annual reports.

The scheme was introduced by the Congress ministries in the provinces under their control in 1939 on an experimental basis. But soon after the Congress ministries had to relinquish office as a protest against the war policy, the scheme came to a halt.

In the Harijan of August 18th, 1940, Mahatma Gandhi placed before the nation a thirteen-fold "Constructive Programme". According to him "Adult Education" means "true political education of the adult by word of mouth". He suggested the Congress Working Committee to give shape to his idea in order to guide Congress workers.

Between 1940 and 1954 no remarkable progress worth mentioning was made in this direction. In 1955 at the 60th session held at Avadi (Madras) the Congress passed the following resolution on "Basic-Primary and Secondary Education."
"Far-reaching changes in the existing educational system are absolutely essential for achieving the national aims and social objectives of free India and in particular to train the right type of personnel for the speedy execution of the developmental plans". In the same resolution the Congress welcomed the scheme of the Ministry of Education for reorganisation of secondary education, particularly the decision to establish multi-purpose schools throughout the country to give adequate and basic training to students for specific vocations in life as well as for proceeding to higher educational courses."

The Congress called upon all the State Governments to further as early as possible, this policy so as to implement it fully in both rural and urban areas in a systematic and well-planned manner within a period of ten years.

Again in the 63rd session held at Gauhati, in 1958, the Congress attached great importance "to the spread of education of the Basic type which is necessary not only to build up good citizens, but also for the general development of the country." Pointing out a distressing aspect of the present system of education in India, the resolution added: "......it does not promote any basic loyalties among students, nor does it lay stress on the approach to life's problem. Young boys and girls should be made to realise the dangers of narrow and separatist tendencies like casteism, communalism, linguistic foundation and religious intolerance, and effort must be made to develop a sense of basic loyalty to the unity and welfare of the Nation, tolerance and high standards of behaviour. The future of India will ultimately depend on the character and national spirit of young men and women and the training they receive in our educational institutions". Finally the Congress resolved to improve the training of teachers and raise their status, more especially in the elementary schools.

The policies of the Congress as regards education were based on the fundamental principle of mental and moral regeneration of Indian youths. In advocating "Basic Education", it has in view the objective of making the Indian young men bodily strong, economically self-supporting and nationalist minded.

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For detailed study readers are referred to the following books:
1. Aryanyakan, E.W.
    Story of twelve years, Sevagram, Hindustan Tahini Sangh. n.d., pp. 16.
2. Bhagwan Dayal.  

3. C.A.B.E.  

4. Chakravarty, A.  

5. Doniger, S.R.  

6. Doniger, S.R.  

7. Education Committee.  

8. Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram.  

9. India—Bureau of Education.  
*Education in India.* Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1947-48.

10. India—Bureau of Education.  
*Occasional reports.* Calcutta, Supdt. Govt. Printing, 6 V.

11. India—Bureau of Education.  

12. India—Bureau of Education.  
*Progress of Education in India Quinquennial review.* Cal. Supdt. Govt. Printing.

13. India—Govt.  


15. India—Govt.  

16. India—Govt.  

17. India—Govt.  

18. India—Govt.—Zakir Hussain Committee.  

19. India—Ministry of Education.  
*Basic education in India during the 1st five year plan.* Delhi Manager of Publications, 1958. Pp. 55

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Documents:

"That having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate the system of Technical Education, suitable to the conditions of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in regard to utilising such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively, than at present, the skill and talents of the people of the country."

3 : 1887 : Madras : VII.

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"That this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well general as technical in all its branches, and that the declaration made in the recent resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce Imperial expenditure on education, and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing, or at any rate of not decreasing, the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the Educational Institutions of all kinds now existing."

4 : 1888 : Allahabad : IX.

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"That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms the importance of increasing (instead of diminishing, as appears to be the present policy of the Government) the public expenditure on all branches of education, and the expediency, in view of the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country."

7 : 1891 : Nagpur : VIII.

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"That this Congress is of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for Higher Education should in any way be withdrawn, and concurring with previous Congresses affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency in view of the promotion of one of the most essential of those branches, i.e. the technical, of appointing a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country; and looking to the great poverty of many classes of the community, strongly recommends, that in all classes of Government of Municipal Schools and Colleges, all fees shall be reduced in proportion to the means of parents and
relations and remitted wholly in the case of very poor parents and students, and focussing the universal opinion of the Indian Community that undue stress is being laid at present upon more mental development, this Congress earnestly recommends that henceforth, in all grades and classes of Schools and Colleges, at least equal attention should be devoted to the physical development of the Students.”

9 : 1896 : Amritsar : XII.

“That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country that Government grants for Higher Education should in any way be withdrawn, or that fees in educational institutions, wholly or partially supported by the State, should be increased and concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner the importance of increasing public expenditure on all branches of Education and the expediency of establishing Technical Schools and Colleges.”

12 : 1895 : Poona : XX.

“That the time having come when greater facilities are imperatively required for Higher Education and the proper development of the Indian intellect than what are at present offered by examinations alone, this Congress is of opinion that the Acts of Incorporation of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay should be amended so as to provide for the introduction of teaching functions and for a wider scope of learning, and so as to suit generally the requirements of the present day.”

12 : 1896 : Calcutta : XIV.

“Against the scheme of reorganisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, even those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, (the words of the Resolution being: “In future natives of India who are desirous of entering the Education Department will usually be appointed in India and to the Provincial Service”) advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.”

13 : 1897 : Amraoti : IV.

“That this Congress places on record its deep conviction that students; the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the
people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a better and more successful working of the same.”

14 : 1898 : Madras : XVIII.

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“That this Congress places on record its conviction that the system of Technical Education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction and set apart more funds for a successful working of the same. And this Congress desires to express its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and magnificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific education and research.”

16 : 1900 : Lahore : VIII.

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“That the Congress hereby approves of the suggestion presented by the Indian Congress Committee for the consideration of this Session that at least half a day at each annual Session of the Congress be devoted to the consideration and discussion of the industrial and educational problems of the country. Further resolved that annually two Committees be appointed by the Congress, one for Educational and one for Industrial subjects, to improvement of the country and to assist therein, and that to each Committee a Secretary be annually appointed. These committees shall divide themselves into Provincial Committees with power to add to their number.”

16 : 1900 : Lahore : XII.

*  *  *

“That this Congress notices with great satisfaction that the subject of Education in all its divisions is regaining the earnest and careful attention of His Excellency the Viceroy, and this Congress trusts that in constituting the proposed Education Commission, His Excellency will be pleased to give adequate representation to Indian interests by appointing a sufficient number of Indian gentlemen to be members of the Commission.”

17 : 1901 : Calcutta : XII.

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“That this Congress desires to tender its respectful thanks to the Government of India for the Circular Letter recently addressed by them to local Governments on the subject of the University Commission’s Report so far as it relates to the proposals for the abolition of Second Grade Colleges and Law classes which has partially allowed the apprehension in the public mind that due weight
might not be attached to public opinion in this Congress views with
the gravest alarm many of the Commission's recommendations, the
acceptance of which will, in its opinion, reverse the policy steadily
pursued during the last half of a century by the British Government
in the matter of higher education, by checking its spread and rest-
icting its scope, and by virtually destroying such limited indepen-
dence as the Universities at present enjoy.

That in particular the Congress objects most strongly to the
following recommendations of the Commission:

(a) The abolition of all existing Second Grade Colleges except
such as may be raised to the status of a First Grade College, and
the prohibition of the affiliation of new Second Grade Colleges.

(b) The fixing by the Syndicate of minimum rates of the
fees for different Colleges.

(c) The introduction of a rigidly uniform course of Studies
throughout the country, irrespective of the lines on which the dif-
ferent Universities have so far progressed.

(d) The monopoly of legal instruction by Central Law College,
one for each Province or Presidency.

(e) The Virtual licensing of all secondary education by mak-
ing the existence of all private schools dependent upon their recog-
nition by the Director of Public Instruction.

(f) And the officialisation of the Senate and the Syndicate
and the practical conversion of the University into a department of
Government."

"That this Congress considers that the Institute of Research
which the Private beneficence of Mr. Tata proposes to establish,
should receive adequate support from Government, and the Congress
is strongly of opinion that similar institutions should be founded in
different parts of the country."

"That this Congress while welcoming any wisely considered
scheme for the reform of the educational policy of Government is of
opinion that the Universities Bill, if passed into law, will have, as
recommended in the report of the Universities Commission, the effect
of restricting the area of education and completely destroying the
independence of the Universities upon which largely depend their
efficiency and usefulness, and of turning them practically into
departments of Government.

That this Congress is of opinion that the provisions of the
Bill will not remove the shortcomings of the present system of
higher education but that provision for funds and improvement in
the standard of reaching by the agency of a superior class of teachers are imperatively needed in the interests of higher education.

That this Congress prays for the following Modifications:

1. That each University should be dealt with by a separate Act.
2. That in the case of the older Universities the number of ordinary fellows should not be less than 200 of whom at least 80 should be elected by registered graduates and 20 by the members of the Faculties, and that, in the case of Universities of Allahabad and of the Panjab a similar provision should be made.
3. That the ordinary Fellows should hold office as at present for life, but should be liable to disqualification for absence during a fixed period.
4. That the provision of a statutory proportion for the heads of Colleges on the Syndicate be omitted.
5. That all graduates of ten years, standing in a Faculty be declared eligible to vote.
6. That the section making it obligatory upon Colleges which apply for affiliation or have been affiliated to provide for suitable residential quarters for students and professors and for the permanent maintenance of the Colleges be omitted.
7. That as regards affiliation and disaffiliation the decision should instead of being the direct act of Government as under the Bill be as at present the act of University, subject to sanction of Government.
8. That as regards the inspection of Colleges it should be conducted by persons specially appointed by the Syndicate unconnected with the Government Educational Departmental or any aided or unaided Colleges.
9. That the power of making bye-laws and regulations should as at present be vested in the Senate, subject to the sanction of the Government."

* * *

"That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the increased outlay on Primary Education, promised in their Resolution of March last, and for the institution of ten Technical scholarships for the study of technical arts and industries in foreign countries, repeats its protest of last year against the retrograde policy so adopted by the Government in regard to Higher Education, as calculated to officialise the governing bodies of the Universities and to restrict the scope of University Education generally; and the Congress places on record its emphatic opinion that in view of the large surpluses which the Government are now realising year after year, it is their clear duty to make a much larger allotment than at present out of public funds for Educational expenditure so as:
(a) to spread primary education more widely among the mass of the people, and to make a beginning in the direction of free and compulsory education;

(b) to make due provision for imparting instruction in manual training and in scientific agriculture;

(c) to provide for the better manning and equipment of Government Colleges and High Schools so as to make them really model institutions:

(d) to establish at least one central fully equipped polytechnic institute in the country with minor Technical Schools and colleges in different provinces.”

20 :1904 : Bombay : II.

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“That this Congress repeats its protest against the policy of the Government in respect of Higher and Secondary Education, as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the Universities, and restricting the spread of education. This Congress is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps for (1) making primary education free and gradually compulsory, all over the country, (2) assigning a larger sum of money to Secondary Education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educationally backward classes), (3) making the existing Universities more free from official control, and providing them with sufficient means to take up the work of teaching and (4) making adequate provision for Technical Education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements.”

12 : 1906 : Bhawanipur : XXI.

*   *   *

(a) That this Congress repeats its protest against the present policy of the Government of India in respect of Higher and Secondary education, as being one of officialising the governing bodies of the University and restricting the spread of education.

(b) That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the special grants made this year to Primary and Higher Education, again places on record its firm conviction that the material and moral interests of the country demand a much larger expenditure than at present on all branches of education, and a beginning in the direction of Free Primary Education.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress the recommendations of the Committees on Industrial Education should be promptly carried out by the Government for the better provision of Technical Education to the youth of the country. The Congress especially urges the Government to order an Industrial survey as recommended by the Committee, and as suggested by the Government of India.
itself in its Home Department resolution No. 199, dated 18th June, 1888 as a necessary preliminary to the introduction of an organised system of Technical education in the several Provinces.

(d) That at least one central fully-equipped Polytechnic institute should be established in the country with minor technical schools and colleges in the different provinces."

21 : 1905 : Banaras : XIV.

"That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for the people all over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education, for both boys and girls, and organise a system of education—Literary, Scientific and Technical—suited to the requirements of the country, on National lines and under National control."

22 : 1906 : Bhowanipore : X, XI.

"Elementary Education*"

"That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived when a substantial beginning should be made in the matter of Elementary Education, Free and Compulsory throughout the country."

"That this Congress is of opinion that the Government should take early steps :—

Secondary and Higher

(a) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher Education (especial encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes);

Industrial and Technical

(b) to make adequate provision for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different provinces, having regards to local requirements; and

National Control

(c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of Education in the country.

Popular Duty

That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people, all over the country, to take up earnestly the question of

* Practically the same resolutions were passed at 23rd and 24th, annual sessions of the Congress held at Nagpur and Lahore in 1907 and 1908 respectively.
supplementing existing institutions and the efforts of the Government, by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical and Industrial Education, suited to the condition of the different provinces in the country.

25 : 1910 : Allahabad : XIII.

"That this Congress accords its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and expresses its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this Bill in Council."

Higher and Technical Education

"That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of supplementing existing institutions and the effects of the Government by organising for themselves an independent system of Literary, Scientific, Technical and Industrial Education, suited to the conditions of the different provinces of India.

This Congress further is of opinion that the Government should take early steps:

(a) to assign larger sums of money to Secondary and Higher education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes),

(b) to make adequate provisions for imparting Industrial and Technical Education in the different Provinces, having regard to local requirements, and

(c) to give effective voice to the leaders of Indian public opinion in shaping the policy and system of Education in this country."

26 : 1911 : Calcutta : XI.

* * *

"That while expressing its satisfaction and thankfulness that Government have announced a more active educational policy, this Congress regrets the defeat of the Hon. Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, and affirms its conviction that the introduction of a measure of free and compulsory Education is essential to secure a rapid extension of Elementary Education.

(b) This Congress cordially approves of the movement for the establishment of teaching and residential Universities in India."

27 : 1912 : Bankipur : XIII.

* * *

Government Resolution on Educational Policy in, 1913 *
A Government Resolution on educational policy in 1913 clari-
fied the policy in regard to Higher Education. It indicated that as India would not be able to dispense altogether with the affiliating universities for a long time, it was necessary to restrict the area over which such universities would have control and secondly to create new teaching and residential universities within each of the Provinces. Universities of the latter type were to be established at Dacca, Aligarh and Banaras while other new universities would be established at Rangoon, Patna and Nagpur. It might also be possible to sanction the conversion into local teaching universities of those colleges which had attained the requisite standards of efficiency. The war which broke out the next year delayed the developments planned in this Resolution but the two Universities at Banaras and Patna were founded in 1916 and 1917 respectively. The former intended to develop Hindu culture and the study of Applied Sciences, owed its existence to the untiring efforts of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the latter was meant to cater to the needs of the new Province of Bihar and Orissa.

The Calcutta University Commission, 1916*

In 1916 the Calcutta University wanted to break fresh ground through the creation of its Post-Graduate Departments. There was practically no provision so far for direct teaching by the University and now under the dominating leadership of Sir Asutosh Mookerji the University decided to concentrate Post-Graduate teaching directly in the University and appointed a number of Lecturers and Professors for the purpose. While Sir Asutosh Mookerji was engaged in this work the Government of India decided to appoint a commission for holding an enquiry of a very comprehensive and searching character into the problems of the Calcutta University. The terms of reference included all aspects of Collegiate and University Education. Problems of Secondary Education were not excluded from its purview and it was expected to study the organisation and working of other Indian Universities to help it to formulate the policy of the Calcutta University. The Commission submitted a voluminous report in 1919 dealing with practically every problem of Secondary and University Education. The main recommendations were as follows:

1. The Intermediate classes of the University were to be transferred to Secondary Institutions and the stage of admission to the University should be that of the present Intermediate Examination;

2. Secondary and Intermediate Education was to be controlled by a Board of Secondary Education and not by the University;

3. The Government of India should cease to have any special relationship to the University of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal should take its place;

4. The duration of the Degree Course should be three years after the Intermediate Stage, the provisions being applied immediately in regard to Honours Courses and soon after to Pass Courses;

5. The teaching resources of the city of Calcutta were to be organised to create a real teaching University and the project of a University at Dacca was to be carried into effect at the earliest possible moment. The mofussil colleges were to be organised in such a way as would encourage the gradual rise of new University centres by the concentration of higher teaching at a few points;

6. Special attention was to be paid to women’s education and a Board constituted for the purpose;

7. The Government service system being unsuitable for Universities a new organisation of the teaching service in Universities was necessary;

8. Problems of vocational and professional training including that of teachers, medical men, engineers, architects and agriculturists were to be seriously taken in hand by the University and numerous reforms were suggested;

9. The medium of instruction for most subjects up to High School stage was to be the “Vernacular” but for later stages it should be English (except in dealing with Classical and Modern English language);

10. The method of examinations needed radical improvement.

* * *

“That in the opinion of this Congress compulsory religious instruction in any school or college aided out of public funds to pupils, the consent of whose parents has not been previously obtained, is incompatible with the policy of religious neutrality to which Government has pledged itself, and urges the early insertion of a conscience clause in the Educational Code to prevent interference on the part of school or college authorities with the religious beliefs of their pupils.’’

31 : 1916 : Lucknow : XVII.

* * *
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 proper organization of mass education and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the methods and content and objective of education that is provided for the people. The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed. Its objectives 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 services 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 authorizes Dr. Zakir Hussain and Shri E. Aryanayakam to take immediate steps 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.

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its Haripura Session, 1937.

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”.

“Mahatma Gandhi,*
President,
All India National Education Conference, WARDHA.

Mahatmaji,

I have the honour to submit herewith the report of the Committee appointed by the Wardha Conference on the 23rd of October, 1937 to formulate a scheme of basic education on the lines suggested by the resolution of that Conference.

The members of the Committee present at Wardha had a preliminary discussion with you on the 24th October. The Committee met at Wardha on the 2nd and 3rd of November when all the members attended except Professor K. T. Shah who was prevented by urgent work from coming. They met again at Wardha on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of November. Professor Saiyidain could not come, and Professor K. T. Shah could be present only on the first day of the meeting. You will be pleased to know that the discussions were conducted in the most cordial spirit and every member was anxious to contribute his very best. We recorded no evidence, but the Committee are extremely grateful to the numerous friends who sent us their views on the problems engaging our attention.

We are fully conscious of the shortcomings of the report we are submitting. Our own limitations as well as the limitations of time did not permit us to do better. We have been able, for instance, to include a detailed syllabus only for the craft of Spinning and Weaving. If time had permitted we should have very much liked to include a similar scheme for more crafts. For we are anxious to avoid the possible impression that we do not attach equal importance to other crafts with similar or better educational possibilities. When at a later date we submit to you a detailed scheme of correlated grade placements, as desired by you, we hope also to include a detailed scheme of Agriculture and Gardening as the basic craft.

We are thankful to the many Provincial Governments for sending us all the relevant literature, and specially to the Government of the Central Provinces deputing an officer of the Educational

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and an officer of the Agricultural Department to help us whenever
we needed their help during the course of our deliberations. Sri.
Aryanayakam and Shrimati Asha Devi, though members of the
Committee, deserve to be specially thanked for facilitating the work
of the Committee by their efficient handling of the voluminous
correspondence and making all necessary arrangements for the
meetings we held.

I am personally very grateful to the staff of the Teachers
Training College, Muslim University, Aligarh, for their whole-hearted
co-operation and for permitting me to draw freely on their expert
knowledge and precious time.

We submit this report to you in the sincere hope that under
your guidance the scheme presented in it may prove to be the
beginning of a sound educational system in our country.

Respectfully

ZAKIR HUSSAIN
Chairman

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SECTION I

BASIC PRINCIPLES

The Existing Educational System.

Indian opinion is practically unanimous in condemning the
existing system of education in the country. In the past it has
failed to meet the most urgent and pressing needs of national life, and
to organize and direct its forces and tendencies into proper channels.
To-day, when quick and far-reaching changes are reshaping both
national and international life and making new demands on the
citizens, it continues to function listlessly and apart from the real
currents of life, unable to adapt itself to the changed circumstances.
It is neither responsive to the realistic elements of the present
situation, nor inspired by any life-giving and creative ideal. It
does not train individuals to become useful productive members of
society, able to pull their own weight and participate effectively
in its work. It has no conception of the new co-operative social
order which education must help to bring into existence, to replace
the present competitive and inhuman regime based on exploitation
and violent force. There is, therefore, a demand from all sides for
the replacement of present system of education by a more con-
structive and human system, which will be better integrated with the

*Basic National Education. Report of the Zakir Hussain Committee and
the detailed syllabus with a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Wardha, C.P., Segun,
Hindustani Ta'imi Sangh, 1939.
needs and ideals of national life, and better able to meet its pressing demands.

Any scheme of education designed for Indian children will in some respects radically differ from that adopted in the West. For, unlike the West, in India the nation has adopted non-violence, as the method of peace, for achieving all-round freedom. Our children therefore need to be taught the superiority of non-violence over violence.

Mahatma Gandhi’s Leadership.

In this field, as in so many others, far-sighted leadership has come at this critical juncture from Mahatma Gandhi, who has thrown himself whole-heartedly and devotedly into the question of evolving a system of education which will be in harmony with the genius of the Indian people, and solve the problem of mass education in a practicable way and within as short a time as possible. The basic idea of his scheme, as expounded by him in his articles in Harijan and at the Wardha Educational Conference, is that education, if sound in its principles, should be imparted through some craft or productive work which should provide the nucleus of all the other instruction provided in the school. This craft, if taught efficiently and thoroughly, should enable the school to pay towards the cost of its teaching staff. According to him, this would also help the State to introduce immediately the scheme of free and compulsory basic education. Failing this, in the existing political and financial condition of the country, the cost of this education would be prohibitive.

Craft Work in Schools.

Modern educational thought is practically unanimous commending the idea of educating children through some suitable form of productive work. This method is considered to be the problem of providing an integral all-sided education.

Psychologically, it is desirable, because it relieves the child from the tyranny of a purely academic and theoretical instruction against which its active nature is always making a healthy protest. It balances the intellectual and practical elements of experience, and may be made an instrument of educating the body and the mind in co-ordination. The child acquires not the superficial literacy which implies, often without warrant, a capacity to read the printed page, but the far more important capacity of using hand and intelligence for some constructive purpose. This, if we may be permitted to use the expression, is “the literacy of the whole personality.”

Socially considered, the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated in by all the children of
the nation, will tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual and intellectual workers, harmful alike for both. It will also cultivate in the only possible way a true sense of the dignity of labour and of human solidarity—an ethical and moral gain of incalculable significance.

Economically considered, carried out intelligently and efficiently, the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and will also enable them to utilize their leisure advantageously.

From the strictly educational point of view, greater concreteness and reality can be given to the knowledge acquired by children by making some significant craft the basis of education. Knowledge will thus become related to life, and its various aspects will be correlated with one another.

**Two Necessary Conditions.**

In order to secure these advantages it is essential that two conditions should be carefully observed. First, the craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities. It should find natural points of correlation with important human activities and interests, and should extend into the whole content of the school curriculum. Later in the report, in making our recommendations on the choice of basic crafts, we have given special attention to this point, and we would urge all who are in any way concerned with this scheme to hear this important consideration in mind. The object of this new educational scheme is not primarily the production of craftsmen able to practise some craft *mechanically*, but rather the exploitation for educative purposes of the resources implicit in craft work. This demands that productive work should not only form a part of the school curriculum—its craft side—but should also inspire the *method* of teaching all other subjects. Stress should be laid on the principles of co-operative activity, planning, accuracy, initiative and individual responsibility in learning. This is what Mahatma Gandhi means when he says: “Every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done to-day, but scientifically. That is to say, the child should learn the why and wherefore of every process”—of course through personal observation and experience. By merely adding to the curriculum one other subject—weaving, spinning, or carpentry—while all other subjects are still taught in the traditional way we shall, we are convinced, encourage passive assimilation and the division of knowledge into unintelligible watertight compartments, and thus defeat the real purpose and spirit of this scheme.
The Ideal of Citizenship Implicit in the Scheme

We are also anxious that teachers and educationists who undertake this new educational venture should clearly realize the ideal of citizenship inherent in it. In modern India, citizenship is destined to become increasingly democratic in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country. The new generation must at least have an opportunity of understanding its own problems and rights and obligations. A completely new system is necessary to secure the minimum of education for intelligent exercise of the rights and duties of citizens. Secondly, in the modern times, the intelligent citizen must be an active member of society, able to repay in the form of some useful service what he owes to it as a member of an organized civilized community. An education which produces drags and parasites—whether rich or poor—stands condemned. It not only impairs the productive capacity and efficiency of society but also engenders a dangerous and immoral mentality. This scheme is designed to produce workers, who will look upon all kinds of useful work—including manual labour, even scavenging—as honourable, and who will be both able and willing to stand on their own feet.

Such a close relationship of the work done at school to the work of the community will also enable the children to carry the outlook and attitudes acquired in the school environment into the wider world outside. Thus the new scheme which we are advocating will aim at giving the citizens of the future a keen sense of personal worth, dignity and efficiency, and will strengthen in them the desire for self-improvement and social service in a co-operative community.

In fine, the scheme envisages the idea of a Co-operative Community, in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of children during the plastic years of childhood and youth. Even during the period of school education, they will feel that they are directly and personally co-operating in the great experiment of national education.

The self supporting Basis of the Scheme—

It seems necessary to make a few remarks about the "self-supporting" aspect of the scheme as this has occasioned considerable misunderstanding. We wish to make it quite clear that we consider the scheme of basic education outlined by the Wardha Conference and here elaborated, to be sound in itself. Even if it is not "self-supporting" in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy and as an urgent measure of national reconstruction. It is fortunate, however, that this good education will also
incidentally cover the major portion of its running expenses. We hope to show presently that within the scope prescribed by the Wardha Conference, it can do so to a considerable extent. The syllabus gives the figures of the contribution to be made towards its own current expenditure by a school with the basic craft of spinning and weaving.

So far as this craft was concerned we had little difficulty in making these calculations, as expert work in this line has been going on for the last seventeen years under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance. The wages in this case have been calculated on the basis of the standard fixed by the All-India Spinners' Association in Maharashtra. In the case of other crafts, calculations may be made on the basis of the prevailing market rates. Mahatma has definitely suggested that the State should guarantee to take over, at prices calculated as above, the product of the work done by its future citizens in school, a view which we heartily endorse, "...every school can be made self-supporting; the condition being that the State takes over the manufactures of these schools." (Harijan, 31 July, 1937).

Apart from its financial implications, we are of opinion that a measurable check will be useful in ensuring thoroughness and efficiency in teaching and in the work of the students. Without some such check, there is great danger of work becoming slack and losing all educative value. This is only too obvious from the experience of educationists who from time to time have introduced "manual training" or other "practical activities" in their schools.

But here we must sound a necessary note of warning. There is an obvious danger that in the working of this scheme the economic aspect may be stressed at the sacrifice of the cultural and educational objectives. Teachers may devote most of their attention and energy to extracting the maximum amount of labour from children, while neglecting the intellectual, social and moral implications and possibilities of craft training. This point must be constantly kept in mind in the training of teachers as well as in the direction of the work of the supervisory staff and must colour all educational activity.

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SECTION II

OBJECTIVES

It has not been possible, during the short time at our disposal, to prepare a detailed correlated programme of work for the whole period of seven years. However, we have tried to put down, under separate heads, the objectives of the new schools. In the future each Provincial Board of Education must include an expert curriculum maker, who will be responsible for preparing the detailed
correlated programme for the complete seven years' course of studies. As a result of their valuable observations in the new schools, the teachers, working under competent supervision and guidance, will be able to supply the details which will serve as a basis for this work. We are, however, attempting to make a correlated syllabus in broad outlines which will form an annex to this report,

**MAIN OUTLINES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' COURSE OF BASIC EDUCATION**

10. **The Basic Craft.**

Such reasonable skill should be attained in the handicraft chosen, as would enable the pupil to pursue it as an occupation after finishing his full course.

The following may be chosen as basic crafts in various schools:

(a) Spinning and weaving
(b) Carpentry
(c) Agriculture
(d) Fruit and vegetable gardening.
(e) Leather work
(f) Any other craft for which local and geographical conditions are favourable and which satisfies the conditions mentioned above.

Even where an industry other than spinning and weaving or agriculture is the basic craft, the pupils will be expected to attain a minimum knowledge of carding and spinning with the takli, and a practical acquaintance of elementary agriculture work in the local area.

11. **Mother-Tongue.**

The proper teaching of the mother-tongue is the foundation of all education. Without the capacity to speak effectively and to read and write correctly and lucidly, no one can develop precision of thought or clarity of ideas. Moreover, it is a means of introducing the child to the rich heritage of his people's ideas, emotions and aspirations, and can therefore be made a valuable means of social education, whilst also instilling right ethical and moral values. Also, it is a natural outlet for the expression of the child's aesthetic sense and appreciation, and if the proper approach is adopted, the study of literature becomes a source of joy and creative appreciation. More specifically, by the end of the seven years' course, the following objectives should be achieved:

1. The capacity to converse freely, naturally and confidently about the objects, people and happenings within the child's environment. This capacity should gradually develop into:
2. The capacity to speak lucidly, coherently and relevantly on any given topic of every-day interest.
3. The capacity to read silently, intelligently and with speed written passages of average difficulty. (This capacity should be developed at least to such an extent that the student may read newspapers and magazines of every-day interest.)
4. The capacity to read aloud—clearly, expressively and with enjoyment—both prose and poetry. (The student should be able to discard the usual lifeless, monotonous and bored style of reading.)
5. The capacity to use the list of contents and the index and to consult dictionaries and reference books, and generally to utilize the library as a source of information and enjoyment.
6. The capacity to write legible, correctly, and with reasonable speed.
7. The capacity to describe in writing, in a simple and clear style, every-day happenings and occurrences, e.g., to make reports of meetings held in the village for some co-operative purpose.
8. The capacity to write personal letters and business communications of a simple kind.
9. An acquaintance with, and interest in, the writings of standard authors, through a study of their writings or extracts from them.

III. Mathematics.

The objective is to develop in the pupil the capacity to solve speedily the ordinary numerical and geometrical problems arising in connection with his craft and with his home and community life. Pupils should also gain a knowledge of business practice and book-keeping.

We feel that these objectives can be attained by a knowledge of and adequate practice in:

The four simple rules; the four compound rules; fractions; decimals; the rule of three; the use of the unitary method; interest; elements of mensuration; practical geometry; the rudiments of book-keeping.

The teaching should not be confined merely to the facts and operations of number. It should be closely co-ordinated with life situations arising out of the basic handicraft and out of the great variety of actual problems in the life of the school and the community. Measurements of quantities and values in these connections
would supply ample opportunity for the development of the reasoning capacities of the pupils.

IV. Social Studies.

The objectives are:

1. To develop a broad human interest in the progress of mankind in general and of India in particular.

2. To develop in the pupil a proper understanding of his social and geographical environment, and to awaken the urge to improve it.

3. To inculcate the love of the motherland, reverence for its past, and a belief in its future destiny as the home of a united co-operative society based on love, truth and justice.

4. To develop a sense of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

5. To develop the individual and social virtues which make a man a reliable associate and trusted neighbour.

6. To develop mutual respect for the world religions.

A course in history, in geography, in civics and in current events, combined with a reverential study of the different religions of the world showing how in essentials they meet in perfect harmony will help to achieve these objectives. The study should begin with the child's own environment and its problems. His interest should be awakened in the manifold ways in which men supply their different wants. This should be made a starting point to arouse their curiosity about the life and work of men and women.

1. A simple outline of Indian history should be given. The chief landmarks in the development of the social and cultural life of the people should be stressed, and the gradual movement towards greatest political and cultural unity be shown. Emphasis should be laid on the ideals of love, truth and justice, of co-operative endeavour, national solidarity, and the equality and brotherhood of man. The treatment of the subject should be chiefly biographical in the lower, and cultural and social in the upper grades. Care should be taken to prevent pride in the past from degenerating into an arrogant and exclusive nationalism. Stories of the great liberators of mankind and their victories of peace should find a prominent place in the curriculum. Emphasis should be laid on lessons drawn from life showing the superiority of truth and non-violence, in all its phases, and its concomitant virtues, over violence and deceit. The history of the Indian national awakening, combined with a living appreciation of India's struggle for social, political and economic freedom, should prepare the pupils to bear their share of the burden
joyfully and to stand the strain and stress of the period of transition. Celebrations of national festivals and of the "National Week" should be a feature in the life of every school.

2. The pupils should become acquainted with the public utility services, the working of the panchayat and the co-operative society, the duties of the public servants, the constitution of the District Board or Municipality, the use and significance of the vote, and with the growth and significance of representative institutions. Training under this head should be as realistic as possible and should be brought into close relationship with actual life. Self-governing institutions should be introduced in the school. The pupils should be kept in intelligent touch with important current events through the co-operative study of some paper, preferably brought out by the school community.

3. The course in social studies should also include a study of world geography in outline, with a fuller knowledge of India and its relations with other lands. It should consist of:

(a) Study of the plant, animal and human life in the home region and in other lands as controlled by geographical environment (stories, description, picture-study, practical observation and discussion, with constant reference to local facts and phenomena).

(b) Study and representation of weather phenomena; (mainly outdoor work, e.g., direct observation of the sun; changes in the height of the noonday sun at different times of the year; reading of the weather-vane, thermometer, methods of recording temperature and pressure; records of rainy and dry days and of the rainfall; prevailing wind directions; duration of day and night in different methods, etc.).

(c) Map-study and map-making; the world a globe; study of local topography; making of and study of plans of the neighbourhood; recognition of conventional signs; use of the atlas and its index.

(d) Study of the means of transport and communication correlated with industries and life.

(e) Study of occupations; local agriculture and industry (visits to fields and factories); economic self-sufficiency and inter-dependence of different regions; types of agriculture and industry favoured by geographical environment; the principal industries of India.
V. General Science.

The objectives are:

1. To give pupils an intelligent and appreciative outlook on nature.
2. To form in the pupils habits of accurate observation and of testing experience by experiment.
3. To enable them to understand the important scientific principles exemplified in
   (a) the natural phenomena around.
   (b) in the application of science to the service of man.
4. To introduce them to the more important incidents in the lives of the great scientists whose sacrifices in the cause of truth make a powerful appeal to the growing mind.

The curriculum should include the following topics from various sciences:

A. Nature Study

(a) A knowledge of plants, crops, animals and birds in the environment.
(b) A knowledge of the changes of seasons and their effect on the activity of plants, animals, birds and man.
(c) A knowledge of crops in different seasons.

B. Botany

(a) Different parts of plants and their functions.
(b) Processes of germination, growth and propagation.
(c) Work on the school garden and the fields around to give the pupils an understanding of the effects of differing conditions of moisture, heat and light, and of the different qualities of seeds and manures.

C. Zoology

A study of germs, insects, reptiles and birds as friends and foes of man.

C. Physiology.

The human body, its organs and functions.

E. Hygiene

(a) Personal hygiene; cleanliness of teeth, tongue, nails, eyes, hair, nose, skin, clothes.
(b) Cleanliness of the home and the village; sanitation disposal of night-soil.
(c) Pure water; the village well.
(d) Pure air; the function of trees in its purification; proper breathing.
(e) Food, hygienic and unhygienic; balanced diets.
(f) First aid and simple remedies.
(g) Common infections; contagious diseases; how to safeguard against them.
(h) Purity of conduct as a preservative of health.

F. Physical Culture
Games, athletics, drill (Deshi games to be encouraged).

G. Chemistry
of air, water, acids, alkalies and salts.

H. Knowledge of the Stars
showing directions and time at night.

I. Stories
of the great scientists and explorers and their contributions to human well-being.

VI. Drawing.
The objectives are:
1. To train the eye in the observation and discrimination of forms and colours.
2. To develop the memory for forms.
3. To cultivate a knowledge of and appreciation for the beautiful in nature and in art.
4. To draw out the capacity for tasteful design and decoration.
5. To develop the capacity to make working drawings of objects to be constructed.

These objectives can be obtained by:
(a) Drawings made by children to illustrate read or observed material,
(b) Object and memory drawings, e.g., drawings of plants and of animal and human forms (correlated with work in general science, handicraft, etc.).

6. Designing.
7. Scale drawing, graphs and pictorial graphs.

The work in drawing during the first four years should be correlated chiefly with work in reading and pictorial representation in nature study and the craft. During the last three years emphasis may be laid on design and decoration and mechanical drawing, so as to enable pupils to make correct working drawings.

VII. Music.
The objective is to teach the pupils a number of beautiful songs and to cultivate in them a love for beautiful music. The child’s natural sense for rhythm should be developed by teaching him to keep his own time by beating with the hand. Walking in time to a fixed rhythm can be a great aid in achieving this.

Care should be taken to select only the best and most spiring songs, the artistic interpretation of some healthy and elevating theme. Special emphasis should be placed on group or choral singing.
VIII Hindustani

The object of including Hindustani as a compulsory subject in the school curriculum is to ensure that all the children educated in these national schools may have a reasonable acquaintance with a common "lingua franca." As adult citizens they should be able to co-operate with their fellow-countrymen belonging to any part of the country. In teaching the language the teacher should in various ways quicken in the students the realization that this language is the most important product of the cultural contact of Hindus and Muslims in India. It is the repository—in its more advanced forms—of their best thoughts and aspirations. They should learn to take pride in its richness and vitality and should feel the desire to serve it devotedly.

In Hindustani-speaking areas this language will be the mother-tongue, but the students as well as the teachers will be required to learn both the scripts, so that they may read books written in Urdu as well as in Hindi. In non-Hindustani-speaking areas, where the provincial language will be the mother-tongue, the study of Hindustani will be compulsory during the 5th and 6th years of school life, but the children will have the choice of learning either one or the other script. However, in the case of teachers who have to deal with children of both kinds, knowledge of both the scripts is desirable.

At any rate, every public school must make adequate provision for the teaching of both scripts.

In general outlines, the syllabus of studies will be the same for boys and girls up to the 5th grade of the school. In grades 4 and 5 the syllabus in general science should be so modified as to include Domestic Science for girls. In grades 6 and 7 the girls will be allowed to take an advanced course in domestic science in place of the basic craft.

* * *

SECTION III

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The proper training of teachers is perhaps the most important condition for the success of this scheme. Even in normal circumstances the quality of the teachers generally determines the quality of the education imparted. When a radical reconstruction of the entire educational system is contemplated, the importance of the teachers who work out these changes is greatly accentuated.

It is therefore essential that these teachers should have an understanding of the new educational and social ideology inspiring the scheme combined with enthusiasm for working it out.
Since they are to teach not only certain academic subjects, but also crafts, their training should include a reasonably thorough mastery of the processes and technique of certain basic crafts.

Their methods of teaching and approach to subject-matter will be different. They will deal with the various subjects not as isolated and mutually exclusive branches of knowledge, but as inter-related aspects of a growing and developing activity which provides the focus of their correlation. For this purpose it is essential that teachers should have some training in formulating projects and schemes of correlated studies, and thus link up life, learning and activity.

They must have an intelligent interest in the life and activities of their human environment and a thorough grasp of the intimate relationship between school and society.

Besides these points—which must be particularly stressed if the new scheme is to be worked in the spirit in which it is conceived—the teachers’ training curriculum should of course include the other necessary capacities and subjects.

In order to gain admission to the training institution, the candidate must have read up to the Matriculation Standard in some national or recognized Government institution, or must have had at least two years’ teaching experience after passing the Vernacular Final or some equivalent examination.

**Curriculum for a Complete Course of Teachers.**

*Training* (covering a period of three years)

1. (a) Growing, picking, carding of cotton (or wool), spinning of yarn and making of warp.

(b) Mechanics of the spinning wheel (or other instruments and tools involved in the exercise of the basic craft selected).

(c) Economics of village industries with special reference to the selected craft.

(d) Elementary carpentry involved in the selected craft.

2. Training in one of the following basic crafts:

(a) Spinning and weaving

(b) Vegetable and fruit gardening

(c) Agriculture

(d) Carpentry

(e) Toy-making

(f) Leather work

(g) Paper-making

or any other craft which may be considered suitable for any particular locality.

3. Principles of education, which should comprise:
(a) The basic idea of education through productive work.
(b) The relation of the school to the community.
(c) Simple outline of child psychology (treated as concretely as possible) and of the psychology of acquiring technical skill.
(d) Methods of teaching, with special reference to the formulation and development of schemes of correlated studies.
(e) Objective of new education, studied with reference to the actual conditions of life in the country.

4. An outline course in physiology, hygiene, sanitation and dietetics, referring specially to the actual problems of village life and aiming at direct, practical utility.

5. A revision and further development and the basic course in social studies directed towards securing the teacher's proper orientation to the manifold problems of his social environment. This should culminate in a broad general survey of India and the world during the last fifty years.

6. A course of lessons and directed study in the mother-tongue to introduce the teachers to some master-pieces of Indian art and literature, thus imparting a general cultural background.

7. Knowledge of Hindustani, and the capacity to read and write both the Hindi and Urdu scripts, in both Hindustani and non-Hindustani-speaking areas. (This is essential for teachers in all State schools and aided schools, if they are to further some of the basic cultural and civic objectives of this education.)

8. Black-board writing and drawing.

9. Physical culture, drill and Deshi games.

10. Supervised practical teaching in attached demonstration schools.

We expect these teacher training schools to be residential institutions where the students and their teachers will be in close contact with one another. They should develop co-operatively a vigorous and many-sided social and cultural life in which the individual interests of the teachers in training will find adequate expression. We therefore invite the attention of the staff of these institutions to the desirability of encouraging the growth of many and varied hobbies and social activities carried on by the teachers under training in their leisure time.

The real success of these institutions will be judged by the variety and spontaneity of the various hobbies and social activities, the enthusiasm and persistence with which they are carried out, and their reaction on the life of school and the community.
The course as outlined above might possibly give the impression of being too heavy and ambitious, and therefore unlikely to be practicable. We are anxious to counteract that impression by pointing out that if approached in the right spirit, it is possible to cover this ground with reasonable thoroughness. It has to be remembered, in the first place, that this is a continuous three years' course, and therefore it lends itself to a fuller planning than is the case at present. Secondly, we expect that after a few years' time when the scheme is well under way all the teachers recruited for training, having passed through our new schools, will have covered a good deal of the ground in craft training and in other subjects such as social studies. Therefore, this course will not so much teach new subjects as carry further and give a professional orientation to subject-matter already studied. Thirdly, we would again emphasize the fact that at this stage the object is not to make a thorough, systematic and scientific study of these various subjects, which would be an unduly ambitious undertaking, but to centre the teaching in actual concrete problems of civics, sanitation, hygiene, first aid, child behaviour and class-room practice arising in the school or in the environing community life. Of course, we hope that if professional pride has been quickened and intellectual interest has been generated, many of these teachers will continue their study privately and try to obtain a more thorough acquaintance with certain subjects. But so far as the training period of these teachers is concerned, our object is not to produce academically perfect scholars, but skilled, intelligent, educated craftsmen with the right mental orientation who should be desirous of serving the community and anxious to help the coming generation to realize and understand the standard of values implicit in this educational scheme.

Curriculum for a Short Course of Teachers' Training

To make a beginning with this scheme as soon as possible, we recommended that a short emergency course of one year's training be provided for teachers specially selected from existing schools, national institutions and ashrams. The teachers selected should possess some background of successful teaching experience or craft work, and hold out promise of working the scheme in the right spirit with understanding and enthusiasm. The number of these teachers in any province may be determined by the number of schools which it is proposed to open at first.

The course of training for these teachers should include:

(a) Training in carding and spinning with the *takli*. This will be compulsory, whatever may be the basic craft chosen.
(b) Sufficient training in one of the above mentioned basic crafts to enable the teacher to teach the first three years' school course in that craft.

c) A short course in physiology, hygiene, sanitation and dietetics.

d) The basic idea of the craft school and its relation to community life,

e) Formulation and working of simple schemes of co-ordinated studies as a basis of co-ordinated teaching.

(f) A short course of lessons on the history of the Indian national awakening and the trend of world movements during this century.

g) Teaching of at least twenty-five lessons in the practice school under proper supervision.

* * *

SECTION IV

SUPERVISION AND EXAMINATION

A. Supervision.

An efficient and sympathetic supervisory staff is almost as important for the new schools as a well-trained teaching personnel. Supervision is a fairly specialized work and we would recommend that provision should be made for the training of supervisors to meet the ever-growing needs of an expanding school system. The minimum qualification for a supervisor should in our opinion be complete training as a basic school teacher, together with at least two years, experience of successful teaching and a year of special training in the work of supervision and administration. Supervision should not be mere inspection, it should mean personal co-operation and help offered by one who knows more to a less experienced or less resourceful colleague. Supervisors should, indeed, be able to play the role of leaders and guides in the educational experiment. In order that the more important obligations of helpful guidance and leadership may be properly fulfilled, it is necessary that the load of unavoidable administrative and routine work should be as light as possible. Therefore there should be an adequate number of supervisors, and the supervisory districts should not be unmanageably large. This will mean greater expense, but economy here will be bad economy.

B. Examinations.

The system of examinations prevailing in our country has proved a curse to education. A bad system of education has, if
possible, been made worse, by awarding to examinations a place out of all proportion to their utility. As a measure of the work of individual pupils or the schools, by a consensus of expert opinion examinations are neither valid nor complete. They are inadequate and unreliable, capricious and arbitrary. We shall take care to guard the proposed system of general national education against their baneful influence.

The purpose of the examination can be served by an administrative check of the work of the schools in a prescribed area by means of a sample measurement of the attainment of selected groups of students conducted by the inspectors of the Education Board. The tests so administered should be constructed in close consultation with the specialists responsible for curriculum revision. They should be long enough to cover the whole range of the curriculum and should be in a form which makes marking objective and independent of individual judgment.

The introduction of check-up by sample testing will add greatly to the efficiency of the school system and will in fact lengthen the teaching term of the final class by at least six weeks, the time now usually wasted on memorising "notes" and "revisions" which precede the ordeal of examinations. This period may now be devoted to a test of the efficiency of individual pupils in the basic craft over a period of weeks, to be determined from case to case, and to comparatively more intensive work for the improvement of the village community which the school serves.

The promotion from grade should be decided exclusively by the teaching faculty of the school on the basis of careful records of the pupils' work. To maintain the desired level of efficiency throughout the school system, the Board of Education should conduct an annual testing of typical sections from each grade of the schools of the various divisions. As far as possible, pupils should not be made to repeat the work of a grade or any considerable portion thereof. If a large number of children in a class "fails", the work of the teacher needs watching. If a school records many failures its administration must be looked into, and if the number of failures in the whole school system is large, there is something wrong with the curriculum and the norms set for the several grades. This should be set right. There is hardly any justification for making pupils repeat the work of a grade.

The Board of Education should judge the efficiency of its schools by the sample achievement tests mentioned above, by the efficiency of the pupils in the basic handicraft, and by the specific contributions made by the teachers and pupils to the improvement
of the general life of the community around. An annual district 
exhibition of the work of the schools will also go a long way to-
wards keeping up to a definite standard of achievement.

* * *

SECTION V

ADMINISTRATION

1. The objectives of education which we have enunciated 
above (Sec. II) will require that the pupils remain at school for 
seven years. After careful consideration we have come to the con-
clusion that seven plus will be the proper age to enforce compulsion. 
Since we accept as a principle that the basic education should as far 
as possible be the same for all, we recommend that it should be 
free and compulsory for all girls and boys between the ages of seven 
and fourteen. As a concession, however, girls may be withdrawn 
after the completion of their twelfth year if the guardians so wish it.

2. We realize that by fixing seven plus as the age for the 
introduction of compulsory education, we have left out a very 
important period of the child’s life to be shaped in the rather 
unfavourable surroundings of poor village homes, under the care of 
uneducated and indifferent parents mostly struggling against un-
bearable circumstances. We feel very strongly the necessity for 
some organization of pre-school education, conducted or supported 
by the State, for children between the ages of three and seven. A 
painful consciousness of the realities of the situation, chiefly finan-
cial, prevents us from making this recommendation. We are anxious, 
however, that the State should not overlook its ultimate responsi-
bility in the matter. We are confident that if the scheme of basic 
education suggested here, with its intimate relation to home life, is 
firmly established, it will go a long way towards helping the pre-
school child to get a better home training than he now does. It 
will also help considerably in the great work of adult education, 
which will have to be taken up in right earnest at no distant date.

3. We have tried to make an estimate of the time required to 
complete the different sections of the curriculum. We feel that the 
following distribution will be about right:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The basic craft</td>
<td>3 hours 20 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music, drawing and arithmetic</td>
<td>40 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mother-tongue</td>
<td>40 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social studies and general science</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical training</td>
<td>10 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recess</td>
<td>10 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 hours and 30 minutes.
In making this estimate, we have kept spinning and weaving as the basic craft. The distribution might vary from craft to craft, but in no case should the time allotted to the basic craft exceed the above estimate.

The school is expected to work for 288 days in a year, average of 24 days in a month.

4. In view of the diversity of pupils' interests we recommend that as far as possible a variety of crafts should be provided for, at least during the last two years of the school course.

5. We are of opinion that every school should have attached to it a plot of land big enough for a school garden and a playground.

6. Research has established a very close relationship between malnutrition and backwardness at school. Considering the almost universal under-nourishment of the village children, we recommend that every effort should be made to remedy the defect by providing light nourishment to all children during school hours. We are confident that the State will be able to secure enough co-operation from the public to meet the expenses involved in the undertaking.

7. With regard to the teachers' salaries, we endorse Gandhiji's suggestion that "it should, if possible, be Rs. 25 and never less than Rs. 20." But we also contemplate that for teaching the higher classes of the school, it may be necessary to employ some teachers with higher academic qualifications, and for them a somewhat higher pay may have to be provided.

8. We recommend that during the first two or three years of this experiment, specially qualified and competent teachers should be secured—even if their pay is somewhat higher—so that in selected schools they may work out the necessary details and technique of the syllabus and the new methods of teaching. When this pioneering stage has been successfully crossed, it will be possible for average teachers who have received training in our three-year institutions to carry on the work fairly satisfactorily.

9. We are of opinion that the average number of students in any class should not exceed thirty. If the number is large, it will not be possible for the teacher to discharge his heavy and responsible duties efficiently.

10. In the selection of teachers, preference should be given to those who belong to the locality in which the school is situated.

11. In order to encourage women to take to this profession, special efforts should be made to provide facilities for training them as teachers.
12. The problem of selecting suitable candidates for training should be carefully and competently examined, and a reliable technique of selection evolved. We are convinced that unless this difficult problem is tackled, the scheme will have little chance of success. Teaching requires special social and moral attitudes and qualities, and it is not right to assume that everyone who volunteers to enter the profession is suitable for it. We must, therefore, conduct our selection with great care and forethought and preferably take only those who belong to what the psychologists call "the social type."

13. We suggest that these training institutions should be residential institutions, open to all classes and creeds, and free from restrictions relating to untouchability and interdining.

14. In these institutions expert artisans or craftsmen may be employed to give craft training. Local artisans may also be utilized, if necessary, to help the teachers of basic schools in their craft teaching and in putting the finishing touches for marketing purposes to the material produced by the students.

15. Refresher courses on a large scale should be gradually organized at training colleges and schools, in order to maintain and improve the efficiency of teachers. Such courses should be of various types—cultural, professional and industrial.

16. Demonstration schools should be attached to every training institution and these should serve as laboratories where new methods of teaching are attempted and developed. These schools—staffed by specially qualified teachers—should serve as models for their locality, and teachers from other schools should be given an opportunity to see the working, teaching materials, and technique.

17. The introduction of a craft, the co-ordination and correlation of the content of the curriculum, the close relationship with life, the method of learning by doing, the individual initiative, and the sense of social responsibility, which are among the main features of the new scheme suggested here, cannot be realized without supplying to both the teachers and the pupils—but primarily to the teachers—such books and material as would help to achieve our aim. It is essential that the illustrative material, the books for the teachers, and the necessary programmes of correlated work should be prepared. Entirely new text-books, permeated with the new spirit, are also essential. The Board of Education in each province and the Central Institute of National Education whose establishment is recommended below, will be able to render valuable help in this connection. The provinces which propose to establish the new type of schools must institute the requisite machinery for the pre-
paration of these necessary books and materials at the earliest possible date.

18. In the section on examination we have referred to the systematic measurement of school achievements as an important function of the education authority in each province. We recommend that the Board of Education in each province should provide on its academic side for an efficient staff of educational experts. This staff should carry on scientific research to fit the school curriculum to the real life of the people, and to guide the teachers in the use of the new standards and norms of achievement. They should try progressive methods of teaching, keep the teachers in touch with the results of successful experiments undertaken in this country and elsewhere, and also guide the training of teachers and supervisors.

19. Apart from the official boards, we would recommend the formation of an independent, non-official Central Institute of Indian Education, which should be free from administrative responsibility and consist of persons eminent in the field of education as well as in other spheres of cultural activity. The objects of this institute should be as follows:

1. To serve as an advisory body on matters of educational policy and practice.
2. To study and discuss the ideas and aims underlying educational efforts in India and outside, and to make the results of this study available to all who are interested.
3. To collect information about, and to keep in touch with, the educational work of the various Indian Provinces and States, as well as foreign countries.
4. To organize research on problems relating to education.
5. To issue monographs and a magazine for educational workers.

20. It is common knowledge that the different public utility services of the country which should be concerned with the welfare of its future citizens are sadly un-co-ordinated. We recommend that the Department of Education should be placed in a position to secure the co-operation of the other State departments (e.g., Health, Agriculture, Public Works, Co-operation, Local Self-Government) in building up a healthy, happy and efficient school community.

Mahatmaji.

In presenting the graded syllabus of Basic Education which you wanted us to prepare, we should like to clear up certain points which have caused, or may occasion, misunderstanding to those who
have not clearly grasped the ideas and principles underlying this syllabus.

In the first place, it is necessary to appreciate the limitations under which we have worked. A syllabus of this kind, which aims at far-reaching reconstruction of educational practice, really requires a background of fairly extensive experimental work on the lines indicated in our Report, because it is only after such practical experience that all the possible correlations can be confidently worked out. We have done the best we could in preparing this syllabus and have fully utilized our collective experience as teachers, as well as the suggestions received from friends. But we must point out that this should be regarded as a tentative scheme drawn up to show that the principle of co-ordinated teaching which we have advocated in our Report can be worked out in practice and translated into the terms of the curriculum. As teachers in our training schools and colleges and in the new schools of basic education begin to work out the scheme scientifically and record their observations and experiences, it will be possible to improve the syllabus progressively. Such an experimental attitude of mind on the part of the teachers is essential for the success and efficient working out of this educational scheme.

We have given the detailed grade placements of the subjects for the seven classes of the basic school in order to show that, with spinning and weaving as the basic craft (selected for illustration), it is possible to include the essential subject-matter in language, mathematics, social studies, general science, and drawing, within the time available for the purpose, and to co-ordinate it with the craft work to a considerable extent. This will show that, on the one hand, the subject-matter selected is not excessive (as some critics of the scheme have made out) and, on the other hand, no really significant units of a cultural curriculum have been omitted.

We have also given the detailed grade placements of two other basic crafts suggested in our Report—Agriculture and Woodwork. These syllabuses were prepared for us by experts outside our Committee, as none of us had the necessary knowledge and experience. Leaving aside the details of these syllabuses, we are confident that the contents of the general curriculum could also be correlated with or conveyed through either of these two basic crafts.

In order to work out an effective and natural co-ordination of the various subjects and to make the syllabus a means of adjusting the child intelligently and actively to his environment, we have chosen three centres, intrinsically inter-connected, as the foci for
the curriculum, i.e., the Physical Environment, the Social Environment, and Craft Work, which is their natural meeting point since it utilizes the resources of the former for the purposes of the latter. With a view to demonstrate how the subject-matter selected is co-ordinated with these three centres we have also given, besides the grade placements, a separate indication of how the various items of the curriculum can be correlated with the basic craft of spinning and weaving. This will also, incidentally, answer the criticism that the scheme is not child-centred—a criticism which is based on ignorance of one of the most strongly stressed points in our Report. We have also given, as an Appendix, a chart prepared by one of our colleagues, showing graphically how the entire syllabus is definitely child-centred. We fail to understand how this scheme, based on activity, and the study of the child’s physical and social environment, can be less child-centred than the present education which is entirely book-centred!

It is essential for all teachers and educational workers to note that we have really attempted to draft an “activity curriculum,” which implies that our schools must be places of work, experimentation and discovery, not of passive absorption of information imparted at second-hand. So far as the curriculum is concerned, we have stressed this principle by advocating that all teaching should be carried on through concrete life situations relating to craft or to social and physical environment, so that whatever the child learns becomes assimilated into his growing activity.

It should be noted in this connection that in the preparation of this syllabus, we have attempted to organize the subject-matter into significant and comprehensive units of experience which will, when mastered, enable the child to understand his environment better and to react to it more intelligently because they throw helpful light on the problems and conditions of life around him. We are conscious of the fact that there is much scope for improvement in the actual units selected, but we are confident that this is the right approach to the syllabus, rather than the current practice of making it a collection of unrelated and miscellaneous facts having no direct bearing on children’s experiences or on social life. The syllabus in Social Studies and General Science will illustrate this principle. When, for instance, work in Social Studies or General Science is related to Drawing, and the knowledge of History and Geography enriches the child’s understanding and appreciation of his craft, when Gardening and Agriculture are an integral part of his education, the school should become an active centre of experience and of abundant life.
But the working of this curriculum is in itself a problem of great importance, and demands intelligent alertness and responsiveness on the part of the teachers, for even the best of curricula can be made mere dead letter, if the method of teaching and discipline adopted are not inspired by the spirit of activity. In order to indicate, therefore, how the full possibilities of this curriculum can be exploited, it seems necessary to point out by way of illustration, the method to be adopted in the approach to some of the subjects included in the curriculum. For if subjects such as Social Studies and General Science are presented by the teachers as catalogues of facts to be passively accepted and learnt up by the children, the whole object of the syllabus will be defeated, and they will entirely fail to appreciate the real nature of the correlation amongst the various subjects. This can only be realized when they are acquired through real learning situations involving self-activity on the children's part.

In the syllabus of Mother-Tongue, for example, we have attempted to stress both the creative and utilitarian values of language and literature. The teacher must organize his oral work as well as his reading material round the actual but growing life and interests of his children so that they may gradually

(a) develop a consciousness of the wonders of the life of nature around them,

(b) observe and describe the different processes of the school crafts and the life of their home, village and school,

(c) write simple business and personal letters as a normal activity of social life,

(d) keep a daily record of progress in the basic handicrafts,

(e) help in the editing of a school magazine and the preparation of daily news bulletin,

(f) make a clear and connected speech of reasonable duration on some topic of general interest,

(g) appreciate beautiful literature.

This suggests not only a principle for the selection of topics in the literary readers, but also stresses the close connection of the mother-tongue with craft work, social studies and village life and activities. The method of teaching must, therefore, be such as will give the child a mastery of his mother-tongue as a tool not only for learning but for use in actual life situations.

Similarly, the syllabus in Social Studies is an attempt to adjust the child to his social environment, both in space—which is the function of Geography—and in time—which is the function of History. Civics, which aims partly at the giving of intellectual
understanding of present day problems and partly at developing the right social and intellectual attitudes, has also been included as an integral part of this syllabus. It requires an intelligent study of the child’s immediate environment and its salient features as well as the development in school of self-governing institutions and its organization as a genuine co-operative community involving mutual obligations and distribution of duties and responsibilities.

The teaching of these subjects should not only be closely co-ordinated, but it should spring from actual social situations—the child’s home, his village, its occupations and crafts—and then be extended and enriched by stories of primitive life and ancient civilizations, and by showing how different ways of life and work have developed under different social and geographical conditions. The teaching of geography and nature study in the lower classes should, for example, be gathered round the different seasons which provide a starting point for observing natural phenomena, and the intelligent teacher will take care that the children make their early acquaintance with all these phenomena through active personal observations, excursions, gardening, tending of pets and survey of the locality. But it is necessary, throughout the course, to ensure that the child acquires his knowledge actively and utilizes it for the understanding and better control of his social environment. Hence the need for correlating the school with the activities of the co-operating community life which we have duly stressed in the Report.

In order to make Mathematics real to the child, we have indicated how its various processes can be correlated with the various craft processes and it is equally possible to work out their connection with facts learned in the Social Studies and General Science courses. If the children learn their four simple rules by actually working out the problems which arise in their craft work and gardening and by dealing with figures which will also throw light on the economic and social facts of their village or town or country, if there is practical measuring and field-work and calculations of expenditure and of rural indebtedness, the learning of mathematics not only becomes an active process, but also a means of interpreting and understanding the social environment.

As a further illustration of the principle of co-ordination, we should like to make a special mention of physical education. So far as the theoretical aspect of physical education is concerned, the children will gain the necessary knowledge of Physiology, Hygiene and Dietetics through their General Science courses. As for practical training, the entire work of the school, involving craft-practice, games, gardening and active methods of learning, has been envisaged as an
aid to the development of the child's health and physical vigour.

We have not drafted a regular syllabus for Music because in this scheme of Basic Education it is not possible to give scientific training in music to all children. What we recommend, however, is that in all classes there should be a course of choral singing, set to standard tunes and time, with the elementary acquaintance with the principal Indian *ragas* and *tals*. This need not, however, be insisted upon in the case of all children—those who are not musically gifted or who have any objection to learning *ragas* and *tals* may be excused. The songs suitable for children between seven and fourteen should be carefully selected and should include national songs, folks songs, devotional songs, seasonal and festive songs. The selection should also include a few songs in simple, quick rhythm suitable for group singing in connection with their craftwork and physical training. Such selections in various languages may be issued from time to time, out of which the teachers may make their choice.

It is possible to multiply such examples in connection with each aspect of the syllabus but it is not necessary to do so. Those examples should suffice to show that there is an intrinsic unity of method and curriculum which cannot be ignored, and that this syllabus will help in the training of intelligent, practical and co-operative citizens only if it is approached in the spirit indicated above.

We welcome the criticisms and objections which we have received or which have appeared in the press because they show that both teachers and the public have given thought to our scheme. But we feel that many of the objections raised are due to a misunderstanding of the basis of the scheme. We should, therefore, like, with your permission, to refer to the more important points raised.

1. Much criticism has been directed against the amount of time devoted to craft work, and it has been argued that academic work will be starved in consequence. With subscribing to the implied dualism between practical and academic work, we would point out that the time allotted to the basic craft is not meant to be spent only on the mechanical practice of the craft, but oral work, drawing and expression work naturally connected with it, as well as instruction in the why and wherefore of the processes involved, *i.e.* their scientific and intelligent understanding, which is an important educative aspect of craft work, will also be given during this time. This is clearly implied in our scheme of three-centred co-ordination.
Moreover, as pointed out in the Report, the object of the scheme is "not primarily to produce craftsmen able to practise their craft mechanically, but to exploit the resources implicit in craft work for educative purposes"—the adoption of the activity method should ensure the attainment of this objective.

2. Some people are alarmed because there is no reference in this scheme to secondary or higher education, forgetting that our terms of reference were confined to a seven years' scheme of basic education only, and they are apprehensive that we want to limit facilities for higher education. We have only to point out that this is a scheme of universal and compulsory basic education for all children, to be followed in due course by higher education for those who are qualified to receive it; and when that scheme is drawn up, it will have to be co-ordinated with the scheme of basic education, so as to ensure continuity as well as proper intellectual equipment for those who are to proceed further with their education.

3. The scheme has also been criticized because it contemplates the child's education beginning at the age of seven, which is argued as being too late. In the Report, we have made it clear that we recognize the great importance of pre-school education and envisage the possibility of its introduction on a voluntary basis, with State help where possible. But in view of the present financial and other considerations, we have not felt justified in including it as a part of compulsory scheme. Moreover, we have chosen the 7—14 age range because we consider it absolutely necessary to keep the child at school until he is fourteen, in order to ensure that (1) he will receive the essential modicum of social and civic training which, for psychological reasons, is not possible earlier, (2) he will become a better citizen, (3) his literary training will be thorough enough to make a lapse into illiteracy impossible and (4) he will acquire sufficient skill in his basic craft to practise it successfully if he adopts it as his vocation. We are so strongly convinced of the educative importance of the years of adolescence that if we could extend the period of education, we should like to keep the students at school till the age of sixteen in order to ensure proper moral, social and civic training.

4. We have not given separate and distinctive place to play in the scheme because it is essentially an extra-curricular activity; if it is made a compulsory part of the syllabus, it loses its spontaneity and ceases to be play in the psychological sense. But in our syllabus, we have made provision for individual and group games, and we contemplate that in all good schools various kinds of games will be encouraged. It should, however, be borne in mind, that in an
activity school play is an integral part of its method and is not included as an escape from academic drudgery.

5. We should like to make it clear—if the Report has not already done so—that we do not contemplate any direct connection between the teacher’s salary and the proceeds from the sale of the children’s products. Teachers are to be paid directly from the State Treasury as at present and are not to be dependent on the somewhat fluctuating income received from the sale of school products, which should be credited as income to the Treasury. As the Wardha Conference had made it quite clear in its resolutions that the basic crafts practised in schools were expected in due course to cover only the remuneration of the teachers, it was hardly necessary for us to say that all other expenditure e.g., on buildings, equipment etc., must be met from other sources, public and private.

6. We had not specifically mentioned, in our Report, the setting up of a sales organization for the school products, because we were primarily concerned with the drafting of an educational scheme and not with its political and administrative implications. Moreover you also had made it quite clear in your speech at the Conference that, in the last instance, the State will be responsible for their purchase at a fair price, and we had made a reference to your remark in the Report.

Considerable criticism has been voiced in certain quarters on the assumption that our scheme is opposed to all industrialization and aims at harking back to a primitive state of society utterly incompatible with the forces and needs of modern times. Without entering into controversy about the respective merits of industrialization and the rural economy; we want to point out that there is no necessary, logical connection between the scheme of basic education and either the industrial or the small-scale village economy. We have recommended the approach to education through crafts and productive work because that is a psychologically sound method of education, but we fail to see why co-ordinated training in the use of the hand and the eye, training in practical skill and observation and manual work should be a worse preparation for later industrial training than the present education which is notoriously bookish and academic, and definitely prejudices our students against all kinds of practical and industrial work.

We are conscious of the large amount of administrative organization which this scheme will involve and we realize that the Education Department in each province will have to think out the detailed ways and means by which the scheme is to be gradually put into
operation. Without attempting to take over this great responsibility on ourselves, we should like to make a few suggestions in this connection, which we trust will be found useful in working out the detailed stages in which the scheme is to be introduced in India.

The first step, which should in our opinion be taken immediately, is to set up a number of training schools in selected rural areas—at least one or two schools in each linguistic province—where teachers may learn the technique of education through crafts and productive work and be trained to teach in the new basic schools. The number of teachers to be trained and basic schools to be opened in the selected area will be determined by the extent of that area. We suggest large area, e.g., a district, should be selected, for the purpose, and the Education Department should undertake a survey of its requirements—the number of existing schools to be transformed, the number of new schools to be opened, and the number of teachers needed for them. Immediate steps should be taken to train this number both by utilizing the existing training schools and by opening new ones. We are of the opinion that this work of establishing basic schools for all the children in the selected area should be completed within five years. Meanwhile, all the other training schools in the Province should be transformed into the new type of training schools, so that the work of establishing new basic schools, as well as of transforming existing schools all over the Province may proceed as rapidly as trained teachers become available. It will be necessary during the first few years to have both kinds of training schools, i.e., one-year and three-year schools. The short course of one year's duration may be given to specially selected and, preferably, experienced teachers from existing schools so that they might start work a year later in the new schools. Simultaneously, however, the regular three years' courses should also be introduced and another group of teachers selected to undergo this training. The Department should arrange to send all the teachers in the existing schools, who cannot attend the one year's course of training, to specially organized refresher courses where they may understand the principles and methods of basic education. A scheme should be drawn up to ensure that all teachers in the service of the Department have attended such a course within the next five years.

It is essential that these training schools be located in rural areas so that teachers may work and acquire the necessary experience under conditions in which they will have to carry on their teaching. If they are trained in an urban environment where they
will be deprived of village contacts, they will not be able to develop
the requisite attitudes and habits.

When the first batch of teachers has been trained, new basic
schools should be started in a selected area where as far as possible
all the schools should be of the new type contemplated. It does
not seem desirable that schools of the present as well as the new
type should co-exist in the same area. Naturally it will be easier
and more useful to select for this purpose areas in which there are
few schools at present and where, for that reason, the provision of
educational facilities is more urgently required.

Secondly we suggest that every training school so started
should have a demonstration school specially organized to impart
basic education according to the syllabus and the technique outlined
in our Report. This school, like the training school, should be
staffed by specially competent teachers, who possess the necessary
intellectual and practical disposition to work the scheme sympatheti-
cally. It will serve as a model school for the locality to which
other schools to be established later will look for inspiration and
guidance.

Each province should, we suggest, undertake a survey of its
educational requirements and plan out a detailed programme of
action. The survey should aim at finding out the number of child-
ren to be educated, the number of teachers and schools that will
be eventually required for their education, the number of training
schools that will have to be established, the rate at which trained
teachers can become available year after year. On the administra-
tive side, the survey should indicate the amount of money which
will be required for recurring and non-recurring expenses, and the
machinery that will have to be put up for the sale of the school
products. These are practical and concrete problems that will
have to be worked out—their magnitude is no excuse for fighting
shy of them or looking upon them as impossible. We are fully
alive to the financial implications of this great educational enterprise,
but we think that it should be possible for provincial governments to
put this scheme into full working order, and introduce compulsory
and free universal education in the whole country in about 20 to 25
years' time. What we suggest is the drawing up of a kind of 20
years' plan to provide basic education and to liquidate illiteracy.
If this scheme is supplemented by some adequate system of adult
education given through various voluntary agencies, and also through
the conscription of school and college students for the purpose, we
have every hope that within that time India will have made rapid
strides towards the goal of a 100% literacy.
In working out the programme of national education, the Provincial Governments should utilize the services of the All-India Education Board, the establishment of which we have recommended in our Report. The Board could, for example, help in the preparation of suitable educational literature for teachers as well as advise about the preparation of books for the new schools. It could also give advice on the educational problems which may be referred to it for opinion and generally act as a central bureau for educational information. The Provincial Governments should, in their turn, give all necessary help and facilities to the Board in the discharge of its important duties.

There are also a number of other non-official organizations in the country, e.g., national educational institutions, the All-India Spinners' and Village Industries Associations which could help in the working out of the scheme in various ways. We expect that there will be close co-operation between these organizations and the Education Department. We also contemplate that as a result of the enthusiasm released by this scheme of national education, many voluntary organizations and workers will be forthcoming to start training centres and basic schools. The Provincial Governments should encourage such private enterprises in education and help them with expert advice and funds.

We desire to express our thanks to all those friends who have helped us in our work by sending their suggestions and criticism and by drafting syllabuses in various subjects, which we have utilized in preparing our syllabus of basic education. We were happy to find, from some of the institutions and individuals that sent us their suggestions, that there were schools in India which had been working already almost on the lines contemplated in the Wardha scheme.

We should like to make special mention and express our grateful thanks to the following, whose syllabuses in the various subjects were particularly helpful.

Syt. D. R. Moharikar, Deputy Director of Agriculture, C. P. and
Syt. S. R. Bhise, Hakimji High School, Bordi, for syllabus in Agriculture.
Syt. Laxmishwar Sinha of Visva-Bharati, (Shriniketan) for syllabus in Card-board, Wood and Metal Work.
Syt. Ramnarayan Misra, Editor, Bhugol (Allahabad) for syllabus in Geography.
Mr. Tajammal Hussein (Training College, Aligarh) for
syllabus in Mathematics and for very helpful co-operation with us during our last meeting at Aligarh.

Mr. W. H. Siddiqui and Mr. B. H. Zubairi (Training College, Aligarh) for syllabus in General Science.

Mr. Abdul Ghaffor and Mr. H. Rahman (Training College, Aligarh) for their syllabus in Social Studies.

Syt. Nanda Lal Bose, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, for syllabus in Drawing.

We also wish to express our thanks to Miss K.M. Heilemann of Nava-Bharat Vidyalaya, Wardha and Miss Gerda Philipsborn of Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, for their willing service in all typing work in connection with the work of the Committee.

We submit this syllabus to you in the hope that it will meet with your approval and that it may form an adequate foundation for basic education suited to the genius of the Indian nation and the needs of the country.

Respectfully,

Sd/- ZAKIR HUSSAIN (Chairman)
K.G. SATYIDAIN
KAKA KALELKAR
KISHORLAL MASHRUWALA
J. C. KUMARAPPA
SRIKRISHANDAS JAJU
VINOBA
ASHA DEVI
ARYANAYAKAM (Convener)"

* * *


The Central Advisory Board of Education at its meeting held in January, 1938 appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of the Hon’ble Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier and Education Minister, Government of Bombay, to examine the schemes of educational reconstruction incorporated in the Wardha Scheme in the light of the Wood-Abbott Report on General and Vocational Education and other relevant documents, and to make recommendations. This

*Report of the Second Wardha Education Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, 1939, together with the decision of the Board thereon. Delhi, Manager of Publications, Govt. of India, 1941. (Re-print). 39p.
Committee submitted its report to the Board on the 3rd December 1938. During the consideration of this report, which was generally adopted by the Board, certain issues emerged such as the co-ordination of the basic system with higher education, the ways and means to finance it, etc., which in the opinion of the Board required further examination. With this subject in view, the Board appointed another Committee consisting of the following members with powers to co-opt:

The Hon’ble Mr. B. G. Kher, Premier and Education Minister, Government of Bombay, Chairman.
The Hon’ble Qazi Ataullah Khan, Minister of Education, Government of the North-West Frontier Province.
Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.
Mrs. Hansa Mehta, Parliamentary Secretary for Education to the Hon’ble the Prime Minister, Bombay.
Dr. Zakir Hussain, Principal, Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi.
Pandit Amarnath Jha, M. A., Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University.
Dr. W. A. Jenkins, D.Sc., I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.
Mr. W.H.F. Armstrong, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, Punjab.
The Educational Commissioner with the Government of India.
The Board also suggested that the Committee should, if possible, visit places where the “basic education” scheme is in operation.
2. In accordance with the powers conferred on the Committee by the Board, the following were co-opted as additional members:
   The Hon’ble Mr. C.J. Varkey, Minister of Education, Government of Madras.
Mr. J.C. Powell Price, I.E.S., Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces.

3. The Committee as finally constituted held two meetings; the first in Simla on the 12th and 13th June, and the second at Poona on the 29th October, 1939. Mr. Powell Price was unable to attend either meeting and the Hon’ble Mr. Varkey and Dr. Zakir Hussain were unable to attend the second meeting. It proved impossible to arrange for the Committee as a whole to visit places where the “basic education” scheme is in operation, but personal visits were paid by most of the members to some or all of these places.
4. The agenda and papers circulated therewith to the members of the Committee are set out in Appendix I.

A copy of the resolutions passed by the All India Muslim Educational Conference and of notes on the agenda by the Hon'ble Pir Ilaahi Baksh, both of which were circulated to members of the Committees, will be found in Appendices II and III, respectively.

5. "Pre-basic" education—The original Wardha Scheme advocated the free and compulsory education of all boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 14 though girls might be withdrawn after the completion of their 12th year if their guardians so desired. The Zakir Hussain Committee recognised the importance of providing educational facilities for children below the age of 7 and envisaged the possibility of this being done on a voluntary basis with State help where possible, but did not feel justified in including it as a part of the compulsory scheme in view of financial and other considerations. The report of the first Kher Committee, as adopted by the Central Advisory Board of Education, contemplated the period of compulsory education as extending from the age of 6 to the age of 14 of all children.

The Committee fully recognise the importance in the child's educational life of the years 5—7. During this period the foundation of good habits, mental, moral and physical, can be laid and the effects of childish ailments detected and remedied more easily and more effectively than at any later age. They understand that in many provinces at the present time children are admitted to the infants classes of primary schools at about the age of 5 and that parents are often glad to be able to leave their children during the day where they will not only be looked after but will also receive some useful training. They also appreciate the fact that where parents have acquired the habit of sending their children to school at an early age the difficulties of enforcing attendance when the compulsory stage is reached will be considerably reduced. They are accordingly anxious that facilities for education at the pre-basic stage, so far from being reduced, should be widely extended by increasing the number of infants classes in State school and by encouraging the establishment of efficient pre-basic schools by voluntary agencies. They also suggest that Provincial Governments should set up a few model infants schools where the correlation of Kindergarten instruction with the curriculum of the 'basic' school may be studied and developed. The Committee do not, however, consider that it is practicable at the present stage to lower the minimum age of compulsory attendance below 6 years. To do so would add substantially to the serious financial problems already involved by the
'basic education' scheme and would also assume an adequate supply of properly trained women teachers since children at this early age should be taught by women and not by men. Such a supply is practically non-existent in India at the present time. Steps should be taken to create it, either by adding special courses in infants' teaching to existing training schools or by establishing special institutions for this purpose. The Committee were interested to learn that in certain provinces the possibility of utilising the services of widows in this connection was being explored and believe that this source of recruitment may be further enlarged. In the meantime, however, pending the solution of the two major problems referred to above the Committee are of opinion that 'pre-basic' education, when provided by the State, should be free but not compulsory.

6. 'Basic education and its division into two stages'—A 'basic' school as at present conceived would appear to constitute a unit by itself for children between the ages of 7 and 14. The protagonists of the 'basic education' scheme are rightly insistent that the whole course should be regarded as coherent and consecutive. There is nothing, however, in this concept which conflicts with the view generally accepted by educationists to-day that the mental and physical changes which boys and girls undergo as a rule about the age of 11-12 should be recognised by corresponding adjustments both in the content of the curriculum and in the methods of instruction. Hence arises the need for treating the instruction given before and after this psychological break as forming two well-defined stages, each with its own scope, aims and technique though inspired by the same fundamental aim. It was for this reason that the Central Advisory Board of Education, when formulating a framework of educational organisation at its first meeting in 1935, recommended organisation consisting of a primary stage, a lower secondary stage, and a higher secondary stage. There is, in fact, nothing novel so far as India is concerned about the idea of a break at about the age of 11-12, as every province makes a distinction between primary and secondary or middle education, though the dividing line is at the end of the fourth class in some cases and at the end of the fifth in others. Nor is there anything in the general conception of the 'basic education' scheme which is repugnant to the notion that the onset of adolescence should receive recognition by suitable differentiation in the scope and method of instruction. The principle of 'learning by doing' is equally applicable in the primary and in the post-primary school, only its practical interpretation needs adjustment to the growing powers and changing interests of the children. Moreover,
if opportunities are to be provided for children to transfer from ‘basic’ schools to other forms of post-primary education and if as the Committee contemplate, the ‘basic’ school is to become the normal type of primary school not only in rural but also in urban areas, where the number desiring such transfers is likely to be much greater, a break in the organisation at about the age of 11-12 will become a matter of normal convenience as well as of educational desirability. It is obviously important that a child, if and when the transfers, should have completed a planned stage in his school career. Apart from those likely to be transferred to other forms of post-primary education—and they will be a comparatively small minority—there is an equally strong argument in the case of the remainder for a break between the primary and post-primary stages. The organisation of practical activities and their correlation with other subjects will be more effective and less expensive at the post-primary stage, from the point of view both of grading pupils according to their intelligence and of economising staff, accommodation and equipment, wherever it is possible to provide a central school to serve a number of contributory primary schools. This will be possible as a rule in towns and in those rural areas where villages are fairly large and close together. Finally, boys and girls, who under satisfactory arrangements may be educated together during the primary stage, will have to be taught separately subsequently. Provision for their post-primary education will be much facilitated if they can be collected in sufficient numbers into ‘basic’ post-primary central schools.

After serious consideration of this most important problem the committee reached the conclusion that the divergence between those who regard the ‘basic’ course as one and invisible and those who realise the need for a break between about the age of 11-12 is more apparent than real. For those children—and they will be the great majority—who remain to the end of their school career under the ‘basic’ system, there will be no break in the continuity or aim of the instruction, and such a break as there may be will be only a transference from one ‘basic’ school to another. For those who pass to other forms of post-primary instruction, the effects of the change will be minimised if the curriculum of the institutions in question is closely related, as the Committee recommend, to that of the ‘basic’ school. The Committee accordingly are agreed that ‘basic’ education should comprise a correlated course of eight years from the age of 6 to the age of 14 which for the sake of convenience should be divided into two stages—the first stage
covering a period of 5 years and the second stage 3 years. The first stage should be called "junior" and the second stage "senior". Moreover, the curriculum for all schools beyond the "junior basic" stage, whether "senior basic" or other forms of post-primary education should develop logically from that of the "junior basic" school.

7. Transfer of children from "basic" schools to other schools. The Committee contemplate that the "basic" school will be the normal type of school attended by all children up to the end of the "junior" stage. They realise, however, that after that stage certain children, and particularly those who may be intended for a university career, will transfer to schools of a different type from the "senior basic" school. The Committee feel that arrangements should be made for such transfer in the case of children who have completed the fifth grade in "basic" schools and shown the necessary aptitude for benefiting by a course of higher education. Without desiring to prescribe in any detail the nature of such a course, the Committee lay emphasis on the fact that the curriculum should derive naturally from that of the "junior basic" school, but should vary in its later stages to meet both the differing aptitudes of the pupils and the requirements of the occupations they intend to enter on leaving school. These variant forms of higher education should extend over a minimum period of 5 years, with a further course of more advanced work for those who intend to proceed to a university or enter occupations for which a more prolonged course of study is regarded as essential. It may be convenient for such diversified courses to be given in separate institutions and the possibility of developing Technical High Schools in or in connection with existing Technical Colleges, as forms of higher education alternative to that provided by the normal high school, should receive careful consideration. It is particularly important that subject to the over-riding right of the parent to make the final decision, the school to which a child should go at the conclusion of the "junior basic" stage should be determined primarily by the special aptitudes he had displayed during this stage. In any area where compulsory education up to 14 is in force, a child will remain under obligation to attend school to that age whatever the type of school he may be attending.

While those children whose general intelligence or future careers make it obvious that they cannot complete their education in a "senior basic" school, should be transferred at the end of the fifth class wherever possible, provision must also be made for those children who wish to continue their education after completing the course at the "senior basic" school. Special arrangements must be
made so that such children may receive special tuition in those subjects, e.g., English, which do not form part of the curriculum of the ‘senior basic’ school.

As regards the relation of the post-primary schools other than the ‘senior basic’ with university courses, the committee did not consider it desirable to go into details, as it is for the universities to prescribe their own courses. They feel, however, that it is by no means impossible for the responsible education authorities to relate the instruction provided in such schools to that of the ‘junior basic’ school at one end and of the university at the other.

8. **Parallel course of instruction for girls in the upper classes of ‘basic’ schools.** —The Wardha Scheme, while allowing girls to be withdrawn from ‘basic’ schools, after the completion of their 12th year if their guardians so desire, clearly did not contemplate that the education of all girls would cease at this stage. The Central Advisory Board of Education assume that compulsion up to the age of 14 if and when introduced, will apply to girls as well as girls who continue their education in ‘senior basic’ schools. The Committee accordingly recommend that courses should be framed specially suited to the aptitudes and requirements of older girls and should include such subjects as cookery, laundrywork, needlework, homecrafts, the care of children, first aid etc., the rest of the instruction being correlated with these practical activities in accordance with the general principles of the ‘basic education’ scheme.

9. **Appointment of a standing committee to watch educational developments.** Provinces are now embarking on new educational experiments and the system of basic education, which many of them are introducing, is still in the experimental stage. It will be advantageous if the results of all these experiments are watched and co-ordinated by some central body. The Committee, therefore, recommend that a standing committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education be appointed to survey the general progress of educational developments in all the provinces, with special reference to ‘basic’ education, and to make recommendations to the Board for necessary action from time to time. This Standing Committee should contain a representative of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

10. **Central Bureau of Information.** The syllabus outlined in the Zakir Hussain Report is admittedly tentative and is likely to require adjustment in the light of local conditions. The interpretation of the syllabus in this connexion, the extent to which a particular topic or craft is to be introduced and the nature of the incidental information to be given to children at any given age are problems which require to be carefully handled. The Committee
considered whether any organisation such as a central bureau, through or by which these and similar problems can be elucidated, should be set up, but came to the conclusion that as this was essentially a matter for local decision it was not necessary to create a central bureau at this stage.

11. Ways and means to finance 'basic' education. The framers of the original Wardha Scheme hoped that while such education during the earlier stages might not be productive yet for the whole period of seven years it would be self-supporting. The Wardha Conference which met in 1937 to consider this scheme was not convinced that it could or should be made self-supporting although it considered that it would gradually be able to cover the remuneration of teachers. The Zakir Hussain Committee also doubted whether such education could be made entirely self-supporting and while expressing the opinion that 'basic' education should cover the major portion of its running expenses, stated that all other educational expenditure, e.g., on building, equipment, etc. must be met from other sources, public and private. The Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education appointed in 1939 to consider this scheme also pointed out that 'activity' schools would cost more to run in the beginning than the present type of school. It may now be accepted that no school, 'basic' or otherwise, which devotes itself to its proper function is likely to be an entirely self-supporting unit. This, however, is no reason why the marketable articles it produces should not be sold as advantageously as possible. After this and other possible sources of income have been fully explored, the balance of the cost of providing a compulsory system of education, which must be free, will have to be met from public funds.

The provision of such education as is necessary for its own stability and the well-being of its citizens is a fundamental responsibility of the democratic State—a responsibility which should be divided equitably among those authorities which are concerned with educational administration. In countries like England, about 50 per cent of educational expenditure comes from the Central Government and the rest is found from local sources. In India, the authorities concerned are the Central Government, the Provincial Governments and the local bodies entrusted with educational powers. Each of these authorities must contribute their share of the net cost of education, i.e., the total cost after receipts from fees, voluntary contributions and the sales of articles made in school have been deducted. Apart from this general consideration the Committee are satisfied from figures submitted to them that the cost of introducing a free and compulsory system of 'basic' education between
the ages of 6 and 14 is beyond the existing financial capacity of any provincial Government or local body, a minimum estimate of the net cost being Rs. 2 per head of population per annum. As they are convinced that the future of India must depend very largely on such a system being introduced without delay, the Committee have no alternative but to recommend that the Central Government should contribute not less than half the approved net expenditure of a Provincial Government on this particular service. Such a contribution would naturally be contingent on the Provincial Government (a) raising the remaining sum required from its own resources, (b) undertaking to pay an agreed minimum scale of salaries to its teachers, and (c) satisfying the Central Government that amount is spent on free and compulsory education. The Committee further suggest that in order to lighten the immediate burden of the non-recurring expenditure required to bring the scheme into operation the cost of all sites, buildings, equipment, etc. exceeding Rs. 5,000 for any single item should be met from loan.

12. Disposal of the produce of schools. The ‘basic education’ scheme centres round a productive basic craft. Means will have to be devised for the disposal of the marketable articles thereby produced. An economical method of marketing is essential, and as this is beyond the scope of any individual school, it will only be possible if a central agency in each province undertakes this work. The Committee do not mean by this that there should be only one central depot in each province for collecting and selling articles produced at school but that the Provincial Government in each case should undertake direct responsibility for this organisation.

13. Resolution of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference. The Committee also gave careful consideration to the resolution submitted on behalf of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference and were gratified to find that on all major educational issues there was a substantial measure of agreement between the decisions of the Conference and their own conclusions.

14. Main conclusions. The following is a summary of the Committee’s main conclusions:

(1) That while the provision of ‘pre-basic’ education in Nursery and Infants schools and classes is highly desirable, it is not practicable at this stage, in view of the lack both of money and of trained women teachers, to advocate its introduction on a compulsory basis. Provincial Governments should aim in the first place (a) at providing model Infants and Nursery schools in suitable centres, (b) at increasing the supply of properly trained infant teachers who should
be women, (c) at encouraging the enrolment in 'basic' schools of children below the minimum age for compulsory attendance and (d) at stimulating the provision by voluntary agencies of efficient 'pre-basic' schools.

(2) That 'basic' education should comprise a course of eight years from the age of 6 to 14 years and that this course while preserving its essential unity should consist of two stages—the first stage, the 'junior' stage covering a period of 5 years and the second stage, the 'senior' 3 years.

(3) That the transfer of children from the 'basic' school to other form of post-primary education should be allowed after the 5th grade, i.e., at the conclusion of the 'junior basic' stage.

(4) That the various types of post-primary school (other than the 'senior basic' school) to which suitable children may be transferred at the end of the 'junior basic' stage should provide a variety of courses extending over a period of at least five years after the age of 11. These courses, while preserving an essentially cultural character, should be designed to prepare pupils for entry to Industrial and Commercial occupation as well as to Universities.

(5) That special arrangements should be made in these schools for assimilating pupils who decide to continue their education after completing the full course in the 'basic school', i.e., after reaching the 8th class.

(6) That suitable courses should be framed for girls attending 'senior basic' schools, which should include such subjects as cookery, laundry, work, needle work, homecrafts, the care of children and first aid, the remainder of the instruction to be correlated with this course of domestic science in accordance with the general principles of the 'basic' education scheme.

(7) That a standing committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education be appointed to watch new educational experiments carried on in the provinces as well as the progress of educational developments generally, with special reference to 'basic' education. There should be a representative of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh on this Committee.

(8) That subject to such conditions as are set out in the report the Central Government should contribute not less than half the amount of the approved net recurring expenditure on 'basic' education in each province, the balance to be
found by the Provincial Government and the local bodies entrusted by it with the administration of compulsory education. For capital expenditure on buildings, equipment, etc., a loan system should be adopted.

(9) That a central agency should be established in each province for the disposal of marketable articles produced in schools.

B.G. KHER (Chairman)
Q. ATAULLAH
AMRIT KAUR
HANSA MEHTA
ZAKIR HUSSAIN
AMAR NATH JHA
W.A. JENKINS
W.H.F. ARMSTRONG
JOHN SARGENT.
J.C. POWELL-PRICE
PIR ILLAHI BAKSH
C.J. VARKEY.

NOTE OF DISSENT BY Mr. J.C. POWELL-PRICE

While agreeing with the main conclusions of the Committee, I am unable to subscribe to the theory that Pre-Basic Education should not be the concern of Government. In India there is only one agency which can be entrusted with elementary education and that is Government. The Infants class is an integral part of primary education and should in no case be separated. The nursery school is a totally different proposition and it only leads to confusion to class Infant and Nursery classes together. I cannot, therefore, agree with conclusion No. 1.

* * *

Extracts from the Introduction to John Sargent Scheme, January, 1944.*

1. The White Paper containing proposals for the post-war expansion of the British system of Education which was laid before Parliament and long ago, begins with these words:

"Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends".

If the people of Great Britain, which even before the war were spending from public funds the equivalent of Rs. 33.2.0 per head of

*It is also called Post-War Educational Development in India: Report by the Central Advisory Board of Education; January, 1944. Delhi, The Manager of Publications, 1944, ii. 115 pp.*
the population on education, need such an admonition it would appear to be even more necessary in relation to India, where the comparable expenditure in 1938-39 was Rs. 0.8.9. per head.

In the expectation that sooner or later a serious attempt would have to be made to tackle the problem of providing India with a system of education approximating to those available in other countries, the Central Advisory Board of Education have devoted their attention in recent years to surveying the main fields of educational activity with a view to ascertaining what would be the minimum provision required. Since their reconstitution in 1935 they have set up Committees to study and report upon the following, among other, subjects:—

1. Basic Education (2 reports).
2. Adult Education.
3. The Physical Welfare of School-Children.
4. School Building.
5. Social Service.
6. The Recruitment, Training and conditions of Service of Teachers in Primary, Middle and High Schools.
7. The Recruitment of Education Officers.
8. Technical (including Commercial and Art) Education.

At their last two meetings they have reviewed the recommendations of these Committees with special references to post-war needs and to the possibility of post-war developments, and they are satisfied that, subject to such modifications as will be indicated in this report, they provide the foundations upon which an efficient system of public instruction, suited to the needs and circumstances of this country, can effectively be erected. The expenditure involved is admittedly heavy but the experience of war suggests that when a paramount necessity can be established, the money required to meet it can and will be found. It is for India to decide whether the time has arrived when a national system of education is a paramount necessity.

Since the primary object of this report is to place a practicable plan of post-war development before the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council, which will hardly have the time or the desire to concern itself with matters of educational method or technique, only such reference will be made to the contents of these reports as may be necessary to elucidate the general principles upon which the Board's present recommendations are based. For the sake, however, of those who will not be satisfied merely to inspect the general plan of the proposed structure but will also want to know in detail how it might be built and equipped throughout,
it has been decided to reprint in a slightly abridged form the reports of the Committees referred to above. All that need be said here, therefore, is that while the Board have aimed at a standard comparable with those already attained in Great Britain and other western ideas or to copy western methods without being fully satisfied that they are those best suited to India. They also realise that conditions in different parts of India vary greatly and that consequently their aim should be to indicate the main lines which development should follow rather than to prescribe any uniform or detailed plan. It will be for the responsible educational authorities to devise for themselves within the general lines laid down the type of education most appropriate to their particular areas, and with this object in view to give the fullest encouragement to every form of potentially useful experiment. While the aim throughout has been to devise a system which is essentially Indian, the Board at the same time believe that there are certain fundamental principles which must determine the training of the future citizen, wherever in the world he or she may happen to dwell, and they cannot conceive that any form of social and political community will ever prosper unless the importance of fostering in the rising generation such attributes as physical fitness, intelligence and integrity of character receives the fullest recognition. In particular they are anxious not to expose themselves to the criticism that they have ignored the moral or spiritual side of education; they wish to state with all the emphasis in their power that at all stages of education the training of the intellect and the training of character must proceed side by side.

2. The Board anticipate that many aspects of the scheme set out in the following pages will excite public criticism. This they will certainly welcome, if its aim is constructive and it is with no desire to forestall it that they express the opinion that it will probably crystallise into one of two forms, either that the scheme costs too much or that it takes too long. In both cases it should be pointed out that the determining factor is the teacher, and particular attention is consequently invited to the standards adopted by the Board for the recruitment and training of teachers on the one hand and for their remuneration on the other. If the teachers of different grades are to be paid the salaries which the Board regard as the minimum likely to attract men and women of the right type and with adequate qualifications, the total cost of a national system cannot be materially reduced. On the other hand, if entrants to the profession are to possess the minimum qualifications
and undergo the minimum training which the Board regard as essential, the additional recruits will only be forthcoming as new schools and colleges are brought into existence, since the present system is entirely incapable of supplying the number required. Progress cannot outstrip the supply of teachers, and the assumption in this report that about 35 per cent of the output of the new High Schools will be attracted into the teaching profession may well turn out to be over-optimistic.

3. It may also be advisable to clear the ground for an impartial consideration of the proposals in this report by attempting to anticipate other possible misconceptions. The first is that greater liberality on the part of Governments rather than any radical change in the method of approach is all that is needed. It is certainly not the Board’s desire either to exaggerate existing defects or to overlook what has been achieved in the face of grave difficulties at certain times and places but in their considered opinion it is inconceivable that within a reasonable period a really national system could be developed or evolved from what now exists or by the methods hitherto followed. Apart from the extremely slow progress which had been made before the war, the present system does not provide the foundations on which an effective structure could be erected; in fact much of the present rambling edifice will have to be scrapped in order that something better may be substituted. A second possible misconception is that some half-way house of a less expensive type can be found between what now is and what this report advocates. The answer to this is that the minimum provision which could be accepted as constituting a national system postulates that all children must receive enough education to prepare them to earn a living as well as to fulfil themselves as individuals and discharge their duties as citizens. It also requires that those with the requisite capacity should be further trained to fill positions of responsibility in all walks of life. It has been suggested by some of those who shrink from the financial implications of going the whole way, that education might be limited to all the children in some places or some of the children everywhere or some of the children in some places only. Even if such a differentiation could be regarded as compatible with the claims of special justice it is difficult to see how the selection involved could be fairly made. If there is to be anything like equality of opportunity, it is impossible to justify providing facilities for some of the nation’s children and not for others. In the first place, therefore, a national system can hardly be other than universal. Secondly, it must also be compulsory, if the grave
wastage which exists today under voluntary system is not to be perpetuated and even aggravated. And thirdly, if education is to be universal and compulsory, equity requires that it should be free and commonsense demands that it should last long enough to secure its fundamental objective.

A work of warning based on experience elsewhere is necessary against any proposal on economic grounds to apply compulsion only up to the end of the Junior Basic (Primary) stage in the first instance and then to extend it gradually upwards as circumstances suggest or finances permit. It is true that this method has been followed in England and other countries but those who have had experience of it know how much inefficiency and waste it has entailed. It is significant that for this very reason Education Authorities in England are still wrestling over seventy years after the passing of the Education Act of 1870 with the task of reorganising the lower storeys of the educational structure. Furthermore, basic education from 6-14 is an organic whole and will lose much of its value, if not so treated; in any case an education, which lasts only five years and ends about the age of eleven, cannot be regarded as an adequate preparation either for life or livelihood. If, as would appear to be the case, a universal compulsory system of basic education can only be introduced by stages, the progression should clearly be from area to area and not from age to age.

4. Even though all the nation's children are brought to school, success will not be achieved unless the teaching is effective and efficient teachers will have to be properly paid. Attention is called to the fact that the recommendations as to teachers' salaries, which will be found set out in full in the appropriate chapters, were unanimously approved at a meeting at which every Provincial Government was represented. It should also be noted that they were fixed with reference to pre-war standards of living. Once teachers' salaries are settled, it is not difficult to fix a datum line of expenditure below which it can be shown that the requirements of national system will never be satisfied. The object of this report is to fix that datum line, subject of course to the proviso that it will require modification in the light of the conditions obtaining in India in the years to come.

5. A reference may usefully be made here to the report on School Buildings, because very little will be found in this report about the vast programme of school construction which will be necessary, if a national system is to be brought into being within a period of 30 to 40 years. It is true that provision has been made in
all the estimates of recurring expenditure for interests and sinking fund charges on the assumption that non-recurring expenditure on school building will as a rule be met out of loans in future. Without a proper loan system any large building programme becomes almost impracticable. It is also worth recalling that the minimum standards to be observed in respect of the provision of sites, buildings, equipment etc. for schools of all types have been prescribed in detail in the report referred to and that due regard has been had to the possibility of taking advantage of climatic conditions, cheap methods of construction and other factors which may aid in reducing the cost. In connection with the provision of equipment, special emphasis may be laid on the importance of adequate libraries and of making the fullest possible use of what are commonly described as mechanical aids to learning, e.g., the radio, the gramophone, the epidiascope, the magic lantern, etc.

6. Some apology or explanation may be required for the absence of much specific reference in this report to the question of education for girls and women. This is certainly not due to any failure to recognise the magnitude of this issue; in fact quite the opposite. The past tendency to treat girls' and women's education as a problem on its own—it still enjoys a chapter to itself in many Provincial education reports—has distracted attention from the fact that in any modern community it is even more important for the mothers to be educated than the fathers and that consequently all educational facilities mutatis mutandis and the differences are by no means so fundamental as the old-fashioned imagine—should be equally available for both sexes. It is, therefore, assumed in the following pages that whatever is needed for boys and men, not less will be required for girls and women. This may even apply to Technical Education not many years hence.

7. For somewhat similar reasons little will be found here about those communal or caste divisions, which figure so prominently in the political and social life of India today. The extent to which they complicate and may continue to complicate even the solution of purely educational problems is fully realised but it is to be hoped that a national system of education, which deserves the name, will aim at satisfying impartially the needs of everybody. It is certainly intended that the educational provision contemplated in this report will cater equally for all, irrespective of the community or caste to which they may belong.

The question of religious education, however, falls into a different category. The importance which the board attach at all
stages of education to the training agreement that religion in the
widest sense should inspire all education and that a curriculum
devoid of an ethical basis will prove barren in the end. The Board
certainly envisage that private schools conducted by denominational
and other bodies will have their appropriate place in a national
system, provided that so far as secular instruction is concerned,
they comply with the conditions and reach the standards prescribed
in the case of State schools. It will be for the responsible authori-
ties to consider the more difficult question of the facilities which
could or should be provided for those children in State Schools
whose parents desire them to receive dogmatic religious education.
At the same time the Board feel that it may be useful to lay down
certain general principles for guidance as to the best way in which
the whole question of religious education should be approached
and they have accordingly appointed a special Committee for this
purpose.

8. There is another matter which bulks very large in the
minds of many educationists but will be found to have received very
little attention in this report. This is the subject of Examinations.
There are two reasons for this omission. In the first place, the
subject has been under consideration by a Committee of the Board,
which has only just completed its investigation, and there has been
no time for its recommendations to receive the attention they
deserve from the authorities concerned. In the second place, while
a national system of education will no doubt still have to have the
examinations of some kind, it seems highly desirable to get the
system started and then devise examinations to suit it. Otherwise
the urge to draw up an examination syllabus first and fit the new
system to it will be found irresistible by many.

9. The Board wish again to make it clear that their object in
this report is to indicate in broad outline the minimum edu-
cational requirements of this country and to show how long it
would take to satisfy them and roughly what it would cost. It is
clearly beyond their power at this stage to prescribe the precise
lines which future developments should follow, though they have
endeavoured to lay down principles for general guidance. As has
already been pointed out, it will be for the various authorities
entrusted with the administration of education at its different stages
to work out detailed schemes suited to the particular needs of the
areas or institutions for which they are responsible.

The same caution must apply to the estimates of cost which
will be found in the following pages. These are based partly on
actual figures which the Board believe to be reliable and partly on
certain assumptions which they regard as justifiable. They realise, however, that certain factors are likely to arise during the considerable period which is bound to elapse before the proposed scheme can be brought into full operation, which will necessarily affect, and may affect greatly, the calculations set out in this report. In the first place, the estimates are based on pre-war standards. Any variations which may take place during the next generation in the general cost of living, and particularly in rates of remuneration or prices or materials, will necessarily have a corresponding effect on educational expenditure. Then again the present estimates are based on the latest available figures in regard to population. It is impossible to forecast at what rate the school population will increase in future. It is true that some provision has been made to meet this, inasmuch as the existing educational expenditure has been left out of account in estimating the cost of the national system proposed and has been deliberately kept as a reserve towards meeting the cost of further expansion due to increase in population. It may well prove inadequate for this purpose. Furthermore, if during the next thirty or forty years standards of living generally improve to the extent hoped, public opinion may demand and the State's resources may justify the provision of educational facilities on a more liberal scale than that outlined here. Doubts have already been expressed as to whether the proposed teacher's salaries, which largely determine the total cost, will in fact be adequate to attract recruits of the calibre and in the quantities required. These and other factors will modify the present estimates and they are likely to modify them in an upward direction. The Boards' object throughout has not been to plan an ideal system of public instruction but rather to lay down the very minimum necessary to place India on an approximate level with other civilised communities. Even so the financial implications are formidable and whatever variations possible economics in details and a more accurate working out of local programmes may involve, it is unlikely that the picture as a whole will be materially changed. The need for a drastic re-consideration of the present method of paying for education and for a redistribution of the burden between the Central and Provincial Governments will surely remain.

Although the Board recognise that it may be outside their province to explore the financial issues they have raised and that in any case the claims of education cannot be considered independently of those of other essential social services which are beyond their purview, they have not been able to avoid giving some consideration to the question of ways and means. They feel, however, that it
would be well to defer any discussion of this issue until the concluding chapter of this report, by which time the nature of and the reasons for the developments they are advocating will, it is hoped, be more fully appreciated.

10. Unless they have signally failed to diagnose India's educational needs, the Board feel that given the will and the money, the stage is now set for a start to be made and no one need complain that he is held up by uncertainty as to what should be done or how it should be done. They recognise that much devoted service has been rendered to the cause of education both by bodies and by individuals, but in a country where apathy and inertia have reigned so long in the educational domain and where poverty has been the accepted excuse for leaving undone what ought to be done, a prodigious effort will be needed on the part of those responsible, both to set things going and to face the financial implications which such action will involve. Other countries, however, are already on the march towards the goal of social security and if India continues to evade her responsibilities in this respect, she must be content to relegate herself to a position of permanent inferiority in the society of civilised nations.

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Educational Reforms from 1947 Onwards

Realizing the importance of Education for Independent India, the Central Government appointed the following important bodies to examine the educational problems and to suggest ways and means to better the educational system suiting the new conditions of our country:

1. Tara Chand Committee (1948);
2. University Education Commission (1948-49);
3. Secondary Education Commission (1952-53);
4. All-India Council for Secondary Education (1955);

Below are given extracts from a few important documents:

1. Tara Chand Committee

Among the important recommendations the Tara Chand Committee made the most essential are:
(a) that secondary schools should be of the multipurpose type;
(b) it also recommended appointment of a Commission for inquiring into the problems of secondary education.

* * *
2. University Education Commission (1948-49)

(a) Appointment and Procedure of the Commission.


1. Appointment of the Commission. We the members of the Commission appointed by the Government of India “to report on Indian University Education and suggest improvements and extensions that may be desirable to suit present and future requirements of the country” have the honour to submit our Report. We are grateful for the opportunity which we were given to survey the work of the universities, to assess their contribution to the educational progress of the nation, to appraise the value of their objectives and achievements and to examine their structure and functions in view of the great changes that have occurred in the political, economic and social life of the country in recent years.


The following were appointed members of the Commission:

1. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, M.A., D. Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at the University of Oxford (Chairman).
2. Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Secretary and Educational Adviser to the Government of India.
3. Dr. (Now Sir) James F. Duff, M.A. (Cantab), M.Ed. (Manchester), LL.D. (Aberdeen), Vice-Chancellor, University of Durham.
4. Dr. Zakir Hussain, M.A., Ph.D., D. Litt., Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi—former Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh and now Vice-President of India.
5. Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, D.Sc., D. Eng., LL.D., Former President, Antioch College, First Chairman, Tennessee Valley Authority, President, Community Service Inc.
7. Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., Palit Professor of Physics; Dean, Faculty of Science; and President, Post-Graduate Council of Science, University of Calcutta.
8. Dr. Karm Narayan Bahl, D.Sc. (Panj.); D. Phil. and D.Sc. (Oxon), Professor of Zoology, University of Lucknow.

10. Shri Nirmal Kumar Sidhanta, M.A. (Cant.), Professor of English and Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Lucknow (Secretary).

3. Terms of Reference. The terms of reference of the Commission were to consider and make recommendations in regard to:

(i) The aims and objects of University education and research in India.

(ii) The changes considered necessary and desirable in the constitution, control, functions and jurisdiction of Universities in India and their relations with Governments, Central and Provincial.

(iii) The Finance of Universities.

(iv) The maintenance of the highest standards of teaching and examination in the Universities and colleges under their control.

(v) The courses of study in the Universities with special reference to the maintenance of a sound balance between the Humanities and the Sciences and between pure science and technological training and the duration of such courses.

(vi) The standards of admission to University courses of study with reference to the desirability of an independent University entrance examination and the avoidance of unfair discriminations which militate against Fundamental Right 23 (2).

(vii) The medium of instruction in the Universities.

(viii) The provision for advanced study in Indian culture, history, literature, languages, philosophy and fine arts.

(ix) The need for more Universities on a regional or other basis.

(x) The organisation of advanced research in all branches of knowledge in the Universities and Institutes of higher research in a well-co-ordinated fashion avoiding waste of effort and resources.

(xi) Religious instruction in the Universities.

(xii) The special problems of the Banaras Hindu University, the Aligarh Muslim University, the Delhi University and other institutions of an all-India character.
(xiii) The qualifications, conditions of service, salaries, privileges and functions of teachers and the encouragement of original research by teachers.

(xiv) The discipline of students, hostels and the organisation of tutorial work and any other matter which is germane and essential to a complete and comprehensive enquiry into all aspects of University education and advanced research in India.

* * *

(b) General Observations.

We were everywhere struck by a deep general awareness of the importance of higher education for national welfare and an uneasy sense of the inadequacy of the present pattern. While it is generally recognized that the Universities should provide the best teaching over the entire field of knowledge of which its own resources may permit, that they should offer this teaching to the widest range of students irrespective of class, sex, caste or religion, that they should extend by original enquiry the frontiers of learning and, above all, mould and shape students not merely by the training of the intellect but by the disciplining of the spirit, University men and women were aware of serious shortcomings in the functioning of the Universities in regard to these matters. The wonder is not that the Universities have fallen short in many respects, but that they have achieved some measure of success in several directions. But this is no cause for complacency. The marked deterioration of standard in teaching and examinations and increasing dissatisfaction with the conduct of University administration and elections to University authorities are matters of great concern. The Universities as the makers of the future cannot persist in the old patterns, however valid they may have been in their own day. With the increasing complexity of society and its shifting pattern, Universities have to change their objectives and methods, if they are to function effectively in our national life. A policy of drift in the vague hope that, if the Universities are granted full autonomy and are permitted to pursue their own ends with intelligence and imagination, higher education will take care of itself, will be dangerous. Automatic and spontaneous adjustment will not take us to the future we want. We must develop a comprehensive positive policy within the limits of which there should be ample scope for pioneering and experimentation.

It is to the formulation of such a policy that we addressed ourselves after we reached Simla in the third week of April. We had
to consider the evidence that we obtained in reply to the question-
aire, discuss questions of principle involved in university re-
organisation, and set forth the best methods for implementing
necessary changes in the present circumstances. The results of our
survey are embodied in the Report.

The Commission is indebted to the members of its staff
for the loyal and intelligent way in which they have served the
Commission.

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c) Conclusion*

1. The Primacy of Education in India. 2. Our Problems.
3. Expenditure and Investment. 4. Unanimity. 5. Statistical
Data. 6. Our Hope.

1. The Primacy of Education in India. Education is no
exotic in India. "There is no country", says Professor F.W. Thomas,
"Where the love of learning has so early an origin or has exercised
so lasting and powerful an influence." Years ago, Sir Alexander
Johnston wrote a letter to Mr. Charles Grant, President of the Board
of Control, in the following terms:—"Education has always, from
the earliest period of their history, been an object of public care
and of public interest to the Hindu Governments on the peninsula
of India. Every well-regulated village under those governments
had a public school and a public school-master. The system of
instruction in them was that which, in consequence of its efficiency,
simplicity and cheapness, was a few years ago introduced from
Madras into England and from England into the rest of Europe.
Every Hindu parent looked upon the education of his child as a
solemn duty which he owed to his God and to his country, and
placed him under the school-master of his village as soon as he had
attained his fifth year. The ceremony of introducing him for the
first time to the school-master and his scholars was publicly recorded
and was attended with all the solemnity of a religious observance;
a prayer being publicly offered upon the occasion to the figure of
Ganesa, the Hindu God of wisdom, which was at the head of every
Hindu school, imploring him to aid the children in their endeavours
to learn and become wise."** The country has had an uninter-
rupted succession of teachers and scholars from the early Vedic
age.

*The Report of the University Education Commission (December, 1948—
August 1949), Volume I, pp. 591-593.

**Oriental Annual (1836), pp. 21-32
2. Our Problems. We are to-day faced with great problems, national and social, the acquisition of economic independence, the increase of general prosperity, the attainment of an effective democracy over-riding the distinctions of caste and creed, rich and poor, and a rise in the level of culture. For the quick and effective realisation of these aims, education is a powerful weapon if it is organised efficiently and in the public interest. As we claim to be a civilised people, we must regard the higher education of the rising generation as one of our principal concerns.

3. Expenditure and Investment. We have set forth the objectives of University education; we have stressed the need to broaden and equalise opportunity for higher education, to assist able but financially handicapped students. We have suggested the essential organisational changes. We have made proposals for the improvement of the quality and status of teachers. Many of these proposals will mean increased expenditure but this increase, we are convinced, is an investment for the democratic future of a free people. There is no freedom without knowledge. "We shall know the truth and the truth will make you free." With all the earnestness at our command we solicit the Government of India which charged us with this important task, the Provincial Governments, who have the responsibility for maintaining most of our Universities, and the people of India to give their very earnest and sympathetic consideration to the financial needs of the Universities, and assure them the funds without which no improvement is possible.

4. Unanimity. In a report covering the wide field of higher education, made by any ten men of widely varied background and experience, it is inevitable that variations of opinion, outlook and emphasis should exist. Our report expresses a sincere effort to get at the essence of the issues in a spirit of mutual respect and tolerance, and not an attitude of indifference on the part of individual members to their own personal views and convictions. The report is not a compromise between various opinions. We jointly and unanimously adopted the conclusions reached.

We must apologise for the fact that certain ideas which seemed to us to be of special importance are dealt with repeatedly in this report.

5. Statistical Data. When drafting a report of this kind, certain statistical data must necessarily be taken into account. The figures which we give are based on official data, the accuracy of which we were not in a position to verify. We did not consider it part of our task to undertake the numerous investigations required for the compilation of new statistics.
6. **Our Hope.** The shortness of the time at our disposal prevented us from extending our investigations as widely as we should have desired. We recognise that the observations made by us in person are an insufficient basis for large generalisations. We thought it wiser to concentrate our attention on the major defects of our University system as revealed by our witnesses and on measures which would tend to remove them.

We have been deeply impressed by the remarkable degree of agreement among our educationists and public men both as to the urgency of educational reform and as to the general lines upon which such reform should proceed. There are some who, often amid difficulties and discouragements, are labouring to promote reform. They need not feel that they are isolated individuals. They represent a large and growing body of opinion, which needs only to act together in order to be irresistible. Seldom have the authors of a report owed so much to so many. It is with a sense of sincere gratitude for the help that has been so readily given to us and of earnest hope that the consideration of this report to which we now respectfully invite the attention of the Governments of India and the Provinces as well as the authorities of the Universities, may lead to good and lasting results, that we conclude this report.

Sd. S. Radhakrishnan (*Chairman*).
Sd. B.D. Mudaliar.
Sd. Arthur E. Morgan.
Sd. J.F. Duff.
Sd. J.J. Tigert.
Sd. K.N. Bahl.
Sd. M.N. Saha.
Sd. Tara Chand.
Sd. Zakir Hussain.
Sd. N.K. Sidhanta (*Member Secretary*).


The following are the main recommendations of the Commission:

1. **New Organisational Pattern.** (i) Secondary education should commence after four or five years' period of primary or junior basic education and should include (a) the middle or senior basic or junior secondary stage of 3 years, and (b) the higher secondary stage of 4 years. (ii) The present intermediate stage should be replaced by the higher secondary stage which should be of four years' duration, one year of the present intermediate being
included in it. (iii) As a consequence of the preceding recommendations, the first degree course in the University should be of three years’ duration. (iv) For those who pass out of the High School there should be provision of a pre-University course of one year. (v) Admission to professional colleges should be open to those who have completed the higher secondary course, or have taken the pre-University course. (vi) Multi-purpose schools should be established wherever possible to provide varied courses of interest to students with diverse aims, aptitudes and abilities.

2. Technical Education. Technical schools should be started in large numbers either separately or as part of multi-purpose schools. Such schools should be located in close proximity to appropriate industries and they should function in close co-operation with the industry concerned.

3. Study of Language. (i) The mother-tongue or the regional language should generally be the medium of instruction throughout the secondary school stage. (ii) During the middle school stage, every child should be taught at least two languages. English and Hindi should be introduced at the end of the junior basic stage, subject to the principle that no two languages be introduced in the same year. (iii) At the high and higher secondary stage at least two languages should be studied, one of them being the mother-tongue or the regional language.

4. Curriculum. (i) At the middle school stage, the curriculum should include: (a) languages, (b) social studies, (c) general science, (d) mathematics, (e) art and music, (f) craft and (g) physical education. (ii) In the second year of high school or higher secondary stage, diversified course of instruction should be provided. They should include following seven groups: (a) humanities, (b) sciences, (c) technical subjects, (d) commercial subjects. (e) agricultural subjects, (f) fine arts and (g) home science. (iii) A certain number of core subjects should be common to all students whatever diversified courses of study they may take. These should consist of: (a) languages, (b) general science, (c) social studies and (d) a craft.

5. Miscellaneous. (i) Educational guidance should receive much greater attention on the part of educational authorities; the services of trained Guidance Officers and Career Masters should be available gradually and in increasing measure to all educational institutions. (ii) The number of external examinations and subjectivity in the easy-type tests should be minimised by introducing objective tests and also by changing the type of questions.
4. The All-India Council for Secondary Education*  
(A I C S E)

1. The All-India Council for Secondary Education shall be an advisory body consisting of the following members:

(1) Joint Secretary/Joint Educational Adviser in charge of Secondary Education Division—Ex-officio Chairman;

(2) Director, Directorate of Extension Programmes for Secondary Education—(Ex-officio Member);

(3) Deputy Financial Adviser, Ministry of Education—(Ex-officio Member);

(4) One member to be nominated by each of the following bodies:

(i) All-India Council for Technical Education,

(ii) University Grants Commission,

(iii) All-India Council for Elementary Education,

(iv) All-India Federation of Educational Associations, and

(v) Association of Principals of Training Colleges;

(5) A nominee from each of the fourteen State Governments.

(6) Five experts in the field of secondary education, to be nominated by the Government of India; and

(7) The Head of the Secondary Education Division—(Ex-officio Member Secretary).

2. The following functions will be discharged by the reconstituted All-India Council for Secondary Education:

(1) The Council will review the progress of secondary education throughout the country and serve as an expert body to advise the State and Central Governments about improvement and expansion of secondary education in all its phases;

(2) It will examine and appraise proposals in this behalf referred to it by the Government of India and the State Governments and make suitable recommendations;

(3) It will initiate proposals for the improvement of secondary education in the light of the experiences gained and within the ambit of the decisions taken by the Government of India from time to time; and

* AICSE was established by the Government of India at the Centre on March 22, 1955. The extracts from the resolution No. F. 13-36/58-SE, 3, March 28, 1959, of the Government of India give a clear idea of the constitution and functions of the constituted Council. The establishment of the AICSE may be considered a great landmark in the field of Education during the Post-Independence period.
(4) The Council may examine and recommend proposals for research in problems relating to secondary education in all its aspects.

3. To carry out any or all the functions enumerated above, the Council may appoint Ad hoc committees and/or standing committees.

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**BETTER EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS**

The committee on primary education will be headed by Mr. U. N. Dhebar, that on secondary education by Mr. G. C. Chatterjee and the one on University education by Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta will head the committee on social education.

Other measures announced by Dr. Shrimali included a promise of Central financial assistance to every State which increases the salaries of teachers, and a strict injunction that the funds given to State Governments for education of girls must not be diverted to any other purpose.

More important than a substantial increase in the number of scholarships was the Education Minister's announcement of a new scheme under which bright but poor students will be given loans on easy terms which will be repayable after the students get employment.

*If such students undertake to serve the teaching profession for a period of 10 years, they will have no repayment obligation, because every year's service as a teacher will earn them a 10% remission of the loan.*

Children of school and college teachers will be given generous scholarships, and all State Governments will be asked to introduce the "triple benefit" of provident fund, pension and insurance for the teachers.

Talented university professors will be paid an honorarium even after retirement so that their services can be utilized for research.

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_Dr. K.L. Shrimati, Union Minister for Education on 28th May, 1962 announced the appointment of four committees as a measure towards the improvement of educational standards in the country. It is generally believed that out of the various announcements which the Education Minister made during the past few years, it was the most important one._
Basic—Primary and Secondary—Education

"Far-reaching changes in the existing educational system are absolutely essential for achieving the national aims and social objectives of Free India and in particular to train the right type of personnel for the speedy execution of the developmental plans. The Congress welcomes the scheme of the Ministry of Education for reorganisation of secondary education, particularly the decision to establish multi-purpose schools throughout the country to give adequate and basic training to students for specific vocations in life as well as for proceeding to higher educational courses.

2. The Planning Commission and the Government of India have already accepted the policy of introducing basic education as the future pattern of primary as well as secondary education in India. Since basic education uses the medium of productive activity and co-relates academic subjects to different crafts and to the social environment, it is eminently suitable for the needs and conditions of India. The Congress calls upon all the State Governments to further, as early as possible, this policy so as to implement it fully in both rural and urban areas in a statematic and well-planned manner within a period of 10 years". 60 : 1955 : Avadi : XIV.

See also

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

* *

BASIC EDUCATION*

The Government of India are keenly interested in promoting the pattern of Basic education in the country and have adopted a number of measures for this purpose. These include programmes of expansion as well as steps to improve the quality of work in Basic Schools and their methods and techniques. If this objective is to be achieved, it is essential that all those who work in the field should have a clear concept of what Basic education means and should be able to distinguish between its essential features and what are mainly matters of detail to be adjusted in the light of local needs and developing experience.

This Statement about the Concept of Basic Education, which has been prepared by the Basic Education Standing Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education, is meant to highlight its significant features and to remove possible misunderstandings. I hope our educationists will ponder over it and try to work out the

*The Concept of Basic Education. New Delhi, Ministry of Education, 1956, p. 7,
Scheme in the spirit that it envisages, so that Basic education may play its proper role in inculcating the right attitudes, and ideals of character and efficiency in our children. —A.K. Azad.

* * *

The Concept of Basic Education*

The term ‘Basic Education’ has been interpreted—and sometimes misinterpreted—in a variety of ways. This is, to some extent, understandable because it is a comparatively recent development and its concept and technique are still in the making. It seems necessary, therefore, to state clearly what is meant by Basic Education.

Broadly speaking, it may be stated that the concept of Basic Education is the same as defined in the Report of the Basic National Education Committee (The Zakir Hussain Committee) and elucidated by the Central Advisory Board of Education. It is clear that the basic principles and techniques, as made out in that Report, should guide and shape educational reconstruction in India. So far as the provision of eight years of compulsory universal schooling and the use of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction are concerned, there is now no difference of opinion about them. They have come to be universally accepted and need no further elucidation, except in so far as it may be necessary to stress the intrinsic wholeness of the entire period of Basic education, covering the Junior as well as Senior Basic grades. The other implications and features of Basic education that need to be clarified and stressed are the following:—

1. Basic education, as conceived and explained by Mahatma Gandhi, is essentially an education for life and, what is more, an education through life. It aims at creating eventually a social order free from exploitation and violence. That is why productive, creative and socially useful work in which all boys and girls may participate, irrespective of any distinction of caste or creed or class, is placed at the very centre of Basic education.

2. The effective teaching of a basic craft, thus, becomes an essential part of education at this stage, as productive work, done under proper conditions, not only makes the acquisition of much related knowledge more concrete and realistic but also adds a powerful contribution to the development of personality and character and instils respect and love for all socially useful work. It is also to be clearly understood that the sale of products of craftwork may be

*The Concept of Basic Education. New Delhi, Ministry of Education, 1956, p. 7.*
expected to contribute towards part of the expenditure on running
the school or that the products will be used by the school children
for getting a mid-day meal or a school uniform or help to provide
some of the school furniture and equipment.

3. As there has been controversy and difference of opinion
regarding the position of craft work in Basic schools, it is necessary
to state clearly that the fundamental objective of Basic education
is nothing less than the development of the child’s total personality
which will include productive efficiency as well. In order to ensure
that the teaching of the basic craft is efficient and its educative
possibilities are fully realised, we must insist that the articles
made should be of good quality, as good as children at that stage
of their development can make them, socially useful and, if necessary,
saleable. The acquisition of skills and the love for good crafts-
manship have deeper educative significance than merely playing
with the tools and raw materials which is usually encouraged in all
good activity of schools.

This productive aspect should in no case be relegated to
the background as has been usually the case so far, because
directly as well as indirectly, efficiency in the craft practised
undoubtedly contributes to the all-round development of the child;
but on the other hand, never should the productive aspect be
allowed to take precedence over the educational aspect. It sets up
before children high standards of achievement and gives them the
right kind of training in useful habits and attitudes like purposeful
application, concentration, persistence and thoughtful planning.
While it may not be possible to lay down specific targets for produc-
tivity at this stage, it should be the teacher’s endeavour to explore
its economic possibilities fully with the emphatic stipulation that
this does not in any way conflict with the educational aims and
objectives already defined. However, it has to be stated that, in
the upper classes of Junior Basic Schools and in the Senior Basic
Schools, it should not be difficult for States to lay down certain
minimum targets of production in the light of carefully assessed
experiences.

4. In the choice of basic crafts which are to be integrated
into school work, we should adopt a liberal approach and make use
of such crafts as have significance from the point of view of intel-
lectual content, provide scope for progressive development of know-
lledge and practical efficiency. The basic craft must be such as will
fit into the natural and social environment of the school and hold
within it the maximum of educational possibilities. The idea that has
been wrongly created in the minds of some people that the mere
introduction of a craft in a school, e.g., spinning, can make it a Basic school does grave injustice to the concept of Basic education.

5. In Basic education as, indeed, in any good scheme of education, knowledge must be related to activity, practical experience and observation. To ensure this, Basic education rightly postulates that the study of the curricular content should be intelligently related to three main centres of correlation, viz., craft work, the natural environment and the social environment. The well-trained and understanding teacher should be able to integrate most of the knowledge that he wishes to impart to one or the other of these centres of correlation, which form the important and natural foci of interest for the growing child. If, therefore, in the Junior Basic stage he is not able to do so, it either means that he lacks the necessary ability or that the curriculum has been burdened with items of knowledge which are not really important and significant at that particular stage. It should also be realised, however, that there may be certain items in the syllabus which cannot be easily correlated directly with any of the three above centres. In such cases, which should occur only infrequently, there should be no objection to these being taught according to the methods of teaching adopted in any good school. This means that even in the case of such lessons, the principle of interest and motivation and the value of expression-work will be utilised. In any case, forced and mechanical associations which pass for correlation in many schools should be carefully avoided.

6. The emphasis on productive work and crafts in Basic schools should not be taken to mean that the study of books can be ignored. The Basic scheme does postulate that the book is not the only or the main avenue to knowledge and culture and that, at this age, properly organised productive work can in many ways contribute more richly both to the acquisition of knowledge and the development of personality. But the value of the book, both as a source of additional systematised knowledge and of pleasure cannot be denied and a good library is as essential in a Basic School as is in any other type of good school.

7. The basic scheme envisages a close integration between the schools and the community so as to make education as well as the children more social-minded and cooperative. It endeavours to achieve this, firstly by organising the school itself as a living and functioning community—with its social and cultural programmes and other activities—secondly, by encouraging students to participate in the life around the school and in organising various types of social services to the local community. Student self-government is another
important feature in Basic Education which should be envisaged as a continuous programme of training in responsibility and in the democratic way of living. In this way, the Basic school not only helps in cultivating qualities of self-reliance, cooperation and respect for dignity of labour, but also becomes a vital factor in the creation of a dynamic social order.

8. Basic education should no longer be regarded as meant exclusively for the rural areas. It should be introduced in urban areas as well, both because of its intrinsic suitability and also to remove the impression that it is some inferior kind of education designed only for the village children. For this purpose, necessary modifications may have to be made in the choice of basic crafts for urban schools and even in the syllabus but the general ideals and methods of Basic education should remain the same.

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Extracts from the Resolution Passed by the Conference of State Education Ministers and Vice-Chancellors, 12th November, 1963.

The three-day Conference of State Education Ministers and Vice-Chancellors which ended in New Delhi on 12th November, 1963, reached some very vital conclusions regarding the improvement of Educational system in India.

It was agreed "(a) that a 12-year course of secondary education is the goal towards which the country must work, even though consideration of finance and manpower may not make it possible to implement such a scheme in all States in the immediate future; (b) the standard to be achieved at the end of secondary education should for the present be raised so as to be equivalent at least to the intermediate examination of the former four-year degree course; (c) except for the academic courses in humanities and sciences, the other courses should be job-oriented with a view to making the products of secondary education fit for employment in agriculture, industry, trade, commerce or other vocations and providing them with opportunities of higher education should they later so desire; (d) the age of entry into university and comparable institutions should generally be 17 years plus and in no case less than 16 plus; (e) special assistance from the Centre should be given to all States which have to increase the educational period by one year at the secondary level."
EMIGRATION ACT
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

EPIDEMICS
See
HEALTH AND HYGIENE
CHAPTER III

FAMINES

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

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

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

12: 1896 : Calcutta. XII :
"That in view of the fact that the calamities of famine and plague have dislocated the already seriously embarrassed finances of this country and crippled its limited resources, and that the Military operations carried on beyond the North-West frontier are for the protection of Imperial interests, this Congress prays that the British Parliament will, pending the settlement of the principle on which the Military charges are to be apportioned between Great Britain and India, be pleased to make a substantial contribution to the cost of the present war."

13 : 1897 : Amraoti. II.

* * *

"That this Congress is glad to note that the Government of India has appointed a Famine Commission and hopes that the Commission will institute a searching enquiry into the matter. At the same time this Congress once again desires to repeat its conviction that famines are due to the great poverty of the people, brought on by the drain of the wealth of the country which has been going on for years together, and by the excessive taxation and over-assessment consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the Civil and Military departments, which have so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, foster the development of indigenous and local arts and industries, which have practically been extinguished, and help forward the introduction of modern arts and industries."

13 : 1897 : Amraoti : IX.

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"That this Congress prays that the scope of the Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India be extended so as to include an enquiry into the causes of periodical famines and the remedies for the prevention of the same."

13 : 1897 : Amraoti : XVII.

* * *

"That this Congress, while gratefully recognizing the endeavours made by the Indian and Provincial Governments to save human life and relieve distress at the present famine, urges the
adoption of the true remedy—to improve the condition of the cultivating classes and prevent the occurrence of famine. This Congress recommends the curtailment of public expenditure the development of local and indigenous industries, and the moderating of land assessment."

"That having regard to the oft-recurring famines in India, and the manifestly decreasing power of resistance on the part of its population in the face of a single failure of harvest, leading as it frequently does to human suffering, loss of life, destruction of livestock, disorganisation of rural operations, and interference with the legitimate work of the administrative machinery, the Congress hereby earnestly prays that the Government of India may be pleased to institute at an early date a full and independent enquiry into the economic condition of the people of India with a view to the ascertainment and adoption of practicable remedies."

"That this Congress desires to record its gratitude to H. E. the Viceroy for the benevolence of his famine policy, and for his firm resolve to uphold the interests of order and justice, as evidenced in the regulations recently issued regarding the grant of shooting passes to soldiers and his proceedings in connection with the Rangoon and O’Gara cases."

"(a) That this Congress deplores the recurrence of famine in a more or less acute form throughout India in recent years and records its deliberate conviction that famines in India are mainly due (1) to the great poverty of the people brought on by the decline of all indigenous arts and industries and the drain of the wealth of the country which has gone on for years and (2) to excessive taxation and over-assessment of land, consequent on a policy of extravagance followed by the Government both in the civil and military departments, which has so far impoverished the people that at the first touch of scarcity they are rendered helpless and must perish unless fed by the State or helped by private charity. In the opinion of this Congress the true remedy against the recurrence of famine lies in the adoption of a policy which would enforce economy, husband the resources of the State, improve the agriculture of the country, foster the revival and development of indigenous arts and manufactures and help forward the introduction of new industries."
(b) That this Congress rejoices that a Famine Union has been formed in London with a branch at Liverpool consisting of distinguished men from all parties, and this Congress desires to place on record its deep gratitude to the members of the Union for their sympathy with the famine-stricken sufferers in India and the earnest and eminently practical way in which they have set themselves to their task."

* * *

"That this Congress desires to place on record its grateful appreciation of the efforts which the Famine Union in England is making to secure a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a number of typical villages in India. In the opinion of this Congress such an inquiry will in no way prove inquisitorial as apprehended, but will be of the highest value for a proper understanding of the true condition of the Indian Rayat and will clear many of the mis-apprehensions which prevail at present on the subject and which interfere with the adoption of the right remedial measures. That the Congress is of opinion that such an inquiry following the two severe famines is highly expedient inasmuch as it will enable the Government to be placed in possession of economic data of great utility for purposes of comparison. And the Congress hopes that the Secretary of State for India will be pleased to reconsider his decision in the matter.

In this connection the Congress would respectfully urge that the Government of India should be pleased to publish the results of the official inquiries which have been held in the past on this subject, notably the inquiry instituted during the time of Lord Dufferin, extracts from which alone have been published."

* * *

"(a) That this Congress deplores a fresh outbreak of famine in several parts of the country; and holding that the frequent recurrence of famines is due to the great poverty of the people, which forces large numbers of them to throw themselves on State help at the first touch of scarcity, it again urges the Government of India and the Secretary of State to institute a detailed inquiry into the economic condition of a few typical villages in different parts of India."

* * *

"The Congress has noted with deep sorrow that an unprecedented number of natural calamities has ravaged our country during the past year and flood and drought and famine and cyclone have
brought intense suffering to vast numbers of our people, whom poverty and unemployment have already reduced to such dire straits. The Congress expresses its deep sympathy with the victims of those calamities and its appreciation of the fortitude displayed by the people in facing them.

It congratulates those individuals and non-official agencies who, by their loving service and assistance, have helped to alleviate distress.

The Congress feels that no sufficient effort has been made so far by the Government to institute scientific inquiries into the causes of the floods, which are becoming more frequent and widespread, and that it should certainly be possible to control such floods to a large extent, or prevent waters from accumulating, by measures taken in that behalf, especially by an examination of the effect of building numerous railway embankments without a sufficient number of culverts to allow free passage of water.

The Congress is of opinion that the wide-spread misery caused by the various calamities should be relieved by State action on an adequate scale, in particular, by a total remission of rent and revenue and water and other rates of the current year in the worst affected area; and a substantial reduction in the partly affected area; and by a moratorium of arrears of rent, revenue and agriculturists' debts. Interest-free loans and other help, free or at reduced rates, should also be given to enable those who have been rendered destitute, to start life afresh."

50; 1936 (Dec) : Faizpur : VI.

Flood Control and Protection

"This Congress expresses its profound sympathy for the millions of people who have suffered on account of severe floods last year. The Congress appreciates the action taken by the Central Government and the State Governments concerned in affording relief to the sufferers. The generous manner in which the people of the country and many abroad have contributed to funds started for the relief of distress caused by the floods is a welcome sign of the large human sympathies of the people and a recognition of the bonds which knit them together. The Congress records its sense of satisfaction at the spirit of self-reliance, endurance and mutual help displayed by the people in the flood affected areas. It has noted with appreciation the desire of these victims of floods to have work instead of gratuitous relief as a means of relieving their distress. The Congress is of opinion that there should be provision for work in all such cases."
2. The Congress welcomes the decision of the Government of India to combat the menace of floods on a top priority basis and the steps taken in this behalf. Large scale surveys and investigations have been undertaken, River Valley Commissions and Flood Control Boards at the Centre and the States concerned have been set up, and construction of flood protection works has been started in a number of places. Success in these efforts for flood control necessitates urgent action and speed as well as the mobilisation of manpower on a large scale.

3. The growing response of the people to calls for mass participation in the construction programme is a matter for deep satisfaction. Instances of this mass cooperation have been in evidence especially in North Bihar and Assam, where the people of the affected area have undertaken the construction of embankments, varying in length from sixteen to twenty miles. The Congress expects that administrations will make the fullest use of the growing enthusiasm and response of the people and adjust their work accordingly.”

* See also

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

FINANCE

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND PLANNING

FOOD SHORTAGE

AGRICULTURE AND LAND REFORMS
CHAPTER IV
FOREIGN RELATIONS (General)

Note*:
The principles on which the Foreign Policy of the Indian National Congress was based during the course of India’s struggle for Independence may be summarised as under:

(1) Strong opposition to imperialism;
(2) active sympathy with and support to subject-peoples fighting for freedom and independence;
(3) hatred of war and an abiding desire for peace in the world;
(4) avoiding foreign entanglements as far as possible; and
(5) working against racial discrimination.

After India became an independent nation on the 15th August, 1947, free to follow her own policy and exercise her influence over world affairs, she lost no time in putting into practice the ideals she had cherished so long. In fact, it continued to lay emphasis on the same principles of foreign policy which it had been advocating so far.

The phrase “Panch Sheela” on which the Congress Foreign Policy is based was first mentioned in the Joint Statement issued by the Prime Ministers of India and China on June 28, 1954. The five principles as stated in it were:

(1) Mutual respect for each other’s territorial integrity and sovereignty;
(2) Non-aggression;
(3) Non-interference in each other’s internal affairs;
(4) Equality and mutual benefit; and
(5) Peaceful co-existence.

The Congress at its annual sessions held at Avadi, Amritsar, Indore, Guwahati and Nagpur in 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959 respectively endorsed these principles.

A close study of the Independent principles of the Congress policy before and after the attainment of Independence indicates no remarkable difference in the basic approach. The main reason of this steady and firm growth of the Foreign Policy, perhaps, is that the man after 1925 who gave the Congress and India a definite line of action to follow with regard to international issues is Shri Jawaharlal

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*This note by the editor was originally published in the A.I.C.C. Economic Review 1956, New Delhi.
Nehru. It was he "who instilled into the Indian National Congress an international bias." Facts show that the Congress gladly accepted his stand on practically all international issues such as: Sino-Japanese War, Spanish question, Italian invasion of Ethiopia, World War II, Palestine-Israeli issue, Goa issue, Indonesian problem, Sudan issue, South African problem, Ghana and Hungary issues. Since 1925 to date, to a great extent he is responsible for drafting the resolutions on India's Foreign Policy for the Congress. After India gained independence in 1947, he has been the Foreign Minister as well as the Prime Minister. Naturally, therefore, the Foreign Policy of the Indian Government is greatly influenced by Pandit Nehru which is based on peace, co-operation and mutual brotherhood.

The first Congress after independence met at Jaipur in 1948. Being in total agreement with the pre-independence policies, the Congress defined its foreign policy as follows:

"The National Congress has, even while it was struggling for the freedom of India, associated itself with progressive movements and struggle for freedom in other countries. India's liberation was viewed as a part of the larger freedom of all the countries and peoples of the world. In particular, the Congress has stood in the past for the ending of all imperialist domination and colonial exploitation of any country or people, and has opposed Fascism and all other tendencies which suppress human spirit.

The achievement of independence brought new responsibilities to India in international affairs and it became necessary to develop direct and closer contact with other nations. The Congress welcomes these contacts and trusts that these will lead to mutual understanding and cooperation and the promotion of world peace.

The foreign policy of India must necessarily be based on the principles that have guided the Congress in past years. These principles are the promotion of world peace, the freedom of all nations, racial equality and the ending of Imperialism and Colonialism. In particular, the Congress is interested in the freedom of the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered under various forms of Colonialism for many generations.

With a view to advance the cause of world peace and cooperation, India associated herself with the United Nations. This Congress declares its full adherence to the principles underlying the Charter of the United Nations.

It should be the constant aim of the foreign policy of India to maintain friendly and cooperative relations with all nations and to
avoid entanglement in military or similar alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. Maintaining her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country, India should continue to function as a member State of the United Nations, cooperating with other States in the maintenance of peace and freedom."

The 56th Congress met at Nasik in 1950, endorsed the decision of the Jaipur Congress and resolved:

"The Jaipur Congress, in its resolution of foreign policy, reaffirmed the principles that had guided the Congress in previous years and formulated a policy which should be pursued in the new circumstances that had arisen. Since then, India has become a Republic and has, as an independent sovereign nation, continued her association with the Commonwealth of Nations. She has also continued to participate fully in the activities of the United Nations. In furtherance of her aim, she has developed diplomatic contacts and friendly and cooperative relations with a large number of independent nations. She has avoided any entanglement in military or other alliances which tend to divide the world into rival groups and thus endanger world peace. She has maintained her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country.

Recent developments in the Far East leading to war in Korea, have led to an intensification of the international crisis and have brought the prospect of a devastating world war nearer. India, in accordance with her basic policy, associated herself with the United Nations in resistance to aggression. At the same time, she has laboured for peace and for the prevention of the war in the Far East from spreading beyond Korea.

The Congress approves of the policy pursued by the Government of India and is of the opinion that every avenue of peaceful settlement should be explored. While aggression in any shape or form has to be resisted, it must be remembered that the aim of the United Nations to which India, in common with other nations, is committed, is the maintenance of peace and not the encouragement of any activity which leads to war."

In its 57th session held at Delhi the Congress reaffirmed the resolution of the Nasik Congress, Commenting on the Indo-Pakistan relationship it resolved:

"The Congress deeply regrets the continuing tension between India and Pakistan, which injures both countries and poisons their
relationship. India has, and can have, no aggressive designs on any country including Pakistan. But India has always to be prepared to meet any aggression that might be made on any part of her territories. The Congress would welcome a peaceful settlement of all Indo-Pakistan problems.

In regard of Kashmir, it has been the declared policy of the Government of India, with which the Congress is in entire agreement, that the people of Kashmir themselves should mould and decide their own future. The Congress welcomed an early plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir under proper conditions which had been clearly stated by the Government of India. The Congress welcomes the constitution of a Constituent Assembly in the Kashmir State and hopes that through its labours the State will make even greater progress than it has done during the last two or three years."

At its Hyderabad session in 1953 the Congress viewed "with deep concern and grave anxiety the ever-growing tension and the deepening crisis in the relation between the Great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival blocs, engaged in a 'cold war', and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might, ever mounting to great dimensions and intensity, and threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world." The Congress appreciated the role played by the United Nations and suggested for its broadening, "by the admission of States whose applications have been pending for many years."

This very Congress also "reiterated its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination."

At the Kalyani Congress in 1954 the Congress protested against the U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact. It declared: "The Congress earnestly trusts that the U.S.A. will not take any step which will tend to reverse the process of history in Asia and create doubt and apprehension in the minds of Asian people who wish to pursue the path of freedom and democracy in their own way."

In the historic Congress Session held at Avadi in 1955 it appreciated the Geneva Agreement and advocated for the establishment of peace in Korsa. Expressing its ideas on international affairs it resolved "that the real peace will be attained only by methods of friendly cooperation and understanding between neighbouring countries and, indeed, the countries of the world."

The Congress at Amritsar in 1956 welcomed and accepted the Principles known as the Panchshila. It noted with deep regret that China was still not represented in the United Nations. "It welcomed Sudan as an independent Sovereign Republic and noted with
interest and hope the steps that have been taken for the Gold Coast to attain self-government and independence.” The Congress also noted with deep sorrow the present plight of the people of Goa under the oppressive and terroristic colonial rule of Portugal.

The 62nd session of the Congress held at Indore endorsed the Government of India’s stand on the critical situation in Egypt, Western Asia and Hungary. The Congress welcomed the withdrawal of the Anglo-French forces from Egyptian territory and trusted “that foreign forces in Hungary will also be withdrawn and the people of Hungary will be given freedom to decide their own future by peaceful methods.” The Congress adhered firmly to its policy of non-alignment and of friendship with all nations and expressed its conviction again that international affairs should be governed by the principles of “Panch Sheel.”

The 63rd session of the Congress held at Guwahati in 1958 noted with satisfaction that the Declaration of the United Nations adopted on the 14th December, 1957 embodies and affirms the five Principles of co-existence, known as Panchsheel, and points out to the need of reducing world tensions and of peaceful approach to international problems. These problems can only be solved in this way and not by military blocs which have failed to bring any solution nearer and have only aggravated fears and produced greater insecurity. In the end the resolution added: “The Congress solemnly reminds the nation that the unity of India, the practice of tolerance amongst ourselves, the building up of our economic strength, and the maintenance of our free institutions, in all of which strength and equality of character is ultimately the decisive element, are imperative for the successful pursuit of our country’s declared policies in regard to world affairs.”

In the 64th session held at Nagpur in January 1959, the Congress reaffirmed its faith in and support of the approach and policy of our Government in international relations and affairs, based upon non-interference by nations and Governments in the affairs of other nations and peoples’ respect for their independence and nationhood, tolerance, mutual respect and benefit, and peaceful co-existence calculated to help to lessen world tensions and the establishment of world peace and cooperation.

Appraising the Panch Sheel the Resolution added: “These five principles which have come to be known as Panch Sheel” and the consequent policy of ‘non-alignment’ with one or other of the ‘Power-Blocs’ and in the controversies of the cold war; our moral support of and solidarity with the people who aspire and strive to establish and retain their freedom; our determination to maintain
the independence of our own land and people by the preservation and development of our democratic institutions and independent outlook in the political, economic and social spheres, have assisted in the better understanding of our country and people even by those who disagree from us.”

In the above pages an attempt has been made to trace the Congress Foreign Policy during the post-independent period and to show that it was based on “Paneh Sheel.” In the following paragraphs my intention is to show that the pre-independence policies of the Congress are closely connected with the post-independence ideology of the Congress. In fact, the Congress firmly maintains the same stand which was taken long ago against colonisation, Imperialism and dictatorship.

The 3rd Congress held at Madras in 1887 recommended a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government effectively in any crisis.

The 8th Congress held at Allahabad in 1892 protested against “using Indian resources to fight Britain’s Imperial battles.”

The 13th and the 14th Congresses held at Amritsar and Madras in 1897 and 1898 respectively protested against Britain’s policy towards North Western Provinces of India.

Criticalising the Tibetan expedition, the 20th Congress held at Bombay in 1904 protested “strongly against this injustice and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan expedition was but part of a general forward policy which, with the Missions to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country.”

Although the Swadeshi movement against the partition of Bengal was launched and the demand for Swaraj was put forward by Dadabhai Naroji in the 22nd Congress held at Calcutta in 1906, yet the Congress leaders did not shrink in the duty of expressing their loyalty to the British Crown, whenever opportunities arose. Such an opportunity came at the time of World War I when the 29th Congress in 1914, firmly declared its “profound devotion to the throne, its unswerving allegiance to the British connection and its firm resolve to stand by the empire at all hazards and at all costs.”

The 30th, 31st, 32nd Congresses held in 1915, 1916, 1918 at Bombay, Lucknow and Delhi respectively passed several resolutions praying for the success of the Allies. The Congress at the successful termination of the War, conveyed to the King Emperor its con-
gratulations and expressed its "profound appreciation of the historic achievement of the Indian people."

After World War I when Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the political scene of India and the Congress had been terribly disappointed by the Rowlatt Bills, the foundation-stone of independent Indian foreign policy was laid down. In the 24th session in 1919 held at Amritsar the Congress sponsored a resolution protesting "against the hostile attitude of some British Ministers towards the Khilafat Question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Musalmans and the solemn pledges of the Prime Minister without which there will be no real contentment among the people of India."

The Congress after 1919 made efforts to attract other nations towards India's freedom movement. That is why in 1919 the Congress thanked Lala Lajpatrai's efforts of constitutional agitation in the United States of America regarding the demand of "self-government and self-determination for India." In 1920 the Congress sent "a message of sympathy to the Irish people in their struggle for independence and paid its homage to the sacred memory of the great Irish patriot Mae Swiney." The Ahmedabad Congress in 1921 and the Gaya Congress in 1922 again supported the Khilafat movement. The Delhi Special Session held in 1923 showed great sympathy towards the people of Japan.

After Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru assumed office as Secretary of the A.I.C.C., the interest in foreign relations grew so much that a Foreign Department in the A.I.C.C. Secretariat was opened "to look after the interests of Indians abroad and to carry on educative propaganda in the country regarding their position in the British Empire and Foreign countries." (Vide resolution No. IX of the Kanpur Congress held in 1925.)

The Congress in its Madras session in 1927 protested against sending the Indian people by the British Government to China. It also demanded "the withdrawal of Indian troops, police consulate guards from Mesopotamia and Persia and from all British colonies and foreign countries, wherever they may be." In the same Congress another resolution was passed disapproving "all attempts to separate Burma from India." An appeal was also made to "the Indian and Burmans in their material interest to promote Indo-Burman entente in all possible ways."

The 43rd Congress met in Calcutta in 1928, passed five resolutions against the British Imperialism. Through the first resolution the Congress sent congratulations to the people of China on their having attained their full and complete freedom and nation-
hood. The second resolution sympathised with the people of Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Iraq in their struggle for emancipation from the grip of Western Imperialism. In the fourth resolution, the Congress reiterated the War Danger resolution of the Madras session of the Congress and declared that the Government of India in no way represented the people of India. The fifth resolution of this year directed the Working Committee to correspond with the leaders and representatives of other Asiatic Nations and to take other steps to summon the first session of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930 in India. It is worthwhile to note that after seventeen years Free India invited the first Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi in March 1947.

The 49th Congress held at Lucknow in 1936 conveyed its greetings through its representative, Shri V. K. Krishna Menon, to the organisers of the World Peace Congress for struggle against war and Fascism. It also, by another resolution, condemned the great powers and the League of Nations for their policy in regard to the Italo-Abyssinian War. At Faizpur in 1936, the Congress sympathised with the people of Spain. It resolved: “The Congress realises that this struggle between democratic progress and Fascist reaction is of great consequences to the future of the world and will affect the future of Imperialism and India. The Congress has noted without surprise that in this struggle, the policy of non-intervention followed by the British Government has been such as to hamper in many ways the Spanish Government and people in fighting the fascist rebels, and has thus in effect aided these rebels who are being openly backed and helped by the Fascist Powers. This Congress, on behalf of the people of India, sends greetings to the Spanish people and the assurance of their solidarity with them in this great struggle for liberty.”

In the Haripura Congress in 1938, the Congress sympathised with the Chinese people in their fight with Japan. It also called upon “the people of India to refrain from purchasing Japanese goods.” At the same session, the Congress condemned “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 expressed “its full sympathy with the Arabs in their struggle for national freedom and their fight against British Imperialism.” In this way Congress explained by a separate resolution its policy with regard to foreign relations and war. The resolution added: “In view of the grave danger of widespread and devastating war which overshadows the world, the Congress desires to state afresh the
policy of the people in regard to foreign relations and war." It further resolved: "The people of India desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries, and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others and to build up their strength on the basis of international cooperation and goodwill. Such cooperation must be founded on a world order and a free India will gladly associate itself with such an order and stand for disarmament and collective security. But world cooperation is impossible of achievement so long as the root of international conflict remains 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."

The Tripuri session in 1939 supported the Chinese People's struggle and gave "its approval of the sending of a medical mission on its behalf to the people of China." It expressed its full sympathy with "the Arabs in Palestine in the struggle for national freedom and their fight against British Imperialism". It also condemned the British Foreign Policy with regard to the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Indian agreement and the recognition of rebel Spain.

Against the statement made by the Viceroy in connection with World War II, the Congress Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. passed several resolutions against it. The Ramgarh Congress held in 1940 endorsed the decisions taken by the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. between August 1939 and December 1939. The resolution stated: "The Congress considers the declaration by the British Government of India as a belligerent country, without any reference to the people of India, and the exploitation of India's resources in this war, as an affront to them which no self-respecting and freedom-loving people can accept or tolerate. The recent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government in regard to India demonstrate that great Britain is carrying on the war fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire which is based on the exploitation of the people of India as well as of other Asiatic and African countries. Under these circumstances, it is clear that Congress cannot in any way, directly or indirectly, be party to the war, which means continuance and perpetuation of this exploitation. The Congress, therefore, strongly disapproves of Indian troops being made to fight for Great Britain and of the drain from India of men and material for the purpose of the war."

When the British Government did not pay any attention even
to the ‘Individual Satyagraha’, the Congress passed the historic ‘Quit India’ resolution on August 9, 1942. Immediately after having passed the resolution, the Congress was declared an unlawful body and all the eminent members of the Congress were arrested all over the country. After their release in 1945, the Working Committee in Bombay reiterated its policy laid down on August 8, 1942. The Congress welcomed the establishment of the U.N.O. but regretted that “the position allotted to the smaller nations in the (U.N.) Charter is one lacking all effectiveness and the great powers not only dominate and completely control the new organisation but are placed above and beyond the law they have themselves helped in framing.” In the same year the Congress sent greetings to the people of China, Indonesia and Indo-China and expressed its deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the War which had ravaged these countries and caused enormous suffering and loss to their people.

After the lapse of six years, the Congress met in Meerut in 1946 and declared that the “Imperialist rule in India must end for the sake of lasting peace.” “It reiterated its firm determination to continue the struggle for India’s complete freedom till she becomes an independent nation cooperating with others, on an equal basis for the establishment of peace, freedom and programmes everywhere.”

Thus the long story of sacrifice ended on August 15, 1947 when India became independent. The independent Government of India decided that the “foreign policy of India must necessarily be based on the principles that have guided the Congress in past years. The principles are the promotion of world peace, the freedom of all nations, racial equality and the ending of Imperialism and Colonialism. In particular, the Congress is interested in the freedom of the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered under various forms of colonialism for many generations.”

India has not made any radical change in her foreign policy even after Chinese invaded India and the unfriendly attitude of Pakistan.

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

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

13 : 1897 : Amraoti : X.

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“That this Congress, while protesting against the injustice in charging the cost of the India Office in London to the revenues of this country, when the Colonies are exempted from any share of the cost of the Colonial Office, places on record its opinion that the whole of the salary of the Secretary of State for India should be borne on the English Estimates.”

20 : 1904 : Bombay : VII.

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“This Congress begs to convey to His Excellency the Vicereley the profound gratitude of the people of India, for the sympathetic manner in which he has handled the questions connected with the emigration of Indians abroad, and while welcoming His Excellency’s suggestion of reciprocity, as the underlying basis of negotiations with the Colonies, this Congress desires to record its conviction that any policy of reciprocity, to be effective and acceptable to the people of India, must proceed on the basis that the Government of India should possess and exercise the same power of dealing with the Colonies as they possess and exercise in regard to India.”

29 : 1914 : Madras : VIII.

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“That this Congress re-affirms the resolutions, passed at previous Sessions of the Congress, on the subject of the status of British Indians in the Self-Governing Dominions and Crown Colonies of the Empire, and once again places on record its sense of resentment and ever-growing dissatisfaction at the continued ill-treatment of Indian settlers in the Dominions and Colonies, earnestly hoping that in view of the re-adjustment of the relations between the component parts of the Empire the statesmen and people of Great Britain will endeavour to redress the grievances of the Indian settlers.”

33 : 1918 : Delhi : XII.

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“...In the opinion of the Congress the progressively restrictive legislation against the Indian settlers of Kenya as evidenced by the latest action of the Kenya Government in increasing the original poll-tax of 20 shillings which by currency manipulation was raised
to 30 shillings and which has now been raised to 50 shillings by legislation is calculated to demonstrate afresh that British Imperialism means conservation of European interests at the cost of Indian interests, liberty and aspirations.” 41 : 1926 : Guwahati : IV.

“This Congress directs the Working Committee to correspond with the leaders and representatives of the other Asiatic Nations to take other steps to summon the first session of a Pan-Asiatic Federation in 1930 in India.” 43 : 1928-1929 : Calcutta : V.

“This Congress sends its warmest greetings and its hearty congratulations to the people of China on their having attained their full and complete freedom and nationhood and their having ended the era of foreign domination in their country.” 43 : 1928-1929 : Calcutta : VI.

“This Congress welcomes the Second World Congress of the League against Imperialism to be held next year and authorises the Working Committee to appoint a representative on behalf of the Congress.” 43 : 1928-1929 : Calcutta : VIII.

“This Congress reiterates the War Danger resolution of the Madras sessions of the Congress, and wishes to declare that the present Government of India in no way represent the people of India and their policy has been traditionally guided by consideration of holding India under subjection and not of protecting her frontiers. The people of India have no quarrel with the neighbouring states or the other nations of the world and they will not permit themselves to be exploited by England to further her imperialist aims.” 43 : 1928-1929 : Calcutta : IX.

“In the opinion of the Congress the policy pursued by the Government of India on the North-West Frontier has been a total failure and has caused great injury both to the interests of India and the trans-border tribes. This policy has been pursued in the interests of imperialism and mostly with the object of justifying the heavy military expenditure in India and of providing training under semi-war conditions for otherwise idle troops maintained for imperial purposes. Any policy that necessitates inhuman and barbarous methods, like bombing from the air, and which leads to frequent military raids across the Frontier is to be condemned. In addition to this the policy has signally failed in establishing peace on the Frontier and has often resulted in making friendly trans-border tribes unfriendly and hostile.
Both the foreign and domestic interests of India require peace on the Frontier and friendship with our neighbours. And the Congress believes that these friendly relations and peace can be established without much difficulty if the trans-border tribes are treated as friends and good neighbours and are not interfered with on the pretext of spreading civilisation, or by making military roads under the guise of rendering economic assistance, or otherwise. If such a policy is pursued they will become a valuable source of strength and lessen the burden of military expenditure of India. The Congress believes that the charge laid against the Frontier Pathan tribes as being untamed, fierce, truculent and aggressive is without foundation and appears to be made with the object of justifying unwarranted interference and a heavy permanent military expenditure.

The Congress declares that the people of India desire the friendship of all their neighbours and are willing to co-operate with them in the great tasks which promote peace and human well-being.

The Congress condemns the last punitive measures in the trans-frontier area which seem to be yet another instance of the futile and dangerous experiments of the Government of India on the North-West Frontier which lead only to suffering and leave a trail of ill-will behind them.

In the opinion of the Congress the right way to deal with the Frontier situation is for an inquiry to be made into the economic, political and military situation with a view to settle finally and peacefully the problem of the Frontier in co-operation with the border tribes.”

"The Congress sends greetings to our fellow-countrymen overseas and its assurance of sympathy and help in their distressful condition and in the continuing deterioration in their status in the territories in which they have settled. The Congress is ready and willing to take all action within its power to ameliorate their condition, but desires to point out that a radical amelioration in their status must ultimately depend on the attainment by India of independence and the power effectively to protect her nationals abroad”.

"The Working Committee have noted with grave concern the growing tension in the international situation, resulting in open recrimination between the Great Powers and attempts on their part to secure or hold on to colonial areas and vantage points, and create
satellite States, which may lead to possible future conflicts. The war that has recently ended has, in spite of the professions made in the course of it, neither ended the imperialist domination of subject countries nor the era of power politics. The old imperialism still continues and in addition new types of imperialism are growing. The recent U.N.O. Conference in London is startling evidence of the fact that instead of a new order of free and united nations evolving, there is disunity among the leading nations and a lack of freedom over vast areas. Oil is still the lure of imperial domination, and security and preservation of the so-called life-lines of empire or strategic outposts are made the excuses for expansion as well as retention of colonial areas. This continuation of the old and discredited policy which has led already to two disastrous World Wars, is likely to result in yet another war, on a more colossal and destructive scale.

It is evident that peace and freedom cannot grow out of these seeds of continuing conflict and war. Imperialist policy has to be discarded not only in the interests of subject nations but also to rid the world of the peril that might overwhelm humanity. It has thus become urgently necessary to end foreign domination over the countries of Asia and Africa, and for foreign armies to be withdrawn from all such countries, and notably from Indonesia, Manchuria, Indo-China, Iran, and Egypt. India still remains the crux of the problem of Asian Freedom and on the independence of India depends the freedom of many countries and the peace of the world.”


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“The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress are of opinion that the disabilities of the Indian settlers in South Africa constitute a blot on humanity and a slur on the civilization of the West. As the submission to His Excellency the Viceroy of the Indian Deputation from South Africa shows, the disabilities are an unbroken tale of progressive prejudice against Asiatics defined as “any Turk and any member of a race or tribe whose national home is in Asia but which does not include any member of the Jewish or the Syrian race or a person belonging to the race or class known as the Cape Malay,” and of broken promises and declerations. A civilization that requires for its protection a series of legal enactments imposing political and economic restrictions on coloured and Asiatic peoples must contain seeds of future wars and its own destruction.

The Committee are of opinion that the contemplated breach of trade relations between India and the Union of South Africa is
the mildest step that the Government of India could have taken. The Committee would ask the Government of India forthwith to withdraw their High Commissioner, if the Union Government would not suspend the proposed legislation, pending the convening of a Round Table Conference between the two governments to consider the whole policy of the Union Government against non-White peoples of the earth.

The Committee are painfully surprised to find Field Marshal Smuts, the Premier of the Union, dismissing, on the untenable plea of regarding the proposed anti-Asiatic bill as a domestic affair, the right of the Indian Government and, by parity of reasoning, of the other Allied Powers, of friendly intervention. The Committee hold that at this time of the day, it is not open to any State, however powerful it may be, to refuse to listen to the public opinion of the world as voiced through its different States, with reference to any legislation regarded by them as of an inhuman character or as amounting to a slur on the self-respect of the races comprising such a State.

The Committee venture to advise the victorious Allies to take notice of the contemplated action of the Government of South Africa inasmuch as the late war would have been fought in vain if now the persistence by the Union Government of South Africa in the bar sinister against Asiatic races and coloured people inhabiting that sub-continent is maintained.

To the Indian Deputation from South Africa, the Committee would say that whilst they (the Committee) and, indeed, the whole of India, irrespective of parties or communities, are with them in their just struggle and would lend them all the moral weight they can, they should realise that the brunt of the unequal struggle will have to be borne by them, and the Committee feel assured that the Indians in South Africa will worthily carry out the example set by them years ago of vindicating their self-respect and that of the Motherland by the noble rule of self-suffering.

The Committee would, however, fain hope, even at the eleventh hour, that in the place of the indefensible law of the jungle, which the policy as revealed by the contemplated legislation enunciates, the Government of the Union of South Africa and its White settlers would listen to reason and the appeal of the moral law by which mankind lives.”

"The National Congress has, even while it was struggling for the freedom of India, associated itself with progressive movements and struggles for freedom in other countries. India’s liberation was viewed as a part of the larger freedom of all the countries and peoples of the world. In particular, the Congress has stood in the past for the ending of all imperialist domination and colonial exploitation of any country or people, and has opposed Fascism and all other tendencies which suppress human spirit.

The achievement of independence brought new responsibilities to India in international affairs and it became necessary to develop direct and closer contacts with other nations. The Congress welcomes these contacts and trusts that these will lead to mutual understanding and cooperation and the promotion of world peace.

The foreign policy of India must necessarily be based on the principles that have guided the Congress in past years. These principles are the promotion of world peace, the freedom of all nations, racial equality, and the ending of Imperialism and Colonialism. In particular, the Congress is interested in the freedom of the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered under various forms of colonialism for many generations.

With a view to advance the cause of world peace and cooperation, India associated herself with the United Nations. This Congress declares its full adherence to the principles underlying the character of the United Nations.

It should be the constant aim of the foreign policy of India to maintain friendly and cooperative relations with all nations and to avoid entanglement in military or similar alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. Maintaining her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country, India should continue to function as a member state of the United Nations, cooperating with other States in the maintenance of peace and freedom.

In view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India, which will symbolise that independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, her present associations with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of action and independence, and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their commonwealth and the promotion of world peace.

India is especially concerned with her neighbour countries of
Asia and the Congress trusts that closer bonds of fellowship and cooperative effort for the maintenance of freedom of Asian nations and their progress will be developed." 55: 1948: Jaipur: V.

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"The chequered course of India’s history during the last two hundred years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period because India herself was under alien domination.

With the establishment of independence in India the continued existence of any foreign possession in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India’s unity and freedom. Therefore it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly cooperation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions, which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change-over therefore must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment which does not interfere with the life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of those possessions desire and for a measure of autonomy to be granted, wherever possible, so as to enable the people of those possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India.”

55: 1948: Jaipur: VI.

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Foreign Policy*

"This Congress reaffirms the resolution of the Nasik Congress in regard to foreign policy.

The great need of the world today is the avoidance of war, which will inevitably bring irretrievable disaster to mankind. This Congress earnestly hopes that the great nations of the world, on whom rests a heavy responsibility, will pursue policies which ease the present tensions and lead to peaceful solutions of present-day

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*Resolution passed at the Congress Session, held at Delhi, on 18th, 19th October, 1951.*
problems. This policy of interference with another country with a view to bring about political or economic changes there, as well as the policy of controlling another country and depriving it of freedom to shape its own destiny, must lead to conflict.

The United Nations Organization was formed to provide a common platform for all countries, even though they differed from each other in many ways, and was based on each country having freedom to develop in its own way and not interfering with another. If that basic policy of the U.N.O. is followed, the fear that grips the world today will gradually lessen and a peaceful consideration of problems will become easier. This Congress approves of the policy pursued by the Government of India in seeking friendly relations with all countries and in avoiding any entanglement in military or other alliances which tend to divide the world into rival groups and thus endanger world peace.

In particular, the Congress approved of the decision of the Government of India not to participate in the San Francisco Conference, which was held for the purpose of signing the Japanese Peace Treaty and instead to have a separate treaty with Japan. Peace in the Far East, which has been gravely disturbed by hostilities in Korea and subsequent developments, has to be based on the cooperation of the countries of the Far East and the other countries chiefly concerned. Any partial arrangement which does not include all these countries is likely to increase the tension and lessen the chances of a peaceful settlement.

This Congress hopes that the negotiations for a cease fire in Korea will meet with success and that this will be followed by a larger settlement in the Far East.

The colossal programmes of rearmament, which present-day conditions have led many countries to adopt, give rise international tension and cast a heavy burden on the people of those countries, which results in a lowering of their standards. The progress of the under-developed countries of the world is also impeded by these programmes of rearmament. If this vast expenditure on rearmament was diverted towards constructive purpose and to the advance of under-developed countries, that would be a surer guarantee of peace than preparations for war.

The Congress trusts that the United Nations Organization will devote itself to the furtherance of the aims so nobly set forth in its Charter and reorganise itself for this purpose, where this is considered necessary.

The Congress deeply regrets the continuing tension between India and Pakistan, which injures both countries and poisons their
relationship. India has and can have no aggressive designs on any country including Pakistan. But India has always to be prepared to meet any aggression that might be made on any part of her territories. The Congress would welcome a peaceful settlement of all Indo-Pakistan problems.

In regard to Kashmir, it has been the declared policy of the Government of India, with which the Congress is in entire agreement, that the people of Kashmir themselves should mould and decide their own future. The Congress would welcome an early plebiscite in the Jammu and Kashmir State, under proper conditions which have been clearly stated by the Government of India. The Congress welcomes the constitution of a Constituent Assembly in the Kashmir State and hopes that through its labours the State will make even greater progress than it has done during the last two or three years."

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**Foreign Policy**

"The All-India Congress Committee view with anxiety the continuation of conflicts in the international sphere, referred to as the "Cold War", which are not only accelerating the drift to the terrible catastrophe of another World War, but are also casting an unbearable burden of armaments on the people and leading to a continuous deterioration in the economic situation in the world. The Committee is convinced that none of the great problems that concern humanity today can be solved by war, which can only result in uttermost destruction, the degradation of man, and the creation of new and far more difficult problems. Every possible effort must therefore be made to avoid this catastrophe. The Committee earnestly appeals to the great nations of the world to pursue policies of peace and to avoid, in particular, any action or word which adds to the present estrangement and bitterness.

The Committee trusts that the cease-fire negotiations in Korea will lead to a cessation of fighting and to the consideration of other problems with a view to a peaceful settlement in the Far East.

The Committee considers it essential in the interests of peace and human progress for all remaining forms of colonial or foreign control over the countries of Asia and Africa to be removed so as to enable the peoples of those countries to develop in accordance with their own genius.

The Committee expresses its full approval of the Foreign

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* Resolution passed by the A.I.C.O., held at Calcutta, on 22nd, 23rd March. 1952.
Policy pursued by the Government of India, which while avoiding alignment with any nation or group against another, seeks the friendship of all countries. It trusts that other countries will also follow a like policy and thus advance the cause of peace."

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**Foreign Affairs**

"The Working Committee welcome the change for the better in the international situation and the lessening of tension between the great powers. They earnestly hope that the negotiations for armistice and a peaceful settlement in the Far East will soon come to a successful conclusion. Every major obstacle to such a settlement has now been removed and only procedural difficulties appear to remain. Such minor difficulties should not be allowed to come in the way of a settlement.

The Committee hope that the proposal put forward for an informal meeting of the leaders of the great nations to discuss world problems with a view to find a way to their solution, will find acceptance and will be given effect to.

The Committee have noted with deep regret the deterioration of the situation in the Middle Eastern countries and the acute and disastrous conflicts that are going on in some parts of Africa, resulting in the furtherance of racial antagonism and in the suppression of large numbers of people. The Congress has always attached the greatest importance to the recognition in theory and practice of racial equality and to the growth of freedom and free institutions in colonial countries. Any assertion of racial domination will inevitably meet with resistance and no stable or peaceful society can be based on the theory of a dominating race or of colonial control.

The Committee earnestly hope that peaceful methods will be employed in the solution of these great problems that afflict Africa today.

The Committee welcome the improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations and trust that this will lead to a solution of such problems as have come in the way of better relations between India and Pakistan."

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*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee, held at New Delhi, on 16th, 17th May, 1952.*
Foreign Settlements in India*

"The AICC regrets the delay in the peaceful transfer of foreign settlements in India to the Indian Union. Such a transfer is essential from the point of view of the removal of any element of foreign domination in India and for the unity and security of India. Early steps should, therefore, be taken for this peaceful transfer."

AICC, Calcutta, 22nd, 23rd March, 1952.

*Foreign Policy*

"The All-India Congress Committee, while reaffirming the resolution on foreign policy passed at its last meeting held in Calcutta in March, 1952, reiterates its firm conviction that it is essential in the interests of humanity as well as of individual nations to avoid war. Whatever results may have been achieved by war in the past, the nature of modern war is such that it cannot solve any problem or advance the national interest of any country, as it brings vast destruction and degradation in its train and nullifies the very objective for which it may have been fought. Thus, war is no longer an effective instrument of national policy. It is essential, therefore, for national policies to be directed towards the avoidance of war and the adjustment, if solution is not immediately possible, of such problems as are leading to conflict.

In view of the tremendous pace of modern developments in technology and communications and the closer contacts which have resulted therefrom, the world is faced with a choice between close international cooperation and interminable and disastrous conflicts which cannot ultimately advance the cause of any nation. That closer cooperation between the nations of the world cannot take place so long as there is fear of aggression and the suppression of national freedom. Any form of imperialist expansion or of domination of one nation over another is thus an enemy of peace and of human progress.

The expenditure of vast sums of money on building up armaments at the expense of economic progress is itself a cause of deterioration, leading to discontent and conflict. If the energies of the nations of the world were diverted towards economic betterment, more especially of those countries which need this most, that would be a greater guarantee of peace than any based on armaments.

*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. held at Indore on 13th 14th September, 1952.*
The Committee appeals to the United Nations Organisation, which was founded for the preservation of peace and the avoidance of war, to devote itself to this vital problem of the age and find a way out of the deadlocks which continually threaten the very cause for which the United Nations was founded. In particular, the Committee appeals to those great nations, on whom a special responsibility in regard to world affairs rests today, to meet together with a view to remove the ever-present fear and tension that oppress mankind and to take some immediate steps towards the solution of the major problems of the day.

The Committee would especially urge that every effort be made to conclude a truce in Korea and thus prepare the way to a peaceful settlement in the Far East.

While approving of the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India, this Committee trusts that India will continue to work for peace and international cooperation and will be ready to serve this cause, whatever the changing circumstances might be.

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**Foreign Policy and the World Situation**

"The Congress views with deep concern and grave anxiety the ever-growing tension and the deepening crisis in the relations between the Great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival power blocs, engaged in a "cold war" and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might, ever mounting to greater dimensions and intensity, and threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world.

While nations and governments are not seeking war and the peoples of the world, including those of the countries in the rival blocs, earnestly desire peace, the accumulation of and race in armaments continue. The campaign and the psychology of hatred and distrust, and the acceptance by the Great Powers, as the basis of their policy, that preparation for large scale and total war alone can lead to the prevention of war, have resulted in grave, incalculable and present risk to world peace. This has not only rendered the desires of the common people for peace ineffective, but has increasingly turned the minds of nations and peoples to the acceptance of war preparations as necessary and war itself as almost

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*Resolution passed at Congress Session held at Hyderabad Dn. on 17th and 18th January, 1953.*
inevitable. Thus their thoughts and minds are orientated in the
direction of war.

Unceasing endeavour should be made to bring about a change
in the opposite direction, creating a climate of peace, and a change
in the approach of nations and governments to one another, and as
between groups of them, in the direction of reconciliation rather
than conflict and power grouping, so that the great objectives
embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its original
purposes may be attained and war prevented.

To this end, greater interchange and freedom of intercourse
between nations, particularly between those who now stand
separated by the cold war and by other conflicts, should be
encouraged; progressive and positive action to bring about
a degree of disarmament, and cessation of hostile propaganda
and of campaigns of hate and suspicion, is necessary; and definite
initiatives should be taken to resolve at least some of the outstanding
issues which stand dead-locked in world affairs. The broadening
of the United Nations Organisation, by the admission of States whose
applications have been pending for many years, and the
representation of China being regularised by the real Government
of China taking its place in the United Nations, are essential first
steps of grave urgency.

The Congress appreciates the considerable achievements of
the United Nations Organisation in the social, economic and
humanitarian field, even though they fall far short, measured against
the needs and distress of mankind on the one hand and the
potentialities of the earth and the advance of human knowledge
on the other.

While recognising the advance made in the colonial field
during the past few years towards the liberation of subject peoples
and for their welfare and progress, the Congress is of
opinion that this is inadequate and deplores that some nation-
al movements for freedom are being forcibly suppressed.
Colonialism, inevitably accompanied by race hatred and conflict,
exploitation and international rivalry, is a continuing cause
of war and human misery and should be ended.

The Congress records its appreciation of and support to the
Government of India in pursuing steadfastly, unhindered by set-
backs, inducements and provocations, the policy of peace and
international cooperation, and non-alignment with Power Blocs,
and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which
alone enables it to make positive contribution towards the inter-
national understanding and world peace. It records its appreciation
of the peace efforts of the Government of India in regard to the Korean war, which were non-partisan and based on international law.

The people of India, with their rich heritage and tradition and their newly-won freedom, have in this time of world crisis a duty to the cause of world peace. That duty they will best discharge by ridding themselves and their national life of all complexes of fear, intolerance, distrust and hatred and by freeing themselves of economic dependence on others. By the performance of this duty, they will not only serve their own country but will also serve the larger causes of the world.”

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International Affairs*

“The A.I.C.C. welcomes the agreement on a cease-fire in Indo-China and congratulates all the Governments which have, in spite of great difficulties, laboured unceasingly to this end and achieved success at last. The ending of the seven-year old war in Indo-China is an event of major importance not only in Asia, but in the world. For the first time, since the end of the Second World War, there is peace between all the nations. The A.I.C.C. trusts that this will be followed by peaceful settlements of the problems of the East and South-East Asia so that the disastrous conflicts which have brought ruin to some countries of Asia and prevented their progress should be finally ended.

The Committee welcomes the declaration that the States of Indo-China will not join any military alliance or pact and will thus form part of an area of peace.

The Committee welcomes the five principles which have been agreed upon between India and China and Burma and China as the basis of their relations. These principles involving recognition of each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference, have a wider application and, wherever applied, can be made the basis of peaceful co-existence, which is so necessary in the world today. The Committee would welcome joint declarations based on these principles between India and other countries. The maintenance of peace and friendly relations between countries depends upon the recognition of the fact that each country has a right to fashion its own political and economic structure, and must

*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. held at Ajmer on 23rd and 24th July, 1954.*
not interfere, externally or internally, in the political and economic structure in other countries. Only on this basis is peaceful co-existence and co-operation possible. The Committee welcomes, therefore, the growing acceptance of this basis of international relationships.

The recognition of the independence of the countries of Indo-China is to be welcomed as putting an end to colonial rule in that part of Asia. The disastrous war which has devastated Indo-China for seven years, would not have taken place if this independence had been previously recognised. The Committee hopes that in other colonial areas of the world, rapid progress towards independence will be made, in order to avert a repetition of similar disasters. The ending of colonial rule is essential for the development of peaceful co-existence of nations.

The agreement of Indo-China is a landmark in the post-war history of Asia and brings greater responsibilities to the countries of Asia. Those responsibilities can only be discharged adequately by these countries co-operating together to build up an area of peace which is not aligned to any of the powerful groups of the world.

The Committee hopes that this agreement on Indo-China will result in the lessening of tensions all over the world and the fear and suspicion which have clouded international relations, and will help in creating an atmosphere favourable to the solution of other problems. In order to promote this atmosphere of a peaceful settlement, it is desirable to avoid any step which is in the nature of a threat or warning to any country or group which, instead of helping the cause of peace, must inevitably create suspicion and apprehension.”

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Foreign Policy

“India’s thought and cultural and historical background have inevitably led her to pursue paths of peace. Even in her own national struggle for Independence, she adopted, under the guidance of her great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the path of non-violence. On the achievement of Independence, her policy, flowing from this past history and background, led her to devote her energies to the promotion of international peace. She sought the friendship of all nations and, at the same time, avoided any alignment or entanglements which might result in her being hostile to any country. Any other course would have been a deviation from the policy she had proclaimed and a betrayal of the principles she had long stood for. It
would have meant also a surrender of her freedom of action to the dictates of others.

From long and bitter experience she had learnt that a nation desiring freedom must basically rely on itself and dependence upon others meant a limitation of that freedom and an abandonment, to some extent, of the spirit and individuality of a nation, which give it strength, vitality and purpose.

The Congress is well aware that there are great and powerful nations, far more advanced in many ways than India, and these nations are sometimes pressed by the urge for expansion and the desire to make other countries fall within their orbit of influence. India cannot and has no desire to compete with them in strength of arms. At the same time, she cannot and will not surrender her way of thinking or action to pressure exercised from outside. She will continue to offer her friendship to all countries and co-operate with them to the best of her ability, but she will resist any aggression or any attempt to compel her to function against her own wishes. The principles she has endeavoured to follow are based on the pursuit of peace and the conviction that means are always important and must not be sacrificed to ends; in particular, that war today is likely to be a horrible calamity and an irretrievable disaster and must be avoided. Every step that increases tensions between nations and the climate of war must also, therefore, be avoided.

The Congress reiterates its conviction that India must continue to follow an independent policy in international affairs and not align herself with any group of nations against any other group.”

59 : 1954 : Kalyani : VI.

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Foreign Establishments in India

“The Congress has noted with pleasure the de facto transfer of the French Establishments in India to the Union of India. It welcomes the inhabitants of these areas as citizens of the Indian Republic and as members of the large family of India, and looks forward to their progress and advancement. In particular, the Congress is gratified that this historic change has taken place by means of a friendly settlement with the French Republic. It welcomes the assurance given that French culture will continue to be preserved in Pondicherry, thus adding to the richness of India’s life and culture.

2. The Congress is confident that the Portuguese settlements in India will also join the Indian Union before long and thus satisfy the aspirations of the people of those territories and complete the political integration of India.”

60 : 1955 : Avadi : III.
Foreign Relations

The Congress welcomes recent developments in world affairs, which have contributed to some lessening of international tensions, and trusts that this process will continue and lead to a further improvement of international relations. The Geneva Agreement on Indo-China not only brought an end to seven years' war but, for the first time in a generation, put an end to fighting in the world as a whole. The Congress earnestly hopes that this will lead to a peaceful settlement in this important area of South East Asia. India, in association with Canada and Poland, has undertaken heavy responsibilities in Indo-China. The Congress is glad to learn of the satisfactory work of the International Supervisory Commission in Indo-China and hopes that there will be no outside interference or pressure and that the future of these countries will be decided by the peoples themselves as provided in the Geneva Agreement.

2. In Korea, while war is ended, peace is not in sight. The establishment of peace in Korea is vital to Asian and world stability, removing from the international context a source of grave danger which may lead to large-scale conflict. The Congress hopes that further steps will be taken to continue negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question.

3. The establishment of a "South East Asian Defence Organisation", by some great powers of the West and some States in South East Asia, is regrettable and has added to the insecurity of that region and extended the area of cold war.

4. The Congress believes that real peace will be attained only by methods of friendly co-operation and understanding between neighbouring countries and, indeed, the countries of the world. The principles which should govern international relations have been set out in the joint statements issued by India, China and Burma, and more recently by India and Yugoslavia. The Congress warmly welcomes these five principles of Panch Shila. They represent the approach and policy of India in international affairs, and put forward the alternative of collective peace to the preparation for collective war. The Congress is of opinion that these principles must basically govern international relations and establish peaceful co-existence, which is imperative in the circumstances of today for the survival of civilization.

5. The continued exclusion of China from the United Nations is very regrettable and retards the progress of peace and stability in Asia and in the world. This Congress expresses the fervent hope
that, during the present year, China will take her place in the United Nations.

6. The Congress welcomes the proposal, originally initiated by Indonesia at the Colombo Conference last year, to convene a conference of the independent States of Asia and Africa and wishes this conference all success.

7. The ominous developments in respect of atomic and hydrogen bombs are a menace not only to world peace but to civilization itself. Even the experiments of the hydrogen bombs, if continued, threaten the entire world by their far-reaching and unascertained effects, which may lead to grave and permanent damage to human life and civilization. The total prohibition of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as conventional atomic weapons, such as atomic artillery, is imperative if civilization is to be saved from destruction. This Congress earnestly requests all concerned to bring about a cessation of the experiments and the immediate consideration of this matter by the Disarmament Commission of the United Nations. The Congress further suggests that the United Nations should take steps to give a scientific appraisal of the consequences of the use of and experiments with nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons so that the public of all nations might become fully aware of the grave menace of war today.

8. This Congress records its full appreciation of the policy of the Government of India in the realm of international affairs. It realises that the success of any foreign policy and its capacity to make itself felt, depend, in a large measure, on the strength and internal solidarity of the country, as well as true understanding and appreciation of the basic aim and approach towards world peace.”

60 : 1955 : Avadi : IV.

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Foreign Relations

“The Congress records its appreciation that the five principles known as the Panch Sheela have been welcomed and accepted by many countries as the basis of their relations with India. It expresses its firm conviction that the universal acceptance of these principles would lead to harmony and neighbourliness among nations, the elimination of fear and suspicion, and enable the establishment of world peace and co-operation.

2. The Conference of Asian and African nations at Bandung was a mile-stone in the awakening of the peoples of the two conti-
ments and a significant advance in their fraternity and solidarity. It was a practical exercise in international toleration and co-existence.

3. The Congress expresses its satisfaction that the prolonged deadlock which excluded a number of nations from membership of the United Nations has been broken and sixteen new countries have been admitted to membership. The Congress trusts that Japan and Mongolia will soon find their place in the United Nations.

4. The Congress notes with deep regret that China is still not represented in the United Nations by her Government. The attempt to keep her out of the United Nations is not only a denial of a patent fact and a repudiation of the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations but has also been the principle cause of the troubles and conflicts in the Far East. There can be no solution of the problems of Asia as long as this question remains unresolved.

5. The Congress welcomes the Sudan as an independent sovereign Republic and notes with interest and hope the steps that have been taken for the Gold Coast to attain self-government and independence. It trusts that this approach will lead to the freedom of other colonial territories in Africa and Asia. It regrets, however, that in North and East Africa, force and violence have been used to suppress the national liberation movements. The Congress expresses the earnest hope that negotiations will take the place of force, violence and racial domination, leading to the establishment of national freedom, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

6. The Congress regrets that some countries which stand for democracy and freedom have given their active or passive support to the continuation of the grossest forms of racial discrimination and suppression in South Africa.

This form of racialism is a complete denial of democracy and civilised behaviour and even of decency and can never be tolerated by the people of Asia and Africa. It will inevitably lead to bitter racial conflicts. It is a challenge to democratic principles and to the Charter of the United Nations. The Congress hopes that the countries of Europe and America will appreciate the deep feeling that exists in Asia and Africa over this continuing affront and injury and will take steps to help in the solution of this vital problem by peaceful methods. Civilised nations owe a certain international obligation to put an end to racialism and colonial and totalitarian rule.

7. The Congress notes with deep sorrow the present plight of the people of Goa under the oppressive and terroristic colonial rule
of Portugal. In the struggle for the liberation of Goa, thousands of Goans as well as many people from other parts of India have suffered banishment and long imprisonment, faced bullets and died in resisting Portuguese rule. Even now there are many who are still suffering imprisonment in Goa and in Portuguese possessions abroad. The Congress pays its tribute to those who have suffered and are suffering still in this struggle for freedom and extends to them its deep sympathy and its sense of comradeship in a common struggle.

8. The Congress has noted with great surprise that some leading countries have supported Portugal's retention of its colonies in India and have thus not only supported the principle of colonial rule, but also the brutal and authoritarian regime that exists in these colonies. It declares that it cannot tolerate the existence of colonialism in an integral part of India and will strive its utmost to end it. The Congress appreciates and agrees with the policy of the Government of India in adhering to peaceful methods in this struggle.

9. The Congress welcomes the lowering of world tensions as a result of the meeting of the four Heads of States in Geneva in July 1955 and of other developments. It regrets to note, however, that there is a renewal of the cold war which, necessarily, must come in the way of peaceful negotiations for the solution of international problems and will keep alive the fears and tensions that afflict the world. In particular, the Congress regrets that the policy of concluding military pacts is being continued. The immediate effect of these pacts has been to spread the area of the cold war and to divide the countries of Asia and Africa. It is also resulting in the building up of armaments and in sharpening the conflicts between the great power blocs. Disarmament, which is so essential to world peace, has received a set-back and there is continuing rivalry in producing the most destructive weapons of war.

10. The Congress re-affirms the basic policy of India not to align herself with any power bloc and to work for peace through friendship of all nations. It records with appreciation the increasing recognition of the useful contribution that India is making in international affairs and the firm pursuit by the Government of India of the policy of collective peace, despite all obstacles. It reminds the nation, however, that the internal unity of India, her economic and political strength, and the strength of her national character are imperative for the pursuit and success of the declared policies of the Government of India in international affairs."

61:1956:Amritsar:III.
International Affairs*

"The All India Congress Committee notes with hope the recent events and developments in international affairs which have resulted in personal contacts and direct talks between the Heads of Governments and the leaders of some of the Great Powers and also between other leading statesmen. These developments and consequent improvement in the international political climate are welcome, even though the great and vexing problems which afflict the world and on the solution of which the avoidance of great world conflicts rests, remain yet unsolved.

The AICC hopes that these developments will gather momentum and that the overwhelming desire of the people of the world for peace will, as a result, come closer to realisation. The Committee hopes that the wisdom, patience and perseverance of the statesmen of the world will lead to the increasing recognition of the inevitable and imperative character of peaceful co-existence based on the independence and equality of nations, respect by them of one another and non-interference in internal affairs, and non-aggression in respect of other nations.

The AICC regrets the continuing endeavours to form and maintain military pacts. Even economic assistance, where it is a part of such military alliances, acquires a military quality. More particularly, the Committee deplores the extension of these pacts beyond even the intentions and purposes proclaimed in their behalf. The Committee regrets the reference to Kashmir in the recent meetings in Karachi and Tehran of the SEATO and the Baghdad Pact organisations. This concerns the integrity and the sovereign rights of India.

The AICC notes with concern the grave developments in Algeria and welcomes and supports the peace initiative contained in the Prime Minister's recent statement in Parliament. It expresses the confident hope that both the French and the Algerian people will find it possible to take steps to stop the fighting and thus open the way for negotiations."

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"International Crisis"**

"The AICC views with grave concern recent developments in international affairs. There has been reversion to old and discredited

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*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. held at Bombay on 2nd and 3rd June, 1956.

**Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. held at Calcutta on 9th and 11th November, 1956.
colonial methods of attempting to impose political and other decisions by armed intervention in Egypt as also invasion, aggression and even aerial bombing. This has brought the world to the verge of widespread war.

In Hungary, there has been civil conflict involving considerable loss of life, as well as the use of foreign armed forces.

These developments have come after a period of relaxation of tension and a growing realisation that war must be ruled out and all problems between nations should be settled by peaceful methods. Because of this, the shock to the conscience of the world, and more especially to the nations of Asia and Africa, was all the greater and the hopes of peaceful progress that were being cherished were shattered. This indicates the inherent dangers confronting the world when the action of one or more countries can frustrate the forces of peace and involve the world in a terrible war. This also demonstrates that only by a strict adherence to peaceful methods and a recognition of peaceful co-existence between nations, can the danger of war be avoided. A particularly distressing feature of the situation is the way in which the declared will of the United Nations has been flouted.

After long argument, certain basic agreements were reached between the parties concerned in the Suez Canal issue, and it was hoped that further progress would soon be made through negotiations. Instead of these negotiations, however, an armed attack was made on Egypt on the plea that Israel had invaded Egypt. Instead of restraining the aggressor country, the victim of aggression, Egypt was attacked by two Great Powers. On the plea of maintaining peace, war was started. With the declared object of safeguarding the Suez Canal, injury was done to that Canal and its functioning prevented.

The AICC expresses its strong resentment and disapproval of the invasion of Egypt by Israel and the armed action taken by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt with a view to impose their will.

The AICC expresses its appreciation of the action taken by the United Nations General Assembly in regard to a ceasefire and in directing the aggressor countries to withdraw their armed forces from the territory of Egypt, and hopes that these directions will be carried out in the immediate future. There can be no peace, and no kind of settlement can be contemplated, until all the aggressor forces have withdrawn from the soil of Egypt and Egyptian sovereignty has been fully restored.
The AICC expresses its warm sympathy with the people of Egypt in the great trials through which they have passed and its admiration for the calm behaviour of the people of Cairo in spite of the aerial bombing.

In some countries of Central Europe, important changes have recently taken place towards democratisation and the AICC welcomes them and trusts that these changes will be brought about peacefully. In Hungary, however, a situation has arisen involving great suffering for the people which has caused the AICC much distress. The Committee hopes that the foreign troops in Hungary will be withdrawn and the people of Hungary decide their own future by peaceful methods.

Recent events have demonstrated that methods of compulsion and armed intervention by one country on another can no longer be tolerated and can only result, if persisted in, in world war. They have also shown that the armed forces of one country should not be used in another country and foreign bases also should not be established. Both these are forms of intervention which are not only undesirable but are constant irritants leading to conflict. They are opposed to the principles of the Panch Shila. The AICC hopes that Asian and African nations, particularly, should co-operate together in the spirit of the Bandung Conference for their security and progress and should endeavour to spread that spirit of co-existence and co-operation in other parts of the world.

The AICC approves and endorses the policy of the Government of India in regard to the crisis that has arisen.”

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International Affairs*

“The All India Congress Committee, at its meeting held in November 1956 in Calcutta, referred to the critical situation that had arisen in Egypt and Western Asia and in Hungary and expressed its grave concern at these developments which had brought the world to the verge of widespread war. It pointed out that compulsion and armed intervention by one country in another could no longer be tolerated and, if persisted in, would result in world war. The Congress endorses the views contained in the resolution of the All India Congress Committee and approves of the policy of the Government of India in regard to these crises.

*Resolution passed at the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress met at Indore on 5th and 6th January, 1957.*
These events have led to tragedy in Egypt and Hungary and to the suffering of large number of human beings. But they have also brought an element of hope in that they have demonstrated that the spirit of freedom in men cannot ultimately be crushed by even superior force and that where such an attempt at coercion is made, world opinion opposes it. They have also shown that military pacts and alliances come in the way of peace and that the stationing of armed forces of one country in another leads to ill-will, conflict and the fear of war. The old military approach to the problems of the world has thus failed and it becomes necessary to adopt a different approach if real peace is to be established and the recurring fear of war is to be removed.

The Congress welcomes the withdrawal of the Anglo-French forces from Egyptian territory and trusts that the foreign forces in Hungary will also be withdrawn and the people of Hungary will be given freedom to decide their own future by peaceful methods.

The Congress realises that fear and suspicion have led to competition in armaments and to the maintenance of foreign armed forces and bases in a large number of countries. Each country is naturally anxious for its own security and some have sought to secure this by the addition to their own armed strength and by military pacts and alliances, and yet this very policy of reliance on armed force and military pacts has led to an increase of that fear and to a greater lack of security, and the world moves in a vicious circle, seeking a way out, and finding none.

It has become essential, therefore, for new policies to be framed and for new approaches to be made with courage. These should be based not on threats or the use of armed forces in other countries, but on a recognition that each country must have freedom to live its own life without interference from others whether this interference is by way of military force or economic sanctions or is based on some ideology. The events in Egypt and Hungary have shown that military forces do not yield results and even an ideology cannot be imposed by the help of armed forces.

The Congress had previously welcomed a relaxation in world tensions and the progress made towards democratisation in some countries of Central Europe. It regrets that these hopeful trends have been checked. Any reversal of these normal processes will only take the world further towards disaster. It trusts, therefore, that the march of freedom in all countries and the normalisation of peaceful relations between countries will be encouraged and recent events will not be allowed to come in their way.
It is essential that progress should be made towards disarmament. Recent developments have indicated that the gap between the rival viewpoints in regard to disarmament is somewhat less than it was previously and some success might be achieved if steps to that end are taken. The Congress recognises that a complete solution of this, as of other important problems, cannot be achieved at one step, but every step taken in the right direction will lower world tensions and tend to produce a climate of peace which will help in further advances towards their solution.

The Congress adheres firmly to its policy of non-alignment and of friendship with all nations and expresses its conviction again that international affairs should be governed by the principles of Panch Shila."

* * *

Foreign Relations

"1. The Congress expresses its sense of satisfaction and relief that some of the developments in the world which threatened to precipitate conflicts, were averted by the intervention of the United Nations and of world opinion. The grave world tensions, however, continue unabated, and no progress has yet been made which might lead to their relaxation. Recent developments in science and technology, resulting in even more powerful weapons of mass destruction being made, have increased these fears and tensions, and added to the momentum of the armaments race which itself, if not checked, may lead inevitably to world catastrophe.

2. The most sinister of all the threats that face the world, is that of atomic destruction. The stoppage of the manufacture and use of atomic weapons of mass destruction is essential if the way to peace is to be ensured. Explosions for test purposes of these weapons are gravely harmful to the peoples of the world, irrespective of their nationality or their geographical position or their policies. The consequences of these explosions to present and future generations are such that they should cease forthwith, if the human race and civilisation is not to be exposed to incalculable and unascertained risks and dangers. These tests are part of the preparation for a nuclear war and, therefore, of possible annihilation. The Congress calls for immediate suspension of these tests by all concerned. This will also be a beginning of the reversal of the armaments race, and create a favourable atmosphere for further agreements in respect of disarmament itself.

3. Agreement at least on some aspect of disarmament and a halt in the armaments race are the most urgent and imperative tasks
of the time. Disarmament, however, can only be achieved by agreement among the great powers who are in possession of these weapons and who can affect a change of approach towards world peace. This Congress appeals to the governments of the world, particularly to the atomic powers, to respond to the call of world opinion to pursue negotiations towards agreements on disarmament, which at present appear to be deadlocked.

4. The Congress recognises and notes with satisfaction that the Declaration of the United Nations adopted on the 14th December, 1957, embodies and affirms the Five Principles of co-existence, known as Panchsheel, and points to the need of reducing world tensions and of peaceful approaches to international problems. These problems can only be solved in this way and not by military blocs which have failed to bring any solution nearer and have only aggravated fears and produced greater insecurity.

5. The Congress expresses the earnest hope that negotiations will take the place of force, violence and racial domination, and that national freedom, in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, will be achieved all over the world.

6. The Congress regrets that in the Union of South Africa, racial discrimination and exploitation of non-Europeans continue unabated and in some respects, have even been aggravated. People of Indian origin, who have been the pioneers in the resistance to these measures, have been, in common with the African peoples, suffering under great disabilities and persecution. This Congress declares its solidarity with those who are resisting these evils.

7. The Congress reaffirms the determination of the Indian people to work for peace through friendship with all nations and to remain unaligned with the power blocs. It records its appreciation of the increasing recognition of this approach and policies as helpful factors in world reconciliation, even by those who do not accept them. While the Congress legitimately takes pride in the firm pursuit by the Government of India of the policies of collective peace and the support of it by our entire people, it recognises that our approach must be one of understanding and humility, and that example and persuasion alone can be our effective contribution.

8. The Congress regrets the continued exclusion of the true representatives of China from the United Nations and the failure to recognise that her full participation in world affairs is essential for the solution of the major problems of the world and, more particularly, for stability in Asia.

9. The Congress reiterates its support for the colonial peoples of all dependent territories who are struggling for their independence
and more, particularly, those in North Africa where much violence and bloodshed are taking place.

10. The Congress solemnly reminds the nation that the unity of India, the practice of tolerance amongst ourselves, the building up of our economic strength, and the maintenance of our free institutions, in all of which strength and quality of character is ultimately the decisive element, are imperative for the successful pursuit of our country’s declared policies in regard to world affairs."


* * *

Foreign Relations

1. The Congress reaffirms its faith in and support of the approach and policy of our Government in international relations and affairs, based upon non-interference by nations and governments in the affairs of other nations and peoples, respect for their independence and nationhood; tolerance, mutual respect and benefit, and peaceful co-existence, calculated to help to lessen world tensions and the establishment of world peace and cooperation.

2. These five principles, which have come to be known as Panchsheel and the consequent policy of "non-alignment" with one or other of the Power Blocs and in the controversies of the cold war; our moral support of and solidarity with the people who aspire and strive to establish and retain their freedom; our determination to maintain the independence of our own land and people, by the preservation and development of our democratic institutions and independent outlook, in the political, economic and social spheres, have assisted in the better understanding of our country and people even by those who disagree from us.

3. This policy is a reflection of the spirit, approach and method that enabled us to establish our national independence under the leadership of Gandhiji and to become a truly free people, and is essential for the maintenance of our independence and national dignity, and for our economic and social progress as a free people.

4. In view of the tremendous advances in scientific achievement in the present nuclear and inter-planetary age, the Congress expresses its conviction that cooperation between all nations, and particularly those most advanced in science and technology, is essential if these advances are to be fully utilised in the service of humanity and not to become yet another source of conflict and war.

5. The Congress regrets that no substantial advance has yet been made in respect of world disarmament, but instead competitive
armament continues with greater speed and intensity, menacing the world with the ominous prospect of mass destruction and perhaps even annihilation. More particularly, the economic progress and independence of under-developed countries are menaced by the continuing threat of impending world catastrophe.

6. The Congress welcomes the expansion of freedom in Africa and the emergence of Guineas an independent Sovereign Republic. It earnestly hopes that all remaining dependent and colonial territories in Africa will soon become independent, and that colonialism will thus come to an end, making for a happier future for Africa, Asia and the world, free from thraldom and exploitation.

7. The Congress declares its full support for the peoples of Algeria and Cyprus in their demand for the recognition of their nationhood and its full sympathy in their struggle for national independence. The attempt to bring about partition of their territories and to dismember them is to strike at their nationhood and prevent the solution of these problems.

8. The Congress reaffirms its conviction that the last remnants of colonialism, which still subsist in our motherland, must come to an end by the liberation of the people of Goa from Portuguese colonial rule. It declares its solidarity with our kin in Goa in their struggle against Portuguese rule, and expresses the hope that even at this stage, the Portuguese will see the wisdom and the advantage to themselves in a peaceful approach and settlement of this issue.

9. The Congress reiterates its solidarity with the peoples of Indian origin as well as all others, in the Union of South Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination. The cruelties and suffering inflicted on them by deprivation of their homes is an affront to their dignity and often the loss of even the means of their livelihood.

10. The Congress welcomes the enthusiastic response of our people to the ties and growing friendship between our country and people with all nations and peoples, particularly those of the Commonwealth and those of Asia and Africa, and considers that the growth of these friendly relations between India and all other countries is not only in our mutual interest but benefits the cause of world peace and cooperation.”


International Affairs*

The foreign policy of a nation is primarily based on maintaining its freedom and integrity and in encouraging the prosperity of its
people. While these objectives are essential, the Congress has always viewed them in the larger context of world peace and progress and has endeavoured to develop friendly relations with all countries and worked for the promotion of world peace and the elimination of colonialism and racialism.

In the present context of the world and the growth of weapons of mass destruction it has become imperative to put an end to war if the world is to avoid grave catastrophe or even to survive. The aim of the United Nations and indeed the essential condition for the survival of mankind is "to rid the world of the scourge of war." This can only be realised by full and complete disarmament and the outlawing of war which our Government has held as its firm position and advocated in the United Nations and in the world generally.

In pursuance of this policy of peace, the policy which our country has adopted has been to avoid any entanglements with military blocs, each poised against, suspicious and fearful of the other and living in a state of cold war with its attendant tensions.

The All India Congress Committee re-affirms its firm faith in non-alignment and peaceful co-existence and a peaceful approach to problems in the world.

The Committee welcomes the recent Nuclear Test Ban Agreement. This has provided a beginning, however small, in lowering world tensions and given some hope of wider and more significant relaxations which can lead to the ultimate ending of the cold war. This Agreement is a limited one and by itself does not ensure peace. Nevertheless, the Agreement repudiates the cold war attitude and approach and has been recognised as a beginning and reversal of the cold war approach. It is, therefore, to be welcomed. The Committee hopes that this approach will be continued and the Agreement will be followed by a halt in the armament race, particularly in nuclear arms, and that the manufacture, stock-piling and use of nuclear weapons or traffic in them will be prohibited by international agreement.

The All India Congress Committee desires to state that our present accentuated defence preparations are in no way in consonant or contrary to our dedication to world peace and cooperation, or to our endeavours to bring about a war-less world. In a totally disarmed world, there can be no aggression by any country. In the present context of armed threats to our country's integrity and independence and the continued aggression on our territory by our neighbours, China and Pakistan, it is the duty of our people and our country and for the cause of world peace itself, to be prepared to prevent and foil aggression and not to render it gainful to others.
The All India Congress Committee reiterates its full support for the foreign policy of our Government for world peace and cooperation and the pursuit to that end of peaceful co-existence, non-alignment in the respect of power blocs, solidarity with non-aligned countries and opposition to colonialism and racism; and calls upon Congressmen to campaign for the fuller appreciation and support of it by our people. This policy is not negative and is not based on weakness rather than strength. The policy has proved itself by its success in the result and the more wider support and acceptance of it by the world. It is based on adherence to independence and national dignity and friendship, reciprocity and common interest as far as other nations are concerned.

The All India Congress Committee proclaims the firm resolve of the nation to meet and resist Chinese aggression with all the strength and resources—military, political and diplomatic—and above all, by the collective will and discipline of our people. The Committee welcomes and supports the Government’s adherence to the position that they will always seek to pursue peaceful approaches and methods, but that they are equally clear and determined that they will not tolerate aggression. The Committee firmly believes that the Government’s acceptance and support of the Colombo proposals is based on this approach and therefore, endorses it warmly.

The A.I.C.C. deeply deplores the ruthless policy of the Union of South Africa, now being practised in larger and more intensive measure than ever before, which has deprived and is deprivings large numbers of Africans and people of Indian origin of their homes, their possessions, their occupations, their dignity and their honour and assigning to them the status of inferior citizens and outcastes in the land of their birth and being. The Committee warmly supports the vote recorded by our Government in the United Nations along with all other countries in the world except Portugal, against the repressive policy and conduct of the South African Government. The Committee is also confident that the Government will support any and all measures which conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and are calculated to end racialism in South Africa and bring that country back into the norms of conduct of civilized nations.

The A.I.C.C. also notes with appreciation the growing opposition to racial policies and their progressive termination under the pressure of enlightened opinion all over the world. It appreciates the endeavours being made particularly by the new African nations to put an end to racialism.
The Committee wishes to congratulate the Negroes in the United States of America who expressed their protest in the recent march in Washington and conducted themselves with great dignity, restraint and discipline and in a non-violent manner. To them the name and example of Gandhiji and his teachings have been and are in great inspiration.

Foreign Relations with Individual Countries

Foreign Relations—Baluchistan

"This session of the A.I.C.C. in view of the changed circumstances and the impending vital constitutional changes is strongly of the opinion that the people of Baluchistan who have so far no voice in the administration of their Province should be linked with the Government there through a Popular Interim Government."


* * *

Foreign Relations—Burma

"The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the people of Burma in their troubles and trusts that they will not be awed or cowed down by the repression now going on in their midst.

The Congress notes with regret the tendency among the Indian settlers in Burma to claim communal representation and strongly advises them not to make any such claim as such separatist tendency is bad in principle."

39: 1924: Belgaum: V.

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The All-India Congress Committee, 27-8 March, 1931*

"This Congress recognizes the right of the people of Burma to claim separation from India and to establish an independent Burman State or to remain an autonomous partner in a free India with a right of separation at any time they may desire to exercise it. The Congress, however, condemns the endeavour of the British Government to force separation of Burma without giving adequate opportunity to the Burmese people to express their views and against the declared wishes of their national political organizations. This endeavour seems to be deliberately engineered to perpetuate British domination there so as to make Burma together with Singapore, by reason of the presence of oil and their strategic position, strongholds of imperialism in Eastern Asia. The Congress is strongly opposed to any policy which would result in Burma being kept as a British dependency and her resources exploited for British imperialist purposes and would also be a menace to a free India as well as to the

*The Indian National Congress Resolutions, 1930-4. Allahabad, All-India Congress Committee, p. 65.
other nations of the East. The Congress urges that the extraordinary powers given to the Government of Burma be withdrawn and the declaration by the Government that representative and important organizations of Burmese national opinion are illegal be also withdrawn so that normal conditions be restored and the future of Burma may be discussed by her people without hindrance in a peaceful atmosphere and the will of the Burmese people may prevail."

Resolution passed by the Burma Legislative Council,
22 December, 1932.

(1) "That this Council opposes the separation of Burma from India on the basis of the Constitution for a separated Burma outlined in the statement of the Prime Minister made at the Burma Round Table Conference on the 12th January, 1932.

(2) That this Council emphatically opposes the unconditional and permanent federation of Burma with India.

(3) This Council will continue to oppose the separation of Burma from India until Burma is granted a Constitution on the following basis:

(a) The future Constitution of Burma shall provide for the immediate transfer to popular control of at least the same measure of responsibility and the same subjects and powers as will be transferred to popular control in the Indian Federation, both at the Centre and in the Provinces.

(b) The subjects and powers reserved to the Governor shall be only for a period of transition and such Reserved powers shall be framed and exercised in accordance with recognized constitutional practice and shall in no way prejudice the advance of Burma through the new Constitution to full responsibility for her own Government within a reasonable period and the new Constitution for Burma shall further prescribe the manner in which or the time when the said Reserved subjects and powers are to be transferred to popular control on the basis of full responsibility.

In the event of failure to obtain a definite pronouncement from His Majesty's Government that Burma, if and when separated from India, will be granted the aforesaid Constitution, this Council proposes that Burma shall enter the Indian Federation with at least the following terms:

(a) Burma shall have the right to secede from the Indian Federation which it may exercise through its Legislature.

(b) There shall be such financial adjustments between Burma
and India as may be required by Burma’s peculiar local conditions and other circumstances.

(c) The division of central and provincial subjects in the proposed Indian Federation shall be reconsidered with reference to Burma with a view to provincialization of additional subjects, special regard being had to Burma’s geographical position and its peculiar needs and conditions, and further Burma shall be afforded all necessary facilities for acquiring administrative experience and knowledge of the Reserved and Federal subjects.

That in view of the statement made by the Hon’ble Leader of the House on the 16th December 1932, in paragraph 3 of the passage explaining the position of His Majesty’s Government that His Majesty’s Government have always contemplated that an opportunity should be given to representatives of Burma to express further views on the provisions of the Constitution outlined before they are finally enacted, this Council expresses its deep satisfaction and gratitude and urges that a conference will be called at an early date for the purpose of determining the future constitution of Burma either as a separate unit on the aforesaid basis or as a unit in the Indian Federation with the aforesaid terms."

* * *

*Speech by Mr. U Kyaw Din*

“To enable you to understand us I should like to place before you two fundamental considerations. On those two fundamental considerations the whole of our aims and our entire desires are based. The first is that the Burmese are a nation and a people. This may sound obvious, but from the literature that was supplied and piled upon us, and from the cursory glance I had over that literature, I came to the conclusion that at least the Indian Delegates did not quite realize that. When I say we are a people and a nation, I distinguish our people from that of India in this respect: India is a very big continent. The Bengalis, for instance, cannot claim themselves to be a nation or a people. Every little community, every member of a sect or religion, will remain in a watertight compartment as it were. Therefore, their only way of political emancipation is by way of a Federation of these different watertight compartments, whereas Burma is different. Every Burman remembers, and cherishes that memory, that he is a member of a whole. The second fundamental idea is that every Burman remembers that

not very long ago, only 47 years ago, he had a King of his own; his nation was a nation that had an honourable seat amongst the family of nations. His songs, his lyrics, his folk-lore press him on to that, remind him of that fact, and the great idea of his life is to strive on so that he may gain to that status, so that he may form a separate unit, so that he may form one political entity. It never enters into his mind, not even in his dreams, that he would form a unit, a minor unit of a great Federation of different peoples. Those are the fundamental ideals, hopes and aspirations of Burma. If that is so, one would naturally ask, why do you not want to be a separate unit yourself when you have got the chance now? My answer to that, my Lord Chairman, is this: Because our ideas are so fixed, our desire to form a separate unit so ardent, our hopes of attaining that unity are so great that we are prepared to sacrifice that for the present moment, if we find that the ways and means offered to us of attaining our ideals do not come up to the standard which we have set up. That, I venture to submit, my Lord Chairman, is the beginning of the Anti-Separationist League and ideals. 'If that is so', it may be asked, 'why did you then 18 months ago start this movement?' As I submitted to you, we had our doubts, we had our fears and those doubts and fears were shared not only by us but the Government of Burma itself. May I invite your attention to the dispatch of the Government of Burma dated the 13th August 1930? The Government of Burma expressed those doubts and fears in this language: 'The Government of Burma could not possibly agree to separation on any other terms, and they trust that His Majesty's Government will see fit to set at rest any doubts that may still exist on the subject. They attach importance to the point, for the allegation is frequently made in that section of the Public Press of Burma which is opposed to the recommendation of the Statutory Commission that the British Government will seize the opportunity of separation to reduce Burma to the status of a Crown Colony.' Those were the doubts and fears of the Government of Burma. Those were the doubts and fears which I shared fully and which prompted me to start this Anti-Separationist League... Those doubts were further strengthened when I recall to my mind the little incident the Burma Delegates had at the Burma Round Table Conference. One of the Burma Delegates (he happened to be an Englishman) expressed the hope that any political advancement made to India would apply to Burma; he was promptly ticked off and he was told that what was held out to India was meant for India and need not necessarily apply to Burma. That increased our fears. That expressed the opinion as put forward by the
Government of Burma. It was at no time contemplated, as I submitted, that we would form part, a small unit, of a great Federation. At the very beginning when we started this movement nearly 18 months or 20 months ago, some of the papers described us as 'Federationists'. We immediately repudiated it—that we were not Federationists but that we were Anti-Separationists on the basis of the Constitution as outlined by the Right Honourable The Prime Minister. At that time I would ask you to bear in mind that we had before us only the statement of the Right Honourable The Prime Minister: the Indian question had not been discussed. Although it had been to a certain extent discussed, yet it had not been announced what India was going to be provided with....Since then, time has changed; things have been made clearer to us....I should like to put the present position in these words. I cannot do better than by referring to a statement of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India made in the House of Commons on the 20th March 1933, with this one little addition: 'To put it summarily: the same range of opportunity and function that it is proposed to devolve in India either upon the Federal Legislature or the Provincial Legislatures is in the case of Burma to be devolved upon the Burma Legislature.; the same subjects that in India are proposed to be reserved to the Governor-General would in Burma be reserved to the Governor, and the same Special Responsibilities that in India are to be imposed on the Governor-General or the Provincial Governors, as the case may be, will in Burma be imposed upon the Governor. That is a statement in general terms, and inevitably there will be some modifications and differences in detail due to the differing circumstances of the two cases; but, broadly speaking, the two sets of proposals do correspond closely enough to comply fully with the statement made by my predecessor in this House on the 20th January 1931, that the prospects of constitutional advance held out to Burma as part of British India will not be prejudiced by a decision to separate, and they correspond so closely as to satisfy also, I should have thought, the stipulation made by the Burma Legislative Council in its resolution of the 22nd December for the immediate transfer to popular control of at least the same measure of responsibility, and the same subjects and powers, as will be transferred to popular control in the Indian Federation both at the Centre and in the Provinces.'

This statement cleared away some of the doubts, some of the fears; it clears the atmosphere, but there is still one little one left to my mind, and it is this: Yes, we will get it now. How about 20 years hence? Will we get the same advancement that India will
get during that period? That is not yet clear. That is one of the fears, and one of the doubts. Probably in the course of the discussion on the constitutional aspect of the problem that question will arise, and probably we shall be in a position to discuss that matter, but, in the meantime, I should like to say that our hopes and our aspirations are that we should form a separate unit, one political entity, an equal partner in that great commonwealth of nations known as the British Empire."

*Speech by Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India 7th December, 1933*

"There is a third argument that has been used against separation that we have by no means ignored. I have seen it suggested that Burma has on the whole gained political strength by its association with India, and I would not at all dissent from that view; that having gained political strength in the last 15 years, from the point of view of Burma, it would be wiser not to break the situation, but as the result of maintaining this political association with India, Burma in the future will be able to obtain better constitutional terms than she could obtain now. My Lord Chairman, that line of argument seems to me to presuppose two conditions. It seems to me, first of all, to presuppose the right of Burma to secede from the Indian Federation. It seems to me also to assume the right of Burma to obtain preferential treatment as compared with the treatment of the Provinces of British India. Now upon both these points I can state my own view, and I can state the view of the Government; upon neither of them do I wish to prejudge the views of my colleagues upon the Committee, but stating my own views and the views of the Government, I can say very definitely that both those conditions strike at the very root of the permanent Federation that we have been considering for India. It is not that we wish to put a pistol at the throats of our friends from Burma and thrust them upon the horns of an impossible dilemma. It is simply this, that those two conditions strike at the very root of any permanent Federation, and, in the interests of permanent Federation, that is what, after all, the Government have been considering incessantly for the last three years, the British Government can never accept them. My Lord Chairman, it is interesting to note that I do not think a single one of the Indian delegates who were here until a few weeks ago would accept them either. There was a little talk based upon mis-

*Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, Vol. II, Records, A 1 and 2, B 1, 2 and 3, and C 1, 2 and 3, p. 156.*
understanding at one time of the rights of the Princes to secede from the Indian Federation. When we went further into the details of the question, we found that the Princes made no such demand, and it was quite clear that if they had made such a demand, not a single representative from British India would have accepted it. I was therefore very glad to note a passage in Dr. Ba Maw’s interesting speech when he said that the Anti-Separationists in this respect demanded no more than the Indian Princes. I can tell him that the Indian Princes made no such demand and that if they had made such a demand, no Indian delegate would have accepted it. Let me again make it clear that these conditions, namely, that we could not admit either the right of secession or preferential treatment for federation, are not directed in any way against Burma. They are conditions that are absolutely inherent in any system of government that is likely to remain permanent in India."

Lord Linlithgow on the Future of Indo-British Relations,
18 June, 1934*

“There are moments in the affairs of nations when a way is opened for the removal of long-standing differences and misunderstandings and for the establishment between people and people of new relations more in harmony with the circumstances of the time than those which they replace. Adjustments of this order, when they involve a transference of political power, must inevitably provide a sharp test of national character; and the instinct for the time and manner of the change is the sure mark of political sagacity and experience. If there are those to whom the majestic spectacle of an Indian Empire makes so powerful an appeal that every concession appears almost as a betrayal of a trust, we would ask them to look at the other side of the picture, different indeed in content, but not less charged with realities. India also has a right to be heard before judgement is pronounced; and her plea to be allowed the opportunity of applying principles and doctrines which we ourselves have taught cannot be met by a simple traverse or by a denial of her interest in the cause.

It has seemed to some that to permit India to control her own destiny is to sever the tie which unites her to the Crown and to the United Kingdom. Never could we contemplate the rupture of that beneficent and honourable association; but we believe that a union of

*Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (Session 1933-4), Proceedings, Vol. I, Pt. II.
partners may prove an even more enduring bond. We do not deny that the creation of an Indian Empire has profoundly affected the position of the United Kingdom and has magnified its influence in the affairs of the world; but we do not think that the selfish or vainglorious element predominates in the pride which this country takes in the work accomplished. The best of those who were and are responsible for it have ever regarded themselves as the servants of India and not merely as the agents of a foreign power; nor do we forget that it could not have been carried through without the cooperation of Indian hands. It has not needed our inquiry to remind us how great a place India fills in our own history. There is no part of His Majesty’s Dominions with the same power to recall memories or to stir emotions, and none with so great a succession of warriors and administrators, by the story of whose achievements our hearts are still moved, as Sir Philip Sidney by the song of Percy and Douglas, more than with a trumpet. But the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men, and those of whom we speak are now become a part no less of India than of English history. Their arduous and patient labours founded a new and mighty State; and it is upon the foundations which they have laid that, as we hope, an Indian Federation will be built, in which under the Crown the people of India will find political contentment as well as scope for the free and orderly growth of national life.”

* Medical Mission to Burma and Malaya

“In view of the serious and widespread distress prevailing among Indians in Burma and Malaya for want of food and medical attention and cloth scarcity, the Working Committee resolve that a medical mission be sent on behalf of the Congress to Burma and Malaya in order to give medical and other needed relief, more especially to I.N.A. and Indian Independence League personnel there. The Committee authorises Dr. B. C. Roy to organize such a mission in consultation with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the Chairman of the I.N.A. Inquiry and Relief Committee, and to arrange for its despatch at an early date.”

W.C. : Dec. 7-11, 1945 : Calcutta : VIII.

* The Working Committee* have learnt with deep grief of the murder of General Aung San and his colleagues in the Interim

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee, met at Delhi on 19th and 20th July, 1947.*
Government of Burma. General Aung San had fed his people with courage and sagacity during a period of extreme difficulties to the verge of independence. Beloved of his people, his death at this critical moment is a terrible blow to Burma and a heavy loss to Asia. To the people of Burma, the Committee extend their deepest sympathy at this disaster that has befallen them.

This cold-blooded and calculated murder of Burma’s chosen leaders is symptomatic of the spirit of gangsterism that has spread and poisoned public life and even social work. Freedom can neither be won nor retained through these methods, and only degradation, chaos and the ending of all standards that give value to life can result from them.”

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**Foreign Relations—Canada**

“This Congress strongly protests against prohibition of immigration, resulting from the operation of the Canadian Privy Council Order No. 920, generally known as the ‘Continuous Journey Clause’, as the order in question has, practically, the effect of preventing any Indian, not already settled there, from going to Canada, inasmuch as there is no direct steamship service between the two countries, and the Steamship Companies refuse through booking, and further subjects the present Indian Settlers in Canada to great hardship by precluding them from bringing over their wives and children. This Congress, therefore, urges upon the Imperial Government the necessity of securing the repeal of the said Continuous Journey Regulation.”

28 : 1913 : Karachi : VI.

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**Foreign Relations—Ceylon**

It passed the following resolutions on Ceylon :

“The Working Committee have viewed with anxious concern the development of the situation in Ceylon relating to the rights and security and welfare of Indians in Ceylon and more particularly of labour in the rubber and tea estates, resulting in a general hartal of Indian workers which has already lasted over three weeks. The Committee sympathise with the demands of Indians for fair treatment and rights of citizenship and franchise and deeply regret that any such conflict should arise between the Indian residents of Ceylon and the Ceylonese Government. Ceylon and India are and must inevitably be desire and endeavour of all concerned to find a way for
settling all disputes in a just and equitable manner honourable to India and Ceylon and conducive to enlarging the freedom of the people. The Committee while appreciating the sacrifices of the estate workers in their heroic struggle are of opinion that the present strike, which is ostentatiously political in its motive though it is related to economic problems affecting Indian labour as a whole, should be discontinued, with a view to creating an atmosphere favourable to conciliation, and therefore advise the Ceylon Indian Congress to call it off.

The Committee assure the Ceylon Indian Congress of its full sympathy for the cause of Indians in Ceylon and to that end and for taking necessary steps to obtain redress for their grievances appoints the following Committee for investigation of the matters in dispute.

The Committee will consist of the President (Jawaharlal Nehru), Shri C. Rajagopalachariar, Shri Aryanayakam and Shri Ramachandran.”

W.C. July: 5-8, 1946: Bombay: II

Ceylon*

"This Congress views with grave concern the latest developments in Ceylon in regard to the people of Indian origin, who have long been resident there and who have not been or who are no longer citizens of India. The administrative measures and economic sanctions taken against these people have not only caused them considerable hardship but intend to make them stateless and thus create a grave situation. The Congress is of opinion that these measures of the Ceylon Government are not in conformity with justice or international practice, and appeals to the Government of Ceylon to give further consideration to this question which is not only important because it affects large numbers of people, but comes in the way of the friendly and cooperative relations which should exist between such near neighbours as India and Ceylon which have had so much in common from immemorial times.”

"(Non-official)"

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session met at Hyderabad, Dn., on 17th and 18th January, 1953.
Foreign Relations—Commonwealth

"The A.I.C.C. having considered the Declaration, opined to by the Prime Minister of India, on the membership of India in the Commonwealth of Nations, as set out in the official statement issued at the conclusion of the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London on April 27th, 1949, records its approval of the action taken on behalf of India. The Committee is of opinion that this action is in accordance with the directive given in the Foreign Policy resolution of the Jaipur Congress and that it maintains the full sovereign independence of the Indian Republic, while at the same time keeping the free association of India, with other Commonwealth countries in a new conception of the Commonwealth which in no way interferes with the sovereignty and freedom of action of each member country."

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Foreign Relations—East Africa

"The Indian National Congress endorses the resolution of the Working Committee passed on August 6, 1945 regarding the situation in East Africa. The Congress views with great concern the attempts made in that country to make permanent the restrictions of the war-time period and converting them into a permanent anti-Indian law. The recorded admissions of even the confirmed enemies of Indian progress prove that Indians were in East Africa before any European set his foot on that soil and fully support the claim of the Indians in East Africa that the laws reserving the highlands for the White people and restricting the rights of Indians are most immoral and unjustifiable."

54 : 1946; Meerut : V.

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"The Working Committee having heard Mr. R. B. Pandya on behalf of the East African Indian National Congress, and Mr. Hari-Chand M. Shah on behalf of the Africa and Overseas Merchants' Chamber on the attempts made by the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika to introduce anti-Indian immigration legislation express their deep concern over the situation developing in these territories."

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* Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. met at Dehra Dun on 21st and 22nd May, 1949. 
"In view of the assurances given by the East African Government to the Government of India that Defence Regulations restricting immigration were a temporary measure to meet certain wartime needs, the Working Committee take a very grave view of the refusal of these Governments to these regulations as promised, and ask the Government of India to take appropriate measures to secure without delay the fulfilment of these promises by the Government concerned.

The Working Committee can see no justification whatsoever for the introduction of the immigration restriction bill in the present state of the political, economic and social development of the East African territories and their inhabitants, and is emphatically of opinion that the British Colonial Office should restore pre-war conditions as regards immigration by withdrawing war-time regulations and should prevent the anti-Indian policy of the European inhabitants from being given sanction and legislative shape.

Indians were in East Africa long before any Britisher set foot on that soil and they could point to as many generations of useful industry on the coast as well as inland as the White settlers could count years of residence. In consideration of this history of colonisation and opening up of East African territories, Mr. Winston Churchill came to the conclusion and wrote in his book many years ago that no Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man could introduce a policy of keeping Indians out of East Africa."

"The Committee are also of opinion that any steps to bring about the economic union of the three East African territories should include the provision for equal representation as proposed by the British Colonial Office and should not yield to the pressure of the European population to abandon this provision.

The Committee reiterate the protest against the reservation of the best part of the land, the Highlands, for White men, excluding even the Africans to whom the soil of their own country must belong.

The Committee wish all success to the Delegation going to East Africa under the leadership of Rajah Sir Maharaj Singh to study the situation on the spot and to impress upon the East African Governments the advisability of dropping their proposed anti-Indian immigration legislation which is now being precipitated, in view of developments in India, and hope that they will be able to convince the East African Governments that any anti-Indian policy encouraged in East Africa will be an intolerable addition to the insults and
provocations which are aimed at India and which undoubtedly serve to postpone the day of true world peace and security.

The Working Committee have noted with pleasure that cordial relations prevail between the Africans and Indians, and trust that there will be continued cooperation between the two for their mutual advancement, and for the removal of the disabilities which are sought to be imposed upon both of them by the White settlers."

W.C : August 8-13, 1946 : Wardha : V

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Foreign Relations—France

Foreign Establishments in India*

"The Committee has noted with satisfaction that the people of the French Establishments in India have declared themselves, both through their elected representatives and otherwise, in favour of a merger with India, and that, in fact, a large number of these establishments have already freed themselves from foreign control. The Committee trusts that an agreement will be arrived at an early date between the Government of India and the French Government to cover all these establishments and to bring them within the Indian Union.

The Congress has repeatedly declared that in regard to these French establishments as well as the Portuguese establishments in India, their religion, culture, customs and languages will be given adequate protection.

The Committee regrets to note that the Portuguese Government has taken up a wholly indefensible attitude in regard to Goa and its other establishments in India and is carrying on a policy of intense repression against those who favour merger with India.

The integration of these foreign establishments into the Indian Union is an essential part of the liberation movement in India which led to the independence of India. That movement will not have fulfilled its purpose till these foreign pockets also are freed and brought into the Indian Union."

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*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. met at Ajmer on 23rd and 24th July, 1954.*
Foreign Establishments in India*

"The Congress has noted with pleasure the de facto transfer of the French Establishments in India to the Union of India. It welcomes the inhabitants of these areas as citizens of the Indian Republic and as members of the large family of India, and looks forward to their progress and advancement. In particular, the Congress is gratified that this historic change has taken place by means of a friendly settlement with the French Republic. It welcomes the assurance given that French culture will continue to be preserved in Pondicherry, thus adding to the richness of India's life and culture.

The Congress is confident that the Portuguese settlements in India will also join the Indian Union before long and thus satisfy the aspirations of the people of those territories and complete the political integration of India."

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Treaty of Cession of French Settlements**

"The AICC rejoices in the conclusion of the Treaty of Cession of the French Settlements in India and congratulates the Governments of France and of India and pays tribute to them for the patience and wisdom which have led to this result. The Committee welcomes these former settlements into the Union of India in which they will find happiness and fulfilment. The Committee conveys to the French people the assurance that the people of India will seek to promote further friendship and good relations between the two countries."

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Foreign Relations—Goa

Goa***

"Recent events in Goa have compelled attention and brought to light the extremely backward state of these possessions. Econo-

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*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session met at Acdai from 21st to 23rd January, 1955.

**Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee in its meeting held at Bombay on 2nd and 3rd June, 1956.

***Resolution passed by the Working Committee in its meeting held at Wardha from 8 to 13th August, 1946.
mically the people of these possessions have been reduced to poverty and degradation; politically they have practically no rights and even the most elementary civil liberties are denied. The fascist authoritarian administration of Portugal functions in a peculiarly oppressive way in this very small colony, which once was rich and prosperous and a centre of commercial activity and now is deserted with its people migrating elsewhere in search of a living.

The nature of the present administration of Goa is exhibited by the sentence of eight years' transportation to Africa passed by court-martial on Mr. Tristão Bragança Cunha, a well-known citizen and public worker of Goa, for the offence of challenging the ban on public meetings. The present movement in Goa appears to be entirely confined to the peaceful assertion of the right to civil liberties and yet it is met by fierce repression and trials by a tribunal described as court-martial and deportation to the Portuguese possessions in Africa.

In justification of this policy of the administration, the Portuguese Governor of Goa has issued a statement which is unbecoming in tone and objectionable in regard to its pretensions. Goa has always been and must inevitably continue to be a part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people. What its future position and status will be in a free India can only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority.

The Working Committee have noted the contrast between the attitude of the Portuguese in regard to their Indian possessions and the policy enunciated by the Governor of French India, who stated recently that the people of French India are free to decide their own future and may, if they so choose, join the Indian Union. The Committee appreciate the statesman-like expression of policy on behalf of the French Government.

The Working Committee understand that Portugal has applied for membership of the United Nations Organisation. The Committee are of opinion that it will be improper and against the basic principles of the U.N.O. to admit to their membership a country which has an authoritarian and reactionary administration and denies democracy and civil liberties and which, in its colonies, carries on the worst form of colonial rules. They trust, therefore, that Portugal will not be admitted to the U.N.O.

The Committee send their greetings to the people of Goa and express their sympathy in their struggle for the establishment of civil liberties."
"The Congress* is strongly opposed to any foreign colonial power continuing to hold any part of India. It, therefore, reaffirms the Jaipur Congress resolution on foreign possessions in India and declares that it is essential that these territories should be incorporated in the Republic of India."

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"The AICC** regrets the delay in the peaceful transfer of foreign settlements in India to the Indian Union. Such a transfer is essential from the point of view of the removal of any element of foreign domination in India and for the unity and integrity of India. Early steps should, therefore, be taken for the peaceful transfer."

"The change-over from colonialism*** to independence was, however, checked, and recent events have shown that attempts are being made to reverse this process and to consolidate, both politically and economically, foreign control of many countries in Asia and Africa and even elsewhere. This is evident in North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, in British Guiana and in some parts of Asia. In India small pockets of foreign territory continue."

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"The Working Committee**** have given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India. The Committee have noted the courageous and sustained efforts of Goans to secure, through peaceful methods, the liberation of these territories and their integration with the Union of India and convey to them their goodwill and full sympathy. The Committee regret that these peaceful attempts have been met by brutal methods by the Portuguese administration of Goa resulting in two deaths and heavy injuries caused to many by beatings.

The people of Goa have in the long past on more than one occasion asserted their right to freedom and were suppressed by

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*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Nasik on 20th and 21st September, 1950.

**Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Calcutta, in March, 1952.

***Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in December, 1953.

****Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting held in July, 1955.
the Portuguese authorities. Subsequently, in 1946, another attempt was made to assert this right to Goa's freedom. The Working Committee referred to this in a resolution, passed at Wardha in August, 1946. In the course of this resolution, the Working Committee said:

"Recent events in Goa have compelled attention and brought to light the extremely backward state of these possessions. Economically the people of these possessions have been reduced to poverty and degradation; politically they have practically no rights and even the most elementary civil liberties are denied. The fascist authoritarian administration of Portugal functions in a peculiarly oppressive way in this very small colony, which was once rich and prosperous and a centre of commercial activity and now is deserted with its people migrating elsewhere in search of a living."

This resolution further went on to say:

"Goa has always been and must inevitably continue to be part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people. What its future position and status will be in a free India can only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority."

Two years later, in 1948, the Jaipur Session of the Congress passed a resolution on foreign possessions in India, and enunciated clearly the Congress policy in regard to them. This resolution was as follows:

"The chequered course of India's history during the last two hundred years or more has left certain foreign possessions in various parts of the country. These foreign possessions continued for this long period because India herself was under alien domination.

"With the establishment of Independence in India, the continued existence of any foreign possession in India becomes anomalous and opposed to the conception of India's unity and freedom. Therefore, it has become necessary for these possessions to be politically incorporated in India and no other solution can be stable or lasting or in conformity with the will of the people. The Congress trusts that this change will be brought about soon by peaceful methods and the friendly co-operation of the Governments concerned. The Congress realises that during this long period, administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems have grown up in these foreign possessions which are different from those prevailing in the rest of India. Any change-over, therefore, must take these factors into consideration and allow for a gradual adjustment, which will not interfere with the
life of the people of the areas concerned. The Congress would welcome the present cultural heritage of these possessions to be continued, in so far as the people of those possessions desire, and a measure of autonomy to be granted wherever possible, so as to enable the people of those possessions to maintain their culture and institutions within the larger framework of free India.”

Other resolutions have been passed from time to time by the Congress or its Committees in regard to foreign establishments in India and, more particularly, Goa. The Calcutta Session of the AICC in March 1952 stated that it “regrets the delay in the peaceful transfer of foreign settlements in India to the Indian Union. Such a transfer is essential from the point of view of the removal of any element of foreign domination in India and for the unity and security of India.”

In July, 1954, the Ajmer session of the AICC stated that it “regrets to note that the Portuguese Government has taken up a wholly indefensible attitude in regard to Goa and its other establishments in India and is carrying on a policy of intense repression against those who favour merger with India. The integration of these foreign establishments into the Indian Union is an essential part of the liberation movement in India which led to the independence of India. That movement will not have fulfilled its purpose till those foreign pockets also are freed and brought into the Indian Union.” This resolution further declared that in regard to these foreign establishments in India, “their religion, culture, customs and language will be given adequate protection.”

In 1954, a friendly settlement was arrived at between the Government of India and the Government of the French Republic in regard to the French establishments in India which resulted in the de facto transfer of these establishments to the Union of India. The Avadi Session of the Congress, meeting in January, 1955, welcomed this settlement and again gave the assurance that “French culture will continue to be preserved in Pondicherry, thus adding to the richness of India’s life and culture.” The Congress went on to say that it “is confident that the Portuguese settlements in India will also join the Indian Union before long and thus satisfy the aspirations of the people of those territories and complete the political integration of India.”

It will thus be seen that the great movement for the freedom and independence of India always envisaged the Portuguese establishments in India as an integral part of this country which must share with the rest of the Indian people the freedom that India was striving for. Ever since Independence, this fact has been
repeatedly stated and, at the same time, cultural assurances have been given to the people of Goa. In accordance with the basic policy of the Congress and the traditions of the Indian national movement, peaceful methods of the solution of this question of Goa were always advocated and it was hoped that the transfer of the foreign pockets in India would take place peacefully and through negotiated settlement with the countries concerned. This hope was realised in the case of the French possessions. But, in spite of every effort of the Government of India, the Portuguese Government has refused even to enter into any negotiations for this purpose and has continued its policy of intense repression of the people of Goa and utter denial of all forms of freedom or civil liberty.

In spite of this attitude of the Portuguese Government, the Congress has adhered to its peaceful methods and has advised accordingly the people of India, as well as of Goa particularly. During the past few years thousands of Goans have suffered in the struggle for the freedom of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union. The Goanese people have thus demonstrated in the most active manner their will to be freed from foreign domination and to join in comradeship in the freedom of the people of India.

The Portuguese Government have claimed that Goa is a centre of European culture, and, more particularly, of the Christian Catholic faith and that any transfer to India would imperil this culture and this faith. The so-called European culture represented by Portugal in Goa is a denial of everything that most countries of Europe stand for today. It is a denial of political freedom, of civil liberty and of economic and cultural advance. It is the conversion of Goa into a backward poverty-stricken territory where the people have no rights or liberty, in marked contrast to the political freedom and economic advance of the rest of India.

The argument about the danger to the Christian Catholic Church in Goa has been countered by eminent dignitaries of the Catholic Church and by the fact that a large number of Catholics have participated in the struggle for Goa's freedom. It is further to be remembered that there are many millions of Catholics in the rest of India having the same freedom, political, cultural and religious, as the other people of India. Further, the population of Goa, which is about 6,00,000, consists of about one-third of Catholics and two-thirds of non-Christians. There are also large numbers of Goans living outside Goa in Indian territory. The Government of India have made it perfectly clear on repeated occasions that the religion, culture, language and customs of the people of Goa will be protected and given freedom to function.
While, therefore, it is clear that the wishes of the people of Goa are for a merger with the Union of India, it is equally clear that India's liberation will not be complete till these remaining foreign pockets in India are also liberated and join the rest of India. For a foreign European power to hold on to any territory, however small, in India, will always be a source of danger to India as well as a denial of freedom to the people of that area.

In the circumstances detailed above, it becomes the right and duty of the people of Goa and the people of the rest of India, as well as of the Government of India, to strive for the liberation of Goa and its integration with the Union of India. The Working Committee has, therefore, welcomed the struggle for freedom and given it its sympathy. But, in accordance with its firm and declared policy, it has always emphasised that all methods employed must be peaceful. Any other method would be not only against India's national and international policy, but would create further and difficult problems. In a world, which is continually thinking in terms of armed might, India has stood for a peaceful solution of conflicts and differences. The Working Committee are, therefore, clear that this peaceful policy of India must be continued and no attempts at violent solution of the problem should be encouraged.

The Working Committee are also of opinion that, while everyone in India is naturally and deeply interested in the freedom of Goa from foreign control, it is principally for the Goans themselves to carry on the struggle through peaceful methods. Satyagraha must necessarily be peaceful. These methods, as India's past history has shown, bear far-reaching results, even though they might appear to be slow-moving.

The Working Committee are not in favour of attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering Satyagraha, as this is likely to change the nature of peaceful Satyagraha and might actually come in the way of the realisation of the objective aimed at.

The Working Committee trust that the Government of India will take every legitimate step, consistent with this peaceful policy, to further the cause of the liberation of Goa. The Committee also hope that the Portuguese Government will ultimately realise that the attitude it has taken up in this matter is indefensible and opposed to the current of history and the spirit of the times. That attitude and policy will have to be given up. It is, therefore, far more desirable for this question to be settled as early as possible through peaceful negotiation than to delay matters till feelings
are more strained and future relations of India and Portugal affected."

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"During the last nine years, the Congress* has repeatedly expressed its views on the Portuguese possessions in India and pointed out the incongruity of a very small corner of India being under foreign colonial domination when India herself had achieved freedom. As recently as July 1955, the Working Committee passed a resolution on this subject affirming the right of the people of Goa to freedom and the ending of foreign rule in any part of India. The Committee reiterated that the struggle for the freedom of Goa must be carried on through peaceful methods. Further, the Committee declared that it was not in favour of any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering Satyagraha.

Since this resolution was passed, various developments have taken place in these areas, which have naturally moved the Indian people deeply, and the All India Congress Committee has given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India.

In the struggle for the liberation of Goa, many have suffered banishment and long imprisonment, faced bullets and died in resistance to colonialism. The Committee deprecates and condemns the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government in their attempts to suppress the Goan people and to retain their colonial rule on this part of the Indian mainland.

More recently on the 15th of August of this year, the Portuguese authorities have fired upon unarmed people and killed numbers of them and inflicted serious injuries on many more. To those who have thus suffered, the Committee pays its tribute and, to the families of the dead, it extends its sympathy in their sad, though noble, bereavement.

"The A.I.C.C. places on record and proclaims its considered view that the shooting and killing of unarmed men and women by the Portuguese authorities is a violation of International law and a crime and is contrary to the well-established practice of civilised governments.

*Resolution passed at the All-India Congress Committee Informal Session held at New Delhi in September, 1955."
The Committee has noted with appreciation and sympathy the continued endeavours of the Goan people, in spite of the fierce repression by the Portuguese authorities, to secure their freedom and the liberation of their territories from foreign rule, and conveys to them the goodwill and sympathy of their fellow-countrymen in free India.

The A.I.C.C. recalls the unanimous decision of the nations assembled in the first Asian-African Conference at Bandung last April, against colonialism, and expresses the confident hope that all the participants in that Conference will support the cause of the liberation of Goa and the other Portuguese possessions and the people therein and condemns the suppression of their freedom movement and the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government.

The A.I.C.C. warmly supports the decision of the Government of India to withdraw and withhold cooperation in respect of the Portuguese Government and the other peaceful steps taken by the Government of India in this connection. In particular, the A.I.C.C. appreciates the policy of the Government of India in holding and stating without reservation that they will seek a solution of this problem in accordance with their well-known and established principles and approach in regard to all international problems and disputes, namely, those of peace and non-violence. This policy is not only in keeping with the national and international approach of India but, the A.I.C.C. is convinced, is in the best interests of the Goan people themselves and their liberation.

The A.I.C.C. fully appreciates and is in sympathy with the strong feelings that have been aroused all over India in favour of the liberation of these Portuguese possessions in India and against brutal suppression by the Portuguese authorities of the freedom movement there. The Committee would, however, appeal to the people of India to view this problem in its national and international context and not on any party basis and to support the Government of India's policy in this matter. Any differing and conflicting policies will weaken the national resolve and also the efforts to secure the liberation of Goa.

In their last resolution on Goa, the Working Committee issued a warning against any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside. This warning was unfortunately not fully heeded. The A.I.C.C. is strongly of opinion that any mass entry into Goa, in the name of Satyagraha or otherwise, is undesirable. The Government of India, after the withdrawal of cooperation from the Portuguese Govern-
ment, have closed and sealed the borders of Portuguese possessions in India and, in these circumstances, any entry into Goan territory by Indian nationals will be inappropriate. The A.I.C.C. is, therefore, of opinion that, in the present context, even individual Satyagraha by Indian nationals should be avoided.

The A.I.C.C. is confident that the people of Goa and Daman and Diu will regain their freedom and Portugal will be compelled to relinquish her authoritarian rule of possessions in India. The Committee sends its greetings to the Goan people and expresses its full sympathy with them in their legitimate and laudable aspirations and efforts for freedom.

The Committee hopes that even at this stage the Portuguese Government will realise that their methods are contrary to the ideas and trends of the modern world and to civilised procedures, and are strongly resented by Asian and all freedom-loving peoples, and that they will refrain from further repression and violence, and will agree to a peaceful settlement of the problem.

The Committee trusts that the Government of India will take every legitimate step, consistent with their policy of peace, to further the cause of the liberation of Goa, and appeals to the people to give full support to this national policy.”

* Amritsar Congress Session, February, 1956 (Extracts)

“The Congress* notes with deep sorrow the present plight of the people of Goa under the oppressive and terroristic colonial rule of Portugal. In the struggle for the liberation of Goa, thousands of Goans as well as many people from other parts of India have suffered banishment and long imprisonment, faced bullets and died in resisting Portuguese rule. Even now there are many who are still suffering imprisonment in Goa and in Portuguese possessions abroad. The Congress pays its tribute to those who have suffered and are suffering still in this struggle for freedom and extends to them its deep sympathy and its sense of comradeship in a common struggle.

The Congress has noted with great surprise that some leading countries have supported Portugal’s retention of its colonies in India and have thus not only supported the principle of colonial rule, but also the brutal and authoritarian regime that exists in these colonies. It declares that it cannot tolerate the existence of colonialism in an

*Extracts from the resolution passed by the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar on 11th and 12th February, 1956.
integral part of India and will strive its utmost to end it. The Congress appreciates and agrees with the policy of the Government of India in adhering to peaceful methods in this struggle."

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Portuguese Possessions in India*

"The All India Congress Committee reaffirms the sympathy and solidarity of the people of the Indian Union with their compatriots under colonial rule and aggression in the Portuguese possessions in India in their resistance to the power and the methods of terror of the colonial authority and in their endeavours to free themselves from alien rule.

The A.I.C.C. expresses its abhorrence of the inhuman policies and practices of the Portuguese authorities, contrary both to the sentiments and practices of civilized nations and to the principles of the United Nations, and in particular of the barbarous and humiliating treatment meted out to political opponents, more especially to political prisoners.

The A.I.C.C. reaffirms its support of the policy of the Government of India, as confirmed at the Congress Session in Amritsar, of adhering to peaceful methods for the liberation of parts of the motherland under alien rule in the Portuguese colonial possessions in India.

The Government and the people of India have been compelled to take steps in various directions to deny support and resources to the Portuguese Government in these colonial possessions. These steps have often resulted in hardship on the general population as well as on the active participants in the liberation struggle. The people of India are painfully aware of this additional suffering which our compatriots in the Portuguese possessions have to endure, but ask them, with confidence, to accept it with forbearance and understanding as part of their contribution and sacrifices for their liberation.

The A.I.C.C. appeals to the people of India, and more particularly to those closely concerned, to cooperate fully with the Government in the various measures they have taken to deny support and resources to the Portuguese Government. They should avoid evasion of or any neglect to comply with the rules and regulations made by the Government for the purpose. In particular, the Committee warns

*Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay on 2nd and 3rd June, 1956.
smugglers and others circumventing Government measures that they are acting not only illegally, but dishonestly and unpatriotically, and that they should desist from such actions. Any such action would be regarded by the people as a betrayal of the country and the cause of freedom.

The A.I.C.C. looks to the civilized nations and the peoples of the world to express their disapproval of the policy and conduct of the Portuguese authorities against the people in their possessions in India, especially against political prisoners and, more particularly, women prisoners. The Committee also appeals to them to proclaim their sympathy with the people in the Portuguese possessions in their aspirations and endeavours for freedom from alien rule.

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Foreign Relations—Indonesia

The Working Committee* have watched with admiration and sympathy the valiant struggle in defence of their newly won republic and independence which the people of Indonesia have been carrying on with steadfast courage and determination against British and Dutch forces. This Committee emphatically condemn the wanton invasion of Java and other parts of Indonesia in order to impose Dutch imperialist domination on their inhabitants against their unanimous demand for a free state. Any support from any quarter to imperialist designs in Indonesia, Indo-China and elsewhere is resented throughout Asia as culpable violation of the professed aims of the United Nations and the undeniable right of Asian nationals. This will destroy the chance of international understanding and the very basis of any future world organisation. The Committee regret that the United States of America have by their passive attitude encouraged these imperialist aggressions. While expressing their heartfelt sympathy with the Indonesian and Indo-China nationalists for the enormous loss and suffering inflicted upon them by the imperialist powers, this Committee are particularly distressed to find the units of the Indian army arrayed against the Indonesians and Indo-Chinese and view with deep indignation this mischievous misuse of the Indian forces by the British Government. This Committee note with resentment that the Government of India has not granted necessary facilities to enable Jawaharlal Nehru to proceed to Java.

*Resolution passed at the Working Committee meeting held in Calcutta in December, 1945.
in response to Dr. Soekarno's invitation and reaffirm their determination to put an end to India's political subjection to which the present intolerable state of humiliating helplessness is due.

The Working Committee have noted with grave disquiet the reports of the treatment of Indians by the authorities in Burma and Malaya. Many have been arrested and interned or put in prison and no proper opportunities for defence have been given. Even information about them is lacking, and this absence of news is causing anxiety to their friends and relations in India. Owing to the deterioration in the economic conditions of these countries and the scarcity of food and the invalidation of the currency the civil population is suffering from want and distress. The considerable Indian population there suffers even more than others, for they receive no help or protection from the Government of India, and are almost in the position of being stateless individuals and groups, for whom no one assumes responsibility. While the Government of India is taking no adequate steps to help those Indians abroad, it is giving no facilities to representatives of defence and relief committees and public men to visit Burma and Malaya to give the help that their countrymen so urgently need. The Working Committee appoint Jawaharlal Nehru to proceed to Burma and Malaya on their behalf, to enquire into the condition of Indians there and to arrange for their defence and other help.

The Working Committee also call upon Indians in Burma and Malaya to organize defence and relief committees in both countries in order to help themselves and all their countrymen in the hour of their distress. These committees should contact with the central defence and relief committees in India and work in co-operation with them."

"The Indian National Congress sends its greetings to the Republic of Indonesia and its congratulations to the people of Indonesia on the success which has attended their gallant struggle for freedom. The Congress assures them of the good-will of the Indian people and their desire to cooperate in the fullest measure with the people of Indonesia in the promotion of the freedom and advancement of the nations and peoples of Asia."

"The Congress sends its greetings to the leaders and people of the Indonesian Republic, who have struggled for their freedom against difficulties during the past three years. It assures them of
its complete sympathy for their cause. The people of Indonesia have been culturally associated with the people of India for ages past and it is a matter of the utmost concern to India that Indonesia should attain her full freedom and take her rightful part in Asian and international affairs."

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**Foreign Relations—Italy**

"The Congress records its entire disapproval of British Foreign Policy culminating in the Munich Pact, the Anglo-Italian Agreement and the recognition of Rebel Spain. This policy has been one of deliberate betrayal of democracy, repeated breach of pledges, the ending of the system of collective security and co-operation with governments which are avowed enemies of democracy and freedom. As a result of this policy, the world is being reduced to a state of international anarchy where brutal violence triumphs and flourishes unchecked and decides the fate of nations, and in the name of peace stupendous preparations are being made for the most terrible of wars. International morality has sunk so low in Central and South-Western Europe that the world has witnessed with horror the organised terrorism of the Nazi Government against people of the Jewish race and the continuous bombing from the air by rebel forces of cities and civilian inhabitants and helpless refugees.

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

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**Foreign Relations—Korea**

**Korea and World Peace**

"The A.I.C.C. welcomes the general improvement in the international situation and the lessening of tension between the great powers. The Committee trusts that a conference of representatives of the great powers will meet at an early date to discuss informally the various questions that have tended to produce conflict in the past, and will further consider the question of disarmament and the
removal of political barriers to international trade and communications.

The conclusion of an agreement in regard to the prisoners-of-war in Korea removed the final obstacle to an armistice and it was confidently hoped that peace would be established in that country which had been devastated and ruined by war. That hope has not yet been realised because of the attitude adopted by the President and Government of South Korea, who have acted in clear violation of the terms of the prisoners of war agreement, and are making impossible demands for a continuation of war or a resumption of it after a stated period. The authority of the United Nations has thus been flouted and the hopes of peace imperilled. A situation has been created which is full of dangerous possibilities not only for peace, but for the future of the United Nations.

The Committee trusts that the General Assembly of the United Nations will meet at a very early date to consider this critical situation and to take adequate measures to give effect to the terms of the armistice which have been agreed to.


Korea*

"The Congress expresses appreciation of the policy pursued by the Government of India in regard to the Korean situation. It was largely due to this policy that active warfare ceased in Korea and a cease-fire was proclaimed. Subsequently, in discharging the heavy burden of the Chairmanship of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission and maintaining a custodial force in Korea, India has sought to fulfil its obligation in an impartial and objective manner, always trying to further the cause of peace and a settlement in the Far East. It is highly regrettable that, because of various circumstances, the processes laid down in the Armistice Agreement between the two Commands could not be fully carried out. At the same time, the custodial force could not continue its custody of the prisoners of war beyond a certain date without the consent of the two parties. This consent being lacking, the custodial force had no alternative but to terminate its custody, though it could not release the prisoners of war or declare them of civilian status.

The Congress trusts that the Political Conference envisaged in the Armistice Agreement will be able to meet soon to decide such questions as still await decision.

*Resolution passed at the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Kalyani on 23rd and 24th January, 1954.
The Congress expresses its appreciation of the work of the representation of India and the custodial force in Korea."

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Foreign Relations—Malaya

"The Working Committee* have seen reports to the effect that proposals are being discussed for the resumption of large-scale emigration of labour from South India to Malaya for the purpose of increasing rubber production. The Committee are strongly opposed to any emigration of Indian labour to foreign countries, in view of the treatment accorded to it there and the consequent problems it raises. It is surprising that any proposal should be made for additional labour to be sent to Malaya when the immediate problem there is how to bring back to India the thousands of Indian workers and their dependents who have suffered greatly during past years and many of whom are in a destitute condition. The Committee are of opinion that it should be clearly stated by Government that no Indian labour will be sent to Malaya or elsewhere abroad."

W.C.: August 8-13, 1946: Wardha: VI.

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Foreign Relations—North-West Frontier

"That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the present Frontier policy of the Government of India is injurious to the best interests of the British Empire in general, and this country in particular, as it involves frequent Military expeditions beyond the present limits of the British Indian Empire and causes great loss of valuable lives and public money; and therefore entreats the British Nation to put a stop to this aggressive policy and to lay down that if such expeditions are found necessary, they being for Imperial purposes, the major portion of their expenses should be defrayed by the British Exchequer."

13: 1897: Amraoti: I.

* * *

"That this Congress expresses its deep and earnest conviction that the Frontier policy pursued for some years past by the Government of India is injurious to the best interests, inasmuch as it involves this country in frequent military expeditions beyond its*

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting held at Wardha, from 8th to 13th August, 1946.*
natural limits and the practical starvation of the civil administration; and that as long as the policy is not radically reversed, and a return made to the older and the only safe policy of keeping within the statutory limits of the country, all declarations, no matter however confidently made, about the cessation of frontier troubles and the friendly attitude of frontier tribes, are entitled to little weight as evidenced by the occurrences of the last few weeks in the Swat Valley which necessitated the holding in readiness of a considerable body of troops imposing fresh burdens on the Exchequer; and that of all the expenditure which these military expeditions may involve, an adequate share should be borne by the British Exchequer.”

14 : 1898 : Madras : VII.

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“This Congress declares that the people of India have no quarrel with the countries and peoples bordering on India and desires to establish and maintain friendly relations with them. The Congress disapproves of the so-called ‘forward’ policy of the British Government in India in the North-West Frontier and of all imperialist attempts to destroy the freedom of the people of the frontier. The Congress is strongly of opinion that the military and financial resources of India should not be employed in the furtherance of this policy, and the military occupation of the tribesmen’s territory should be terminated.”

45 : 1931 : Karachi : XI.

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“The Committee discussed the situation in the Frontier Province arising out of the proposed referendum to be held in the province according to the statement of June 3.”


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Foreign Relations—Pakistan

Communalism—India and Pakistan*

“The Jaipur Congress drew the particular attention of the country to the menace of communalism and called upon the people to put an end to all communal and separatist tendencies which had already caused grievous injury and which imperilled the hard-won

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Nasik, on 26th and 21st September, 1950.
freedom of the country. Anti-national and socially reactionary forces have continued to function and come in the way of India's progress.

The partition of India caused deep wounds in the political, economic and emotional life of the country. Passions were roused and many difficult problems arose, leading to continuing tension, and ill-will between India and Pakistan. These problems can only be solved satisfactorily with patience and goodwill, tolerance and firmness, keeping always in view the honour and interests of India. These interests of India, as of Pakistan, require peaceful and cooperative relations between the two countries. This Congress, therefore, commends and approves of the proposal made by the Government of Pakistan for an agreement between the two countries that all disputes should be solved by peaceful methods and without resort to armed conflict.

For this reason, among others, the Congress records approval of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of 8th April, 1950, which represents a peaceful and effective approach to the solution of a very difficult problem and which is in keeping with the traditions and policy of the Congress. It is with this approach and in this spirit that such problems can be most effectively dealt with and can yield enduring results.

Whatever disputes and conflicts may exist now or may arise in future between India and Pakistan, they should be considered as political problems between the two countries and should be treated as such. In no event should the spirit of communalism or the misuse of religion be allowed to mar and distort the consideration of our internal problems. We cannot forsake our own policy in a spirit of retaliation. We have not only to treat our minorities with full justice and fairness, but should make them feel that they are so treated.

This Congress, therefore, declares that it is the basic policy of the nation, as reaffirmed in the Constitution, that India is a democratic State which, while honouring every faith, neither favours nor discriminates against any particular religion or its adherents, and which gives equal rights and freedom of opportunity to all communities and individuals who form the nation. It is the primary duty of every Congressman to carry this great message and to live up to it and to combat every form of communalism or separatism in India.
"The A. I. C. C. welcomes the improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations and the desire expressed by both Governments for an early solution of such problems as have come in the way of better relations between India and Pakistan. The Committee trusts that active steps will be taken to find a satisfactory solution of these problems."

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**Foreign Relations—South Africa**

"That this Congress earnestly entreats Her Majesty’s Government to grant the prayer of Her Majesty’s Indian subjects, resident in the South African Colonies, by vetoing the Bill of the Colonial Government disenfranchising them." 10: 1894: Madras: XXI.

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"That the Congress deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities sought to be imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa, and it earnestly hopes that the British Government and the Government of India will come forward to guard the interests of these settlers in the same spirit in which they have always interfered, whenever the interests of their British-born subjects have been at stake." 11: 1895: Poona: IX.

* * *

"That this Congress once again deems it necessary to record its most solemn protest against the disabilities imposed on Indian settlers in South Africa and the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between them and European settlers, and appeals to Her Majesty’s Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers and to relieve them of the disabilities to which they are subjected." 12: 1896: Calcutta: IX.

"That this Congress deplores the invidious and humiliating distinctions made between Indian and European Settlers in South Africa, a prominent instance of which is afforded by the recent decision of the Transvaal High Court restricting Indians to "locat-

*Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee in its meeting held at Agra on 6th and 7th July, 1933.

See also Foreign Relations (General), Communalism, Pakistan and Partition."
tions” and appeals to Her Majesty’s Government and the Government of India to guard the interests of Indian settlers, and to relieve them of the disabilities imposed on them.”

14 : 1898 : Madras : XII.

* * *

“That this Congress once draws the attention of the Indian Government as well as of the Secretary of State for India to the grievances of the British Indians in South Africa, and earnestly hopes that in view of the re-arrangement of the boundaries in that Continent and the incorporation of the late Boer Republics, and as to which Her Majesty’s Government owing to their independence in internal matters felt powerless to obtain redress, will now no longer exist, and that the serious inconvenience caused to the settlers in Natal, among others by the Immigration Restrictions and the Dealer’s Licenses Acts of that Colony, which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the British constitution as also the Proclamation of 1858, will be materially mitigated, if not entirely removed.”

16 : 1900 : Lahore : XX.

* * *

“That this Congress sympathises with the British Indian settlers in South Africa in their struggle for existence and respectfully draws the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the anti-Indian legislation there and trusts that while the question of the status of British Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colonies is still under the consideration of the Right Hon’ble the Secretary of State for the Colonies, His Excellency will be graciously pleased to secure for the settlers a just and equitable adjustment thereof.”

17 : 1901 : Calcutta : VI.

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“That this Congress once more urges upon the attention of the Government of India the serious grievances of Indian settlers in South Africa and regrets to observe that the Imperialistic spirit of the British Colonies, instead of mitigating the anti-Indian legislation, threatens to impose further disabilities and hardships on His Majesty’s loyal Indian subjects there. In view of the admitted loyalty of these Indian settlers and the help rendered by them during the late war, as well as the invaluable help rendered by India to the British Empire at a most critical time, the Congress fervently prays that the Government of India will be pleased to take the necessary practical steps to secure a just, equitable and liberal treatment of the Indian settlers in South Africa.
In this connection the Congress notes with satisfaction the assurance recently given by the Secretary of State for India, to a deputation that interviewed him on the subject, that early steps are contemplated to relax the stringency of the restrictions at present enforced against the Indian settlers in the territories lately conquered from the Boer Government.” 19 : 1902 : Ahmedabad : V.

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“...That this Congress views with grave concern and regret the hard lot of His Majesty’s Indian subjects living in the British Colonies in South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, the great hardships and disabilities to which they are subjected by the Colonial Governments, and the consequent degradation of their status and rights as subjects of the king, and protests against the treatment of Indians by the colonies as backward and uncivilised races; and it prays that, in view of the great part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the colonies and the economic advantages which have resulted both to India and to the colonies from their emigration to and stay in the latter, the Government of India will be pleased to ensure to them all the rights and privileges of British citizenship in common with the European subjects of His Majesty, by enforcing, if necessary, such measures as will render it impossible for the colonies to secure Indian immigrants except on fair, equitable and honourable terms; and that in view of the great importance of the principle of equal treatment to all His Majesty’s subjects, His Majesty’s Government should devise adequate measures to ensure that position to Indian emigrants in all the British Colonies...” 19 : 1903 : Madras : IV.

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“(a) That this Congress, while expressing its sense of satisfaction at the passing by the Australian House of Representatives of a Bill to amend the Law of Immigration so as to avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the people of India, again places on record its sense of deep regret that British Indians should continue to be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty’s Colonies. The Congress particularly protests against the enforcement by the British Government of disabilities on the Indian settlers in the Transvaal and Orange River Crown Colonies, which were not enforced even under the old Boer rule, in spite of declarations by His Majesty’s Ministers that the treatment of the Indian subjects of the King-
Emperor by the Boer Government was one of the causes of the late war.

(b) In view of the important part the Indian settlers have played in the development of the Colonies, their admitted loyalty and peaceful and industrious habits, their useful and self-sacrificing services during the recent war, and, above all, the great constitutional importance of the principle of equal treatment of all citizens of the Empire anywhere in the King's dominions, this Congress respectfully, but strongly, urges the Government of India and His Majesty's Government to insist, by prohibiting, if necessary, the emigration of indentured labour and adopting other retaliatory measures, on the recognition of the status of Indian emigrants as British citizens in all the colonies."

21 : 1905 : Banaras : IX.

"This Congress, while noting with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in disallowing, for the present, the proposed Ordinance against British Indians in the Transvaal, desires to give expression to its grave apprehension that unless the Imperial Government continues to extend its firm protection to the British Indian community, the policy of the Ordinance is almost certain to be enforced as soon as arrangements under the Constitution recently granted are completed.

This Congress also places on record its sense of deep regret and indignation that the people of this country should be subjected to harassing and degrading restrictions and denied the ordinary rights of British citizenship in His Majesty's Colonies, and the Congress expresses its firm conviction that such a policy is fraught with serious danger to the best interests of the Empire."

22 : 1906 : Calcutta : II.

"This Congress views with the greatest indignation the harsh, humiliating and cruel treatment to which British Indians, even of the highest respectability and position, have been subjected by the British Colonies in South Africa, and expresses its alarm at the likelihood of such treatment resulting in far-reaching consequences of a mischievous character calculated to cause great injury to the best interests of the British Empire, and trusts that the Imperial Parliament when granting the new Constitution to South Africa will secure the interests of the Indian Inhabitants of South Africa.

This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the British Parliament and the Government of India, the desirability of dealing with
the self-governing Colonies in the same manner in which the latter ruthlessly deal with Indian interests so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise, and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty’s Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

This Congress, while aware of the declaration of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing Colonies in the British Empire to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements, deems it but right to point out that the policy of shutting the door and denying the rights of full British citizenship to all subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy in Asia and other parts of the world, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous."

"(a) This Congress expresses its great admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice of the Indians in the Transvaal—Mohammedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—who, heroically suffering persecution in the interests of their countrymen, are carrying on their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary civil rights against heavy and overwhelming odds, and urges the Imperial Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude on the question so as to remove a great source of discontent amongst the people of India.

(b) This Congress begs earnestly to press upon the Government of India the necessity of prohibiting the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for any portion of the South Africa Union, and of dealing with the authorities there in the same manner as the latter deal with Indian interests, so long as they adhere to the selfish and one-sided policy which they proclaim and practise and persist in their present course of denying to His Majesty’s Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.

(c) This Congress protests against the declarations of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies in the British Empire to monopolize vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlement and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in these territories against, and denying the rights of full British citizenship to, all Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy
of the open door in Asia, is fraught with grave mischief to the Empire and is as unwise as it is unrighteous."

25: 1910: Allahabad: V.

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(a) "This Congress,* anticipating the forthcoming legislation of the provisional settlement recently arrived at, cordially congratulates Mr. Gandhi and the Transvaal Community upon the repeal of the anti-Asiatic legislation of the Province regarding registration and immigration and expresses its high admiration of the intense patriotism, courage and self-sacrifice with which they—Mohammedan and Hindu, Zoroastrian and Christian—have suffered persecution in the interest of their countrymen during their peaceful and selfless struggle for elementary Civil rights against overwhelming odds.

(b) Whilst appreciating the endeavours that have been made from time to time to secure the redress of the grievances of the Indians of South Africa and other British Colonies, this Congress urges that in view of the avowed inability of His Majesty’s Government to adopt a firm and decisive attitude in this matter, the Government of India should take such retaliatory measures as may be calculated to protect India’s self-respect and the interest of Indian residents in those parts of the empire, and thus remove a great source of discontent among the people of this country.

(c) This Congress further protests against the declarations of responsible statesmen in favour of allowing the self-governing colonies, in the British Empire, to monopolise vast undeveloped territories for exclusive white settlements and deems it its duty to point out that the policy of shutting the door in those territories against, and denying the right of full British citizenship, to all the Asiatic subjects of the British Crown, while preaching and enforcing the opposite policy of the open door in Asia is fraught with grave mischief to the empire and is as unwise as unrighteous.

(d) Whilst thanking the Government of India for the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured Indian labour for South Africa, this Congress is strongly of opinion that in

* The language of the resolution passed at the 26th annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1911, is practically the same.
the highest National interest, the system of indentured labour is undesirable and should be abolished and respectfully urges the Government to prohibit the further recruitment of Indian labour under contract of indenture whether for service, at home or abroad.

(e) That the President do dispatch the following message to Mr. Gandhi. "The Congress reaffirms last year’s resolution, expresses its warmest appreciation of your efforts and assures you and your fellow workers of the country whole-hearted support". 27: 1912: Bankipur: 11.

* * *

"(a) This Congress enters its emphatic protest against the provisions of the Immigration Act in that they violate the promises made by the Ministers of the South African Union, and respectfully urges the Crown to veto the Act and requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to adopt such measures as would ensure to the Indians in South Africa just and honourable treatment.

(b) This Congress expresses its abhorrence of the cruel treatment to which Indians were subjected in Natal in the recent strikes and entirely disapproves of the personnel of the Committee appointed by the South African Union to enquire into the matter, as two of its members are already known to be biased against Indians and as it does not include persons who command the confidence of Indians in South Africa and here.

(c) The Congress tenders its most respectful thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for his statesmanlike pronouncement of the policy of the Government of India on the South African question.

(d) This Congress requests the Imperial and Indian Governments to take the steps needed to redress the grievances relating to the questions of the 3 £ tax, indentured labour, domicile, the Educational test, validity of Indian Marriages and other questions bearing on the status of Indians in South Africa.

(e) That this Congress expresses its warm and grateful appreciation of the heroic struggle carried on by Mr. Gandhi and his co-workers and calls upon the people of this country of all classes and creeds to continue to supply them with funds." 28: 1913: Karachi: 11.

* * *
"This Congress begs to offer to His Excellency the Viceroy its respectful thanks, for the noble and courageous stand made by him in the cause of our people in South Africa; and, while expressing its grateful appreciation of the efforts of the Government of India, in obtaining relief in respect of some of the most pressing grievances of our Indian fellow-subjects, and of the firm advocacy in the cause of India of Sir Benjamin Robertson, this Congress begs to place on record that no settlement can be wholly satisfactory, or be deemed final, which does not secure equality of treatment, between His Majesty's Indian and other subjects in South Africa, and respectfully urges on the Government of India that steps may be taken as early as circumstances will permit to bring about such equality of treatment.

This Congress also places on record its warm appreciation of, and admiration for, the heroic endeavours of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, and their unparalleled sacrifice in their struggle for the maintenance of the self-respect of India and the redress of Indian grievances.

This Congress further expresses its gratitude to Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach for their voluntary sacrifice and suffering, in the cause of India, and to the Rev. Mr. Andrews for his help under circumstances of great difficulty.

And, lastly, this Congress records its appreciation of the invaluable services of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, throughout the struggle in bringing about the present settlement."

29: 1914: Madras: XII.

"This Congress regrets that the existing laws affecting Indians in South Africa and Canada have not, in spite of the liberal and imperialistic declarations of Colonial statesmen, been justly and equitably administered and this Congress trusts that the Self-Governing Colonies will extend to the Indian emigrants equal rights with European emigrants and that the Imperial Government will use all possible means to secure the rights which have been hitherto unjustly withheld from them, thus causing widespread dissatisfaction and discontent."

30: 1915: Bombay: X.

"This Congress re-expresses its regret that the British Indians of South Africa and East Africa still labour under disabilities which materially affect their trade and render their residence difficult, and unjustly and unduly restrict their movement to and in these parts of the Empire, and hopes that the local authorities will realise their
responsibility to the Indians who have, in spite of disabilities, taken their full share in the war by raising corps and otherwise remove the disabilities complained of and authorises the President to cable the substance of the resolution to the respective local authorities."

"(1) This Congress protests against the attempt being made in South Africa and particularly the Transvaal to deprive the Indian settlers of the rights of property and trade hitherto enjoyed by them, and trusts that the Government of India will secure the repeal of the recently enacted legislation and otherwise ensure the protection of the status of the Indian settlers in South Africa.

(2) This Congress is of opinion that the anti-Indian agitation now going on in East Africa is utterly unscrupulous and trusts that the Government of India will safeguard the right of free and unrestricted emigration from India to East Africa and the full civil and political rights of the Indian settlers in East Africa including the East African territory conquered from Germany."

"The Congress notes with deep sorrow the increasing disabilities of the settlers overseas and records its opinion that the Indian and Imperial Governments have failed to protect the interests of the settlers which they have repeatedly declared to be their trust. The Congress, whilst rendering its sympathy to the settlers in their troubles, regrets its inability to render effective assistance until Swaraj has been attained.

The Congress notes with profound dissatisfaction the sanction given by the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa to the Ordinance of the Natal Provincial Legislature depriving the Indians domiciled there of the municipal franchise which they have long enjoyed.

The Congress regards the question of the deprivation of the franchise as not only manifestly unjust but also a breach of the agreement of 1914 between the Union Government and the Indian community and the past declarations of the Natal Government.

The Congress is of opinion that the so-called settlement of the Kenya question is nothing short of deprivation of the natural just rights of the Indian settlers in Kenya."
The Congress Working Committee note with satisfaction not unmixed with concern that Indians in South Africa have started the campaign of Civil Disobedience as a protest against the recently passed legislation by the South African Union Parliament imposing disabilities upon them. The Congress Working Committee are of opinion that the campaign carries in it the seeds of success in so far as the honour of Indians is concerned as distinguished from the loss of material prospects. The Committee expect that having begun the struggle the Resisters will carry it to an end without yielding. The Committee assure the Resisters of full sympathy in their brave struggle and hope that those who are not themselves Resisters will not on any account succumb to the temptations contained in the legislation itself and such small concessions that may be held out by the Union Government. The inferior status assigned to the Indians by the Act can be wiped out only by its complete abrogation. The Committee hope and expect that while the Government of India remains in the British power, His Excellency the Viceroy will see to using his influence openly on behalf of the brave Resisters and thus secure for them the sympathy of the world in the noble struggle for the Rights of man."


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"The Congress endorses the resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee on July 6, 1946 congratulating the South African Indians on their resistance to the segregation policy of the white people of that country, and records its satisfaction at the excellent work done by the Indian Delegation to the U.N.O. General Assembly exposing the narrow racialism of the South African Government to the full glare of world opinion. This Congress emphatically refutes the suggestion of Field Marshal Smuts in this connection that the Indian people are also guilty of racialism such as is shamelessly indulged in by the South African Government. The Indian people and all their leaders are energetically engaged in working out the fullest equality to all the nationals inhabiting this large and great country in all walks of life, political, social and economic, and laws of this country discountenance any discrimination whatsoever, whereas the policy of the South African Government and the white minority of that country is flagrantly racial and discriminatory and is a menace to world-peace and civilisation."

54 : 1946 : Meerut : IV.
Indians in South Africa*

"The Congress has noted with deep regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa continues to treat its Indian citizens in disregard of acknowledged human rights and of the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. That Government has ignored the wishes of the General Assembly of the United Nations and even challenged the fundamental principles on which the United Nations Organisation is founded. This repudiation of a vital principle, if persisted in, can only lead to the bitter and far-reaching racial conflicts and may even result in the break-up of the United Nations Organization.

The Congress expresses its full sympathy with all those who have suffered by the policy of racial discrimination of the Government of the Union of South Africa."

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South Africa**

"The All-India Congress Committee deeply regrets that the Union Government of South Africa have rejected the direction of the General Assembly of the United Nations regarding the steps to be taken to settle the problem of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, and have continued to implement ruthlessly its policy of Apartheid. But in the administrative and legislative spheres fresh disabilities, hardships and indignities have been imposed on the non-white population of the Union, including Indians. For many years past, the Government of India have endeavoured to find an honourable way for a settlement of this problem in South Africa. All these attempts have, however, failed because of the attitude of the South African Union Government, which has consistently ignored the decisions of the United Nations. The Group Areas Act introduces complete segregation in the whole of the Union and envisages the uprooting of thousands of non-whites, particularly Indians, from their settled localities. Its chief aim is the liquidation of the Indian community in South Africa. Other legislation is also based on racial discrimination and the domination of a relatively small racial minority at the cost of the great majority of the population of the country.

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Jaipur on 18th and 19th December, 1948.

**Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting met at Calcutta on 22nd and 23rd March, 1952.
The policy of the South African Government is a challenge to, and a defiance of the Charter of the United Nations and the principles governing Human Rights which the United Nations have laid down. The Government and the people of India can never accept any policy based on racial discrimination. They have endeavoured and will continue to endeavour to find a peaceful settlement in consonance with the basic principles for which they stand and on which the United Nations Organization has been built up. Defiance of these principles must lead to racial conflict on a vast scale.

The A.I.C.C. welcomes the decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa declaring the South African Government's Act placing coloured voters on a separate electoral roll to be invalid. The Committee trusts that the South African Union Government will, in view of this high judicial decision, put an end to their policy of segregation.

The A.I.C.C. expresses its full sympathy with the people of Africa who suffer under degrading and discriminatory racial laws and whose progress is impeded by administrative and other measures. The Committee welcomes the co-operation of Africans and Indians in not submitting to such legislative and administrative measures which condemn them to servitude. The Committee, however, trusts that both the Indians and Africans will pursue peaceful and non-violent methods.

The Committee is of opinion that the interest of the Africans must have first place in Africa and Indians must not in any way associate themselves with the exploitation of Africans or seek any privilege at the cost of the Africans."

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South Africa*

*The Congress reiterates its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union. The Congress notes with deep satisfaction that Gandhiji's message of non-violent resistance to evil has taken root in South Africa and further that in the struggle against oppression and racial violence, Africans, Europeans, peoples of mixed racial descent and

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Hyderabad Dn., on 17th and 18th January, 1955.*
Indians have made common cause, thus meeting the twin evils of racial discrimination and violence by racial cooperation and non-violence.

The Government of the Union of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of the United Nations Organisation which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the facts of racial discrimination to be examined. The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence that she does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilised world has given its approval and also that she dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilised nations.

The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis in the Union and those who cooperate with them on their courage and determination as well as on the example which they are setting of racial and communal amity and cooperation which alone can lead to stability and progress in a multi-racial society.

The Congress trusts that South Africans of Indian origin will continue to give their whole-hearted support to the Satyagrahis and share their sacrifices in such ways as may be open to each one of them.

The Congress further calls upon the civilised nations and peoples of the world to look upon the courageous struggle of the Satyagrahis in South Africa as a struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality and tolerance carried out in the way of truth and peace and to express their sympathy with the victims of the racial policies of the Union Government and to extend to the resisters every possible support."

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Africa and the Middle East*

"The A.I.C.C. has noted with deep sorrow the conflict which is going on in certain parts of Africa resulting in the cruel and forcible suppression of large numbers of people. Behind this conflict lies the policy of racial and colonial domination. The Congress has always stood for colonial freedom and racial equality and this denial of both is a matter of gravest concern to it and can only lead to disastrous

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*Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee, at its meeting held on 6th and 7th July, 1953.*
racial conflicts which may affect the whole of Africa and powerfully influence people in other parts of the world. Any assertion of racial domination will inevitably meet with resistance and no stable or peaceful society can be based on the theory or practice of a dominating race or of colonial control.

The Committee regrets that no way out has thus far been found to resolve the conflicts in the Middle-Eastern countries and that the path of negotiation is not being pursued. The situation in Egypt is particularly disturbing. A new Republic has been established there, which this Committee warmly welcomes, and the people of Egypt rightly demand the recognition of their full sovereignty in their land. The Committee hopes that negotiations for a peaceful settlement of such problems as exist will be carried on the basis of a recognition of the sovereignty of Egypt.

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Racialism and Satyagraha in South Africa*

"The All-India Congress Committee has viewed with the deepest interest and pride the great Satyagraha movement against racialism in South Africa and sends its fraternal greetings and good wishes to all those Africans and people of Indian descent who are participating in it and who have, by their discipline, courage and non-violence, shown themselves to be worthy followers of the great leader, who first gave this new message to the world in South Africa forty-five years ago. It is fitting and of historic significance that it should be in South Africa again that Africans and Indians and others should battle non-violently for the affirmation of the basic human right of racial equality and against the doctrine of a master race dominating over others. This challenge of racial arrogance and domination was one cause of the last Great War. Yet racialism in its most extreme and repugnant form flourishes in South Africa and crushes the great majority of the population there. It is India's basic policy to stand for racial equality and national freedom, without which there can be no enduring peace in the world. The great continent of Africa has suffered more than any other part of the earth's surface from the domination of one race over others. Having patiently endured this for generations, its people have now shown their strength and wisdom not only in challenging this vicious doctrine; but doing so in a civilised and peaceful way. Any other course

*Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee in its meeting held in Indore, on 13th and 14th September, 1953.*
would lead to widespread bloodshed and terrible bitterness and sorrow. It is for all the peoples of the world to appreciate the significance of this great happening in Africa and to lend the weight of their moral support to this righteous struggle.

In Africa as elsewhere, it is not by the domination of one racial or religious group or community over another that a peaceful and progressive society can be built up, but by cooperation between the different elements in population in order to build up a multi-racial society in which all have equal opportunities of growth.

The A.I.C.C. is particularly gratified at the cooperation of Africans and the people of Indian descent in Africa in this struggle. It reaffirms the policy of the Congress that Indians abroad should demand no special privileges at the expense of the inhabitants of the country in which they live. In Africa the interests of the Africans must be paramount and it is the duty of Indians there to cooperate with them and help them to the best of their ability.

The basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations have been and are being violated in South Africa and barbarous methods of suppression are being employed against a peaceful population. It is for the conscience of the world to take heed and to prevent this struggle from developing into something which might endanger world peace.”

AICC, Indore, 13th, 14th September, 1953

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Colonial Domination and Racial Discrimination*

“The Indian National Congress, in the course of its long history, stood not only for the freedom of India but also for the freedom of other subject countries. It was particularly opposed to the colonial pattern of government which had developed under foreign domination in many countries of Asia and Africa. This system was not only degrading to the people of those countries but was based on an economy which prevented the development of those people and impoverished them. On many occasions, the National Congress gave its moral support to the struggle of other people for freedom. The great movement for the independence of India, carried on under leadership of Gandhiji by peaceful methods, became a symbol and inspiration to other countries similarly situated. Just as India had become the classic land of colonial and imperialist domination

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in New Delhi on 5th December, 1953.*
and had thus been the indirect cause of other countries also being so dominated so also the struggle for India’s freedom became an example to others. That struggle was not only for political independence, but also for social change and advance. It was also identified with a challenge to the theory and practice of racial discrimination. India’s great and beloved leader, Gandhiji began his career of service and sacrifice for the suffering, the dispossessed and those who were discriminated against in South Africa, where the doctrine of racial domination had been made into a State policy.

These ideals and objectives of the Indian people continued to move them throughout their own struggle and, when independence was achieved, they hoped that other countries under colonial domination would also achieve their freedom. The current of history which had brought this colonialism to Asia and Africa had turned and the countries of Asia were coming into their own. The independence of India and other countries of Asia was evidence of this reversal of the process which had lasted for over two hundred years. It was hoped that this new process would continue and would lead to the elimination of both colonial control and racial discrimination.

The change-over from colonialism to independence was, however, checked and recent events have shown that attempts are being made to reverse this process and to consolidate, both politically and economically, foreign control of many countries in Asia and Africa and even elsewhere. This is evident in North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, in British Guiana and in some parts of Asia. In India, small pockets of foreign territory continue.

The Working Committee have noted these developments with anxious concern and consider them a grave peril to the peace of the world. The great popular forces that have been released in recent times cannot be dealt with for long in the manner of the old colonial regimes. Attempts at suppression are bound to be resisted and to create deep and continuing crisis. There can be no solution except in a cooperative endeavour to bring about freedom in these countries.

The attempt to maintain by law and practice racial discrimination and suppression prevails in the crudest form in the Union of South Africa, and neither the Charter of the United Nations nor repeated declaration of the U.N. General Assembly have produced any result. It is a matter for regret that some great nations, who profess democracy and faith in the Charter, have thrown their weight on the side of racial discrimination in South Africa. In East and Central Africa, the doctrine of racial discrimination is not laid
down publicly in the same open manner as in South Africa, but in practice this discrimination prevails against Africans and Indians and is resented by both. The Working Committee are of opinion that any kind of racial discrimination is an insult not only to those who actively suffer under it, but also to all others who can come within its scope. This doctrine and practice must, therefore, be resisted and opposed wherever it occurs.

The Working Committee have learnt with great distress of happenings in Kenya, where a state of emergency was declared nearly a year ago and has continued since then. In a recent trial of a British officer by court martial, the evidence indicated that terrorist methods had been adopted and a very large number of Africans had been killed in this process. The British press has commented in strong language and condemned these methods and this competition in killing. The Committee consider that the use of violence in carrying on a struggle for freedom is undesirable and harmful, and the adoption of such methods by some African groups had injured their cause greatly. At the same time, the Committee are convinced that widespread suppression and killing by powerful weapons of modern warfare, including bombing from the air of large population are inhuman and can only aggravate a most difficult situation. This has led already to extreme bitterness and racial hatred on both sides and cannot possibly bring about a peaceful solution, which must be based on mutual tolerance and cooperation among the various racial groups that inhabit Africa, keeping always in view that the interests of the Africans must be given first priority.

The Committee had welcomed the introduction of a measure of self-government in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria and had hoped that this policy would be pursued in other parts of Africa also. Their regret, therefore, is all the greater at the reversal of this policy in many parts of Africa. They have noted with surprise the recent deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda in East Africa for the offence of claiming independence for his territory within the Commonwealth. In Northern Rhodesia, a new policy of active discrimination against Indians is being followed and Indians have been declared as "prohibited immigrants".

The Committee view with particular concern the new phase in Africa which aims at the establishment of the so-called self-governing dominions, where all the power is held by a small group of White settlers, and the others, and more especially the vast majority of Africans, are prevented from having their legitimate share in it. This establishment of White dominions in Africa, against the wishes of the inhabitants of the countries concerned, and opposed to their
interests, is a new form of colonialism which is full of danger for the development of Africa, and even of Asia.

In the cause of democratic freedom of these countries of Asia and Africa, as well as in the cause of world peace, it is essential that this domination by one race over another should cease and attempts should be made progressively to build up societies where the different peoples can live in friendly co-operation, respecting each other, and the majority of the people of the country have a predominant voice in their own government and their future.”

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*Colonial Domination and Racial Discrimination*

“The Congress, throughout its long history, has stood for the freedom of all countries, and more especially for the elimination of colonial domination and racial discrimination. It had, therefore, welcomed the achievement of freedom by many Asian countries. This was a reversal of the process which had brought European domination to Asia some hundreds of years ago. It also meant the gradual removal of one important cause of international conflict.

Recent events have, however, indicated that attempts are being made to consolidate, both politically and economically, foreign control in some countries in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. This is evident in North Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and British Guiana and in some parts of Asia. Even in India, small pockets of foreign territory continue and are a constant irritant.

Ever since the beginning of the 20th century, and more particularly after the first World War, great popular movements arose in many colonial countries seeking freedom. These movements released forces which had been suppressed for a long time, and ultimately led, in some of these countries, to independence. In recent years, a similar development has taken place in the countries of Africa.

Attempts to suppress these nationalist urges for political freedom and economic betterment can only lead to great unhappiness and continuing crises. The people of India have been following with grave concern these attempts at suppression.

The Congress appreciates the introduction of a measure of self-government in the Gold Coast of Africa and in Nigeria. The Con-

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress in its annual session held at Kalyani, on 23rd and 24th January, 1951.*
gress also welcomes the emergence of self-government in Sudan and sends its greetings to the people of Sudan on this historic development.

The policy of encouraging self-government is, however, in sharp contrast to what is happening elsewhere. The Congress would earnestly urge the Governments concerned to appreciate the passionate urges for freedom that move the peoples of Asia and Africa and to co-operate with them in realising this freedom in particular, to discountenance and oppose racial discrimination wherever and in whatever form it might exist.

The Congress also expresses its deep regret at the support being given to feudal and reactionary regimes which are completely out of place today.

The future of the countries of Asia and Africa will ultimately have to be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people there, and every attempt to impose decisions upon them can only lead to conflict and at best, a temporary success at the cost of bitterness and ill-will. The whole purpose underlying the Charter of the United Nations is belied by the enforced continuation of colonial domination and racial discrimination.

* The Asian-African Conference *

“The All India Congress Committee welcomes the meeting of the Asian and African nations at Bandung and records its deep appreciation that this conference reached unanimous decisions in regard to economic and cultural co-operation and the affirmation of the principles that should govern the relations of nations and peoples for the promotion of world peace and co-operation. This Asian-African Conference marks a further epoch in the resurgence of Asia and Africa in the determination of their peoples to take their rightful place in the comity of nations, and play their full part in the background of their cultures and economic and social conditions, maintaining their national independence, safeguarding their territories from intervention and infringement or exploitation by others, and thus make their own contribution to world peace and the well-being of humanity as a whole.

Although some countries and peoples of Asia and Africa have not yet attained their freedom and were not directly represented at

*Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Berhampur on 9th and 10th May, 1955.*
the Conference, their aspirations and their determination to attain national independence found full expression in the affirmation at the Conference of the right to freedom and independence. The A.I.C.C. welcomes these affirmations and accords full support to them.

In the decisions of the Conference in regard to economic and cultural co-operation, the nations of Asia and Africa have formulated practical measures for greater co-operation between their sovereign governments and peoples in the furtherance of mutual and collective co-operation and assistance and for fuller achievement in these fields.

The A.I.C.C. welcomes the decision of the Asian and African nations at Bandung calling for the total prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and for disarmament and more particularly, for the immediate cessation of experiments with nuclear weapons pending their total prohibition.

The A.I.C.C. expresses its particular gratification that the nations of Asia and Africa, while unanimous in their affirmation of their rights and in expressing their protest against the violation of them by others, have recorded their determination to eradicate these evils in their own countries, and further that their decisions have not been characterised by intolerance of other continents or peoples or even by lack of friendliness or understanding; but on the other hand, by the realisation that Asian-African co-operation and unity are both part of and prelude to larger world co-operation and unity.

The A.I.C.C. records its firm belief in the "Declaration of World Peace and Co-operation" issued by the Asian-African Conference. In this Declaration is found the full embodiment of the Five Principles or Panch Shila with the addition of elaborations which reinforce them. This declaration is of historic significance and capable of universal application. It states that alternative to collective peace is the preparation for collective war. The A.I.C.C. reiterates its conviction that the essence of these principles must basically govern international relations and help in establishing peace among nations.

The A.I.C.C., therefore, reiterates the affirmation of the Bandung Conference that

"Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly co-operation on the basis of the following principles:
(1) Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purpose and principles of the Charter of United Nations.

(2) Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

(3) Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations, large and small.

(4) Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

(5) Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself, singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

(6) (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers;  
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressure on other countries.

(7) Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

(8) Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

(9) Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.

(10) Respect for justice and international obligations.”

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Foreign Relations—Tibet

“That this Congress expresses its profound regret that in the case of the recent Tibetan expedition the object of the Act of the 1858, in providing that India’s revenues shall not be spent outside the statutory limits of India, except to repel foreign aggression, without the previous sanction of Parliament, was frustrated in practice by the Government continuing to describe the Expedition as a “Political Mission,” till it was no longer possible for Parliament to withhold its sanction to the required expenditure, and that Indian revenues were thus unjustifiably deprived of the protection constitutionally secured to them. This Congress further places on record its regret that the House of Commons refused to contribute from the Imperial Exchequer even a portion of the cost of that Expedition,
when it was in furtherance of Imperial interests and to carry out an Imperial policy that the Expedition had taken.

The Congress protests strongly against this injustice and all the more because it apprehends that the Tibetan Expedition was but part of general forward policy, which with the Missions to Afghanistan and Persia, threatens to involve India in foreign entanglements, which cannot fail to place an intolerable burden on the Indian revenues and prove in the end disastrous to the best interests of the country.”  

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Foreign Relations—Tunisia*

“The meeting of the AICC records its sympathies for the people of Tunisia who are struggling for their freedom, and expresses its gratification at the support that Asian and African nations have given to the cause of Tunisian freedom.”

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Tunisia**

“This Committee sends its warmest sympathy to the people of Tunisia and of other countries of North Africa in their struggle for national freedom and trusts that they will achieve their objective through peaceful methods and thus help in lessening some of the conflicts of the world and lay the firm foundation of their national progress.”

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Foreign Relations—United Nations

“The Working Committee*** welcome the efforts that have been made by the United Nations to build up an international order to maintain peace and security and to develop friendly relations among the nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. While appreciating the work of the San Francisco Conference in this respect and realising that

* Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Calcutta on 22nd and 23rd March, 1952.
** Resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Indore on 13th and 14th September, 1952.
*** Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee held at Simla from 13th to 15th July, 1945.
any world organisation must of necessity be related to the realities of today, the Committee regret that the position allotted to the smaller nations in the Charter is one lacking all effectiveness and the Great Powers not only dominate and completely control the new organization but are placed above and beyond the law they have themselves helped in framing. These Great Powers have indeed strengthened and consolidated their own position in the world and have shown no inclination to give up their colonial possessions and the special powers and privileges they enjoy at the expense of dependent peoples. According to the Charter as framed, the world organization will only be effective when none of the Great Powers are interested in the dispute. Where there is such an interest, as there is likely to be in most international disputes, a Great Power veto will prevent any action being taken.

The Committee especially regret that the declaration regarding non-self-governing territories is vague and unsatisfactory and is little better than the old mandate system of the League of Nations which was a signal failure in the past. The discussion in the San Francisco Conference on the object of trusteeship, and, in particular, the strenuous objections raised by some Powers to the use of the word independence, are evidence of the fact that imperialist Powers are still functioning in the old imperialist way and intend to retain and exploit their colonial possessions. The Committee are of opinion that a full and frank recognition of national independence, within the framework of the international order of colonial territories is necessary to give reality to the purposes and objectives of the new organization and to lay the foundations of a stable peace.

The Committee have noted that the delegates from India to the San Francisco Conference represented the alien government and in no way the people of this country, and their attitude towards problems affecting India and other dependent and colonial territories was often opposed to the policy of the Indian people. Such representation at international conference is an affront to India and is likely to mislead foreign nations. The fact of dependence on foreign authority has resulted in giving her an anomalous and degrading position in an organization of sovereign states and deprived her of a permanent seat in the Security Council of the new organization, which is her rightful due. Both for national and international reasons, India must attain the status of an independent and sovereign State, having a place in the highest councils of the nations, and in a position to contribute to the maintenance of peace, security and freedom.”
"The Jaipur Congress,* in its resolution on foreign policy, reaffirmed the principles that had guided the Congress in previous years and formulated a policy which should be pursued in the new circumstances that had arisen. Since then, India has become a Republic and has, as an independent sovereign nation, continued her association with the Commonwealth of Nations. She has also continued to participate fully in the activities of the United Nations. In furtherance of her aim, she has developed diplomatic contacts and friendly and cooperative relations with a large number of independent nations. She has avoided any entanglement in military or other alliances which tend to divide the world into rival groups and thus endanger world peace. She has maintained her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country.

Recent developments in the Far East leading to war in Korea, have led to an intensification of the international crisis and have brought the prospect of a devastating world war nearer. India, in accordance with her basic policy, associated herself with the United Nations in resistance to aggression. At the same time, she has laboured for peace and for the prevention of the war in the Far East from spreading beyond Korea.

The Congress approves of the policy pursued by the Government of India and is of opinion that every avenue of peaceful settlement should be explored. While aggression in any shape or form has to be resisted, it must be remembered that the aim of the United Nations, to which India, in common with other nations, is committed, is the maintenance of peace and not the encouragement of any activity which leads to war.

The United Nations Organisation was the outcome of the passionate hope of mankind for peace and cooperation among nations and for the avoidance of war. It was the basic feature of this organisation to bring together all countries, however they may differ from each other, on a common platform so that they might develop the habit of cooperation and of settlement of disputes by peaceful methods. If important nations are excluded from this great world organisation, it loses its distinctive feature and significance and its power for good is lessened. The Congress is, therefore, of opinion that our great neighbour, China, should be represented in this assembly of the nations of the world through her present

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Nasik on 20th and 21st September, 1950.
Government, so that she may be in a position to cooperate with the other nations in the maintenance of peace.

While aggression had to be resisted in Korea, the objective of the United Nations should be clearly stated. That objective must be the establishment of a free, independent and united Korea whose future is to be determined by her own people.

This Congress earnestly hopes that the great nations of the world will not permit fear and passion to endanger the cause of peace for which they all stand, and will not encourage any activities which add to the bitterness and hatred which unhappily fill many people’s minds today. The world crisis demands from every country forbearance and restraint, the banishment of fear, and a ceaseless endeavour in search of peace.”

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“This Congress* reaffirms the resolution of the Nasik Congress in regard to foreign policy.

The great need of the world today is the avoidance of war, which will inevitably bring irretrievable disaster to mankind. This Congress earnestly hopes that the great nations of the world, on whom rests a heavy responsibility, will pursue policies which ease the present tensions and lead to solutions of present-day problems. The policy of interference with another country with a view to bring about political or economic changes there, as well as the policy of controlling another country and depriving it of freedom to shape its own destiny, must lead to conflict.

The United Nations Organisation was formed to provide a common platform for all countries, even though they differed from each other in many ways, and was based on each country having freedom to develop in its own way and not interfering with another. If that basic policy of the U.N.O. is followed, the fear that grips the world today will gradually lessen and a peaceful consideration of problems will become easier. This Congress approves of the policy pursued by the Government of India in seeking friendly relations with all countries and in avoiding any entanglement in military or other alliances which tend to divide the world into rival groups and thus endanger world peace.”

57 : 1951 : New Delhi : I.

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*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at New Delhi on 18th and 19th October, 1951.*
Foreign Relations—U.S.A.

"This Congress thankfully recognises the valuable services rendered by Lala Lajpat Rai to the cause of the country by his earnest and self-sacrificing efforts of constitutional agitation in the United States of America by representing the view of the Congress before proper authorities in America in the matter of the demand for Self-Government and self-determination for India and requests Lala Lajpat Rai to continue his efforts as before."

34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : XXIII.

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United States Military Aid to Pakistan*

"The Congress has learnt with grave concern that there are certain proposals for military aid to be given by the United States of America to Pakistan. The Congress would welcome the peaceful development of Pakistan because the development of all countries of South Asia is important and is a guarantee of peace and stability in South Asia. In particular, the Congress considers friendly and co-operative relations between India and Pakistan, which have so much in common with each other, as essential.

But the intervention of a great and powerful country in the shape of military aid, whatever the motives of such aid might be, necessarily leads to grave and far-reaching consequences which affect the whole of South Asia, and, more particularly, India. Such aid, it is stated, is meant to ensure peace in this area, but the effect of it is likely to be the exact opposite of this. The area of potential war would spread and fresh conflicts may arise.

In view of the history of Asia during the past few hundred years, military aid and intervention by foreign Powers in Asian countries is a reversal of the process of liberation which had led these countries, after long struggle, to a large measure of freedom.

The United States of America have a long record as champions of freedom and democracy. On them rests a very great responsibility today because of their great power and influence. The Congress earnestly trusts that the U.S.A. will not take any step which will tend to reverse the process of history in Asia and create

* Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Kalyani, on 29th January, 1954.
doubt and apprehension in the minds of Asian peoples who wish to pursue the path of freedom and democracy in their own way.

The Congress wishes to assure the people of Pakistan of its friendly feelings towards them and of its desire to further the cooperation of the two countries.

Because of these developments a grave situation has arisen which demands, above all, national solidarity. The Congress trusts, therefore, that in this crisis the people of India, whatever their internal differences might be, will present a united front and devote themselves to the development and strengthening of the nation through peaceful processes. It is not by a competition in armaments that India will basically strengthen herself, but by unity, self-reliance and the social, economic and industrial development of the nation."

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Foreign Relations—Waziristan

"The Working Committee have considered the report of Messrs. Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. The Committee regret that the Government of India have prevented them from visiting Waziristan on a good-will mission from the people of India. The Committee further regret and are surprised at their being prevented from visiting even Bannu city which is part of the regularly administered Province. This action of the Government confirms the impression that the British authorities are not desirous of encouraging or permitting the development of friendly relations between the people of India and the trans-border peoples. The Committee are convinced that the policy so far followed by the Government on the Frontier is wrong and harmful and has completely failed. The people of India will gladly develop friendly contacts with the trans-border tribes and thus put an end to a conflict which is harmful to both. Whilst unfortunately, the mission has been unable to reach Waziristan and to explore the possibilities of rendering such aid in social and economic spheres as was possible, the Working Committee assures the Waziris and the other trans-border tribes that their efforts in this direction will continue.”


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FRONTIER POLICY

See

FOREIGN RELATIONS—Frontier Policy
GOA PROBLEM

FOREIGN RELATIONS—Goa

HARIJANS

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME (Vol. I)

HEALTH AND HYGIENE

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME (Vol. I)

HINDU MUSLIM QUESTION

COMMUNALISM (Vol. I)
PAKISTAN AND PARTITION

HINDUSTAN MAZDOOR SEVAK SANGH

LABOUR AND LABOUR CLASSES

HINDUSTAN SEVA DAL

LABOUR AND LABOUR CLASSES

I. N. A.

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

I. N. C.

POLITICAL PARTIES—Indian National Congress

INDEPENDENCE ACT (1947)

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (Vol. I)
CHAPTER V

INDEPENDENCE PLEDGES

The Preparation (1929)

Complete Independence*

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

The declaration to be read on the 26th January was as follows:—*

The following resolution has been issued on behalf of the Working Committee for adoption by public meetings all over the country on Purna Swaraj Day, Sunday, January 26th, 1930:—

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

“India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than two pence) per day and of the heavy taxes we pay 20 per cent are raised from the land revenue derived from the peasantry and 3 per cent from the Salt Tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

“Village industries such as hand-spinning have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year and dulling their intellect for want of handicrafts and nothing has been substituted as in other countries for the crafts thus destroyed.

“Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Customs duties betray clear partiality for British manufactures and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

“Politically India’s status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us have to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us and many of our countrymen are compelled to

live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

“Culturally the system of education has borne us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

“Spiritually compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

“We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this four-fold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will, therefore, prepare ourselves by withdrawing so far as we can all voluntary association from the British Government and will prepare for Civil Disobedience including non-payment of taxes. We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence even under provocation the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We, therefore, hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swaraj.”

* * *

“What Swaraj will include. Karachi Congress Resolution.”*

“Karachi resolution condensed, to be printed on membership forms.”

Swaraj as conceived by the Congress should include real economic freedom of the masses. The Congress declares that no constitution will be acceptable to it unless it provides or enables the Swaraj Government to provide for:

1. Freedom of Expression.
2. Freedom of religion.
3. Protection of all cultures and languages.
4. All Citizens shall be equal before the law.

*The Indian National Congress* 1930-34: (Being the resolutions passed by the Congress, the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee during the period between Jan. 1930 to Sep. 1934. Some important statements and other documents of the period are also given). Allahabad, A.I.C.C., 1935 p. 209 to 210.
5. No disability in employment or in trade or profession on account of religion, caste or sex.
6. Equal rights and duties for all in regard to public wells, schools, etc.
7. All to have right to bear arms in accordance with regulations.
8. No person to be deprived of property or liberty except in accordance with law.
10. Adult Suffrage.
11. Free compulsory primary education.
12. No titles to be conferred.
13. Capital punishment to be abolished.
14. Freedom of movement for every citizen of India and right to settle and acquire property in any part thereof, and equal protection of law.
15. Proper standard of life for industrial workers and suitable machinery for settlement of disputes between employers and workers, and protection against old age, sickness, etc.
16. All labour to be free from conditions of serfdom.
17. Special Protection of women workers.
18. Children not to be employed in mines and factories.
19. Rights of peasants and workers to form unions.
20. Reform of system of land revenue and tenure and rent, exempting rent and revenue for uneconomical holdings and reduction of dues payable for smaller holdings.
21. Inheritance tax on graduated scale.
22. Reduction of Military expenditure by at least half.
23. No servant of state ordinarily to be paid above Rs. 500 per month.
25. Protection of indigenous cloth against competition of foreign cloth.
26. Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.
27. Currency and exchange to be in the national interest.
28. Nationalisation of key industries and services, railways, etc.
29. Relief of agricultural indebtedness.
30. Military training for citizens.”

* * *

“In order to demonstrate effectively the will of the Indian people to resist the imposition of the unwanted Constitution and as an earnest desire of their determination to launch a powerful mass-movement for its destruction, the Congress issues a call for a nation-wide
hartal or general strike on April 1, the day on which the new Constitution is to be inaugurated.” 50 : 1936 (Dec.) : Faizpur : XX.

* * *

“The Congress, pledged as it is to the independence of India and the elimination of all imperialist control and exploitation of the Indian people, has for many years consistently followed a policy of not participating in any function or activity which is meant to, or which tends to, strengthen the hold of British Imperialism or add to its prestige. This policy must be adhered to by all Congressmen. In particular the Congress wishes to declare that Congressmen cannot participate in any way in any celebrations or functions that might be held in India in connection with the new King’s coronation and trusts that the nation will abstain from participation in all such functions. The Congress, however, desires to make it clear that this is in no way intended to express any ill-will or discourtesy to the King’s person.” 50 : 1936 (Dec.) : Faizpur : XX.

* * *

The Independence Resolution

Moved by
Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru

At the Indian National Congress, Madras, 1927.*

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru rising amidst cheers said:

“It is my high privilege to place before you the resolution on Independence (Cheers).

The resolution reads thus:—

“The Congress declares the goal of the Indian people to be complete national independence.”

I do not think I can describe this resolution in any better language than that used by the distinguished Ex-President of the Congress, Dr. Annie Besant in an interview which she gave immediately after the Subject Committee had accepted this resolution. She said that it was a dignified and clear statement of India’s goal (Cheers).

No special remarks are necessary from me in commending this resolution for your acceptance specially after the almost complete unanimity with which the Subject Committee approved of it. But I wish to explain very clearly one or two points connected with this

*Nehru, Jawaharlal, Speeches and Writings. Allahabad, L. Ram Mohanlal, 1929, p. 93-95.
resolution. The first thing is that this resolution although it makes clear the goal does not change the present creed of the Congress. If you pass this resolution you declare by a majority, I hope by an overwhelming majority that the Congress is to-day for complete independence. Nonetheless you have the doors of the Congress open to such persons as may not approve of this goal as they perhaps are satisfied with a lesser or a smaller goal. I think that although the door of the Congress is open, there should be no doubt if you approve of this resolution then everybody must say that the majority of the Congressmen today demand complete independence for the country. Now this resolution as placed before you is a very short and simple one. In the Subject Committee the resolution as you may know because the proceedings are quite public was slightly longer and more complicated. But ultimately it was changed to this present formula and this formula was adopted.

I wish to make it clear to you that the adoption of this formula does not in any way change the spirit or the meaning of the resolution. It means what it says. It means complete independence. It means control of the defence forces of the country. It means control over the financial and economic policy of the country. It means control over the relations with the foreign countries. (Hear, Hear). Without these things independence would be a travesty and camouflage.

Thirdly I wish to point out to you lest there be any mistake that this goal which I hope you will adopt today is the immediate goal and not a goal of the far distant future (Cheers). Whether we achieve it today or tomorrow, a year hence or 10 years hence I cannot say. That depends on your strength and the strength of the country.

May I in conclusion express my heartfelt gratitude that the Congress is about to adopt the goal worthy of our country’s high destiny and hope that this goal may be reached in the near future (Cheers).

He then explained the resolution in Hindi."

"Dominion Status or Independence?"

The following is the full text of Pandit Jawahar Lal’s speech delivered on Pandit Malaviya’s resolution on Dominion Status at the All Parties Conference at Lucknow, August 1928.

"The members of the committee whose report we are considering had been good enough to commend a little bit of drudgery that I performed for them. It is perhaps a little ungracious of me to criticise their work especially as perhaps I know more than any one else how hard they worked on this report. Why was this Committee appointed? We all know that it was appointed principally to find a solution for communal difficulties. We were faced at Bombay by an impasse and no way out was visible then. Therefore, this committee, was appointed and not so much because it was necessary to draft a fine constitution. Their report testifies to the measure of success that they have attained in finding this solution. It is a fair solution just to all parties reasonable and practical and I earnestly trust that the conference will accept it.

Commitment to Dominion Status

Some of the other proposals that the Committee has made are to my thinking not so happy. I am specially unable to reconcile myself to Dominion Status and all its implications. What is the meaning of the resolution that we are considering? The preamble tells that it is open to us to carry on activity and propaganda for independence. But this is a mere flourish, meaning little. The second part of the resolution really commits every organisation and every individual voting for it to Dominion Status. The speeches in support of the motion and specially that of the mover made them even clearer. I wondered when I was listening to them whether I was not attending a session of the Congress, a generation ago. They embodied an ideology of a past age utterly out of touch with facts and realities. We were told of the injustice in not having Indian Governors, Indians in the services and in the Railway Board. In this what we have met here for? Is this our idea of freedom? It seems to me that we are drifting back from the 20th century to the ways and methods of the 19th.

Empire Idea Examined

We are told that we must be practical and being practical is taken to mean an adherence to an outward set of ideas regardless of the changes that have happened in the world. The mover of the resolution told us that he had learnt his politics from John Stuart Mill and Green the author of Short History of the Indian People. Eminent men they were but may I remind him that they are dead and gone and much has happened since? They are dead as Queen Anne as King Charles I as Louis XVI of France and as the last Czar of Russia. The world has moved and changed and if we are
to be practical let us take stock of the changes that the world has 
brought. What does the British Commonwealth of Nations, as it is 
called stand for? It stands for one part of it domineering over 
and exploiting India, parts of Africa and Malaya and other parts of 
the world. When we obtain Dominion Status are we going to get 
promotion from the exploited part to that of the exploiters?

Are we going to assist England and other Dominions in exploi-
ting Egypt and Africa? The thing is inevitable. Dominion Status 
for India must necessarily mean the breakup of the British Empire 
as it is today.

Creation of Sanctions Indispensable

Then again we are told that Dominion Status may be obtained 
by consent, Independence only after an appeal to arms or force. I 
do not know if any one here imagines that Dominion Status is going 
to be achieved by sweet reasonableness and logic. If so, all I can 
say is that he is a very credulous individual. Dominion Status or 
Independence both require a sanction behind them whether that is 
the sanction of armed force or non-violent force. You will get Domi-
nion Status the moment you make it clear to the British people that 
unless it is granted they will stand to lose much more. You will 
get when they feel that it will be hell for them in India unless they 
agreed to it. You will not get by logic and fine phrases. In matters 
of this kind, justice and logic have little place. Therefore, both for 
Independence and Dominion Status, a sanction and force of some 
kind is necessary. Consent only follows the creation of the sanction. 
It cannot come without it. Alternatively if Dominion Status can be 
the result of an agreement between India and England, I see no 
reason why Independence also should not be agreed to between 
them. We may agree to certain safeguards if necessary for British 
interests not because that we consider that the British are entitled 
to any safeguards but as the price of peace in order to avoid bloody 
warfare and great suffering. Perhaps it is easier for me to cooperate 
with the British people than with many of those who talk of Domi-
nion Status, but I cannot co-operate on their terms. I shall co-operate 
with them on equal terms only when I have some sanction and 
force behind me.

Dominion Status not matter of Consent

I am, therefore, interested much more in the creation of this 
sanction than in a fine constitution. I have no objection to the 
drafting of the constitution. Do it by all means but remember that 
in order to enforce it you must have a sanction and that applies
both to Dominion Status and Independence. Do not be under any delusion that Dominion Status is a matter of consent and easily obtainable and that Independence is much more difficult of attainment and can come only through war. If India gets Dominion Status, it necessarily follows that we fit our foreign policy with the foreign policy of England, that we support England in Egypt, in China and elsewhere. Indeed the report makes it clear that there should be a joint imperial policy. Are you prepared to be tied to the chariot wheels of England in this way? Dominion Status involves cooperation between India and England.

*All British Parties Hostile*

Let us consider the various groups in England today. Are you going to cooperate with my Lords Birkenhead and Winston or with Mr. Lloyd George of the Steel frame fame and his great supporter in the press the "Manchester Guardian", which has called this report that we are considering a piece of lunacy? Or will you cooperate with the villain Jix the Home Secretary in England who among his merits and they are few has certainly the quality of frankness, who stated that the English people had come to India not for the benefit of India but to fill their own pockets? Or will you cooperate with the sanctimonious and cunting humbugs who lead the Labour Party in England? For part I would rather prefer to deal with the Birkenhead crowd than with Mac Donald and Company. Whom then do you cooperate with in England? Nobody will have you but still you go on repeating the worn out formulae of making offers and compromises and convincing the British people. You will never do so till you develop the sanction and enforce your will. Therefore, I say to you with all humility that to talk of Dominion Status is to dilute ourselves and to give the country an entirely wrong lead. The only practical goal is that of Independence and this is bad policy and worse tactics to agree in any shape or form to Dominion Status even for a while and even as a compromise.

*Masses Ignored*

There is talk of unity amongst various parties and undoubtedly the gathering here is a very representative gathering. But I would beg of you to remember that we represent largely the intelligentsia of this country only. We represent directly at any rate the two or three or five per cent in this country. The whole country as we all know has been convulsed this year by labour troubles, strikes and
lock-outs and shootings and the terrible misery involved in all these and the present troubles have taken place in other parts of the country. Yet what do we find in the report in regard to these matters. There is hardly anything except a few good principles in the Declaration of Rights and elsewhere. Only a few days ago the Government produced a measure the Trade Disputes Bill which is intended to stifle and prevent labour organisation. What have we to say in regard to it? Still more recently a new measure has been produced to deal it is said with Bolshevik agitators in the country. He must be simple enough person who imagines that a few Bolsheviks and the like or even hundreds of them can create all this labour trouble and peasant trouble in India. This measure is meant to apply to non-Indians. But we all know that there are enough measures in the Statute Book like the Bengal Ordinance which can be made to apply to Indians. There is no necessity for any further enactment to apply to Indians, this has been and is the consistent policy of England towards India.

*Dominion Objective Fatal to India*

Do you think that it is right for us to claim Dominion Status and to put our seal in a way to this policy? I do submit that it would be a wrong thing and a fatal thing for India to put Dominion Status as our objective. Those of us who think with me have carefully considered this resolution and we have definitely come to the conclusion that we cannot support it. We do not desire however to hamper the work of this conference because we feel that the principal work it has before it is the settlement of the Communal issue. We are prepared to help in so far as we can in the settlement of this problem. We have, therefore, decided to dissociate ourselves entirely with this resolution and not to have anything to do with it by way of amendment or otherwise. If you will permit me sir, I shall read out the statement which I have already placed in your hands on behalf of a number of members of this conference. The statement runs as follows:

*Dissenters' Statement*

“We the signatories of this statement are of opinion that the constitution of India should only be based on full Independence. We feel that the resolution that has been placed before the All-Parties Conference, definitely commits those who support it to a constitution based on what is termed Dominion Status. We are not prepared to accept this and we, therefore, cannot accept or
support this resolution. We recognise that the preamble to the resolution gives us the right to carry on activity in favour of Independence but this preamble does not in any way lessen the commitment contained in the second part of the resolution. We have decided, however, not to obstruct or hamper the work of this conference but we desire to record our considered opinion on this question and dissociate ourselves with this particular resolution in so far as it commits us to the acceptance of Dominion Status. We shall not take any part in this resolution by moving amendments or by voting on it. We propose to carry on such activity as we consider proper and necessary in favour of complete Independence."

The above statement was handed to the President signed by 40 members of the conference. We understand that many others who could not be approached in time are now signing it.

* * *

Independence Day Pledge, 1947

The Congress Working Committee's resolution on the observance of the Independence Day reproduces the independence pledge in an amended form. The main amendment is the omission of the penultimate paragraph relating to 'Quit India' resolution. Following is the text of the pledge:

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

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

"We pledge ourselves anew to the independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till 'Purna Swaraj' is attained."
"We believe that non-violent action in general, and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme kept before the country by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress, and in particular of khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system, we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinction between the Caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished, and Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faiths may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of Mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"Charkha and khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, use for our personal requirements nothing but khadi, and so far as possible, products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise. We shall also try to work to the best of our ability some item or items of the constructive programme.

"We pay our grateful homage to thousands of our comrades who faced grave hardships, suffered humiliation and sacrificed their life and property in the struggle for freedom. Their sacrifice will always remind us of the duty never to rest until we have attained our goal.

"This day we pledge ourselves again to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policies and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress to carry on, if and whenever called upon, the struggle for the independence of India".

* Independence Day*

"Since I first unfurled the National Flag on the Red Fort, two years have been added to India’s long history which began thousands

of years ago. During these two years, we have seen achievements and failures, we have experienced joy and sorrow. The good work we have done will remain even though we pass away. So will India, though generations come and go.

Great questions face us and our task will not be over till we have answered them. Our objective is to make it possible for the millions of India to lead contented and purposeful lives. We cannot do that till we have solved to a large extent, the problems that face us.

On a day like this we should try to detach ourselves from the problems of the moment and see from a distance, as it were, what is happening in our country and in the world. It is right that we forget our little troubles for a while and think of the major currents that are flowing in our country.

Thirty years ago there appeared on the Indian scene a mighty man of destiny who lighted our path. That light illumined our minds and hearts and large numbers of our people, forgetting their own troubles and domestic difficulties, their property and family, responded to his call. It was not for personal gain of any kind. Among these there existed a friendly competition as to who could serve the motherland better and more effectively. Our consuming obsession was the liberation of our country.

The star of a free India beckoned us forward. We dreamed of freedom from poverty and distress. We gained our political freedom at last but the other freedom still remains for us to achieve. Before we could do much to achieve it, new problems came in our way. Sixty lakhs of people migrated to India as refugees. We faced this problem as we had faced others. I suppose we made some mistakes but no one reviewing these two years will fail to appreciate our forward march in the face of all kinds of difficulties.

Unarmed and peaceful, we faced a proud empire, not looking for aid to any other country and relying only on ourselves. We had faith in our leader, and in ourselves. This gave us the strength that sustained us during our struggle for independence. If we had faith and self-confidence when to outward seeming we were powerless, then surely we are much better off today when we are a free people with the strength of a great country behind us. Why then should our faith and our confidence in ourselves weaken? It is true that we have tremendous economic and other difficulties to face; it is also true that while we have rehabilitated lakhs of refugees, large numbers still remain to be helped and rehabilitated. But we have faced even bigger problems in the past. Why should we not face these in the
same way also? We must not let our minds get entangled in petty questions and difficulties and forget the main issues.

We belong to a great country, a country that is not great physically but in things far more important. If we are to be worthy of our country, we must have big minds and big hearts, for small men cannot face big issues or accomplish big tasks. Let each one of us do his duty to his country and to his people and not dwell too much on the duty of others.

Some people get into the habit of criticising others without doing anything themselves. Nothing good can come of that type of criticism. So, wherever you may be, whether you are in the Army or the Air Force or the Navy or in the civil employ of the Government, each one of you must do your duty efficiently and in a spirit of devotion apply themselves to their tasks in their innumerable capacities and co-operate with others forgetting the petty things that divide them. We shall marvel at the speed with which India will progress.

I want you to think for a moment of the days when we fought the battle of India’s freedom without arms and without much by way of resources. We had a great leader who inspired us. We had other leaders, too, but it was the masses of this country who bore the brunt of the struggle. They had faith in their country and their leaders and they relied upon themselves. Today, we have more strength than we ever had. It is, therefore, surprising that some people should feel dejected, have no confidence in themselves and complain all the time.

Let us get back purposefulness, the enthusiasm, the selfconfidence and the faith which moved us at the time of our struggle for freedom. Let us put aside our petty quarrels and factions and think only of the great objective before us.

In our foreign policy, we have proclaimed that we shall join no power bloc and endeavour to co-operate and be friendly with all countries. Our position in the world ultimately depends on the unity and strength of the country, on how far we proceed in the solution of our economic and other problems and on how much we can raise the depressed masses of India. We may not be able to complete that task, for it is colossal. Even so, if we make some headway it will be easier for others to complete the task.

A nation’s work never ends. Men may come and go, generations may pass but the life of a nation goes on. We must remember the basic fact that we can achieve little unless there is peace in the country, no matter what policy we pursue. There are some misguided
people who indulge in violence and try to create disorder. I wonder how anybody with the least intelligence can think in terms of such anti-national activities. Bomb throwing for instance, can do the country no good. On the contrary, it further aggravates our economic situation, which is a source of great anxiety to us. Therefore, it is the duty of everyone, no matter what his politics, to help in the maintenance of peace in the country.

The people have every right to change laws and even to change governments and they can exercise that right in a peaceful and democratic manner. But those who choose the path of violence have no path in democracy. If their way were to prevail, there would be complete chaos in the country and the condition of the people would deteriorate even more. All progress would cease and the next few generations would have to carry a heavy burden.

I am still more distressed by those who, while condemning violence, join hands with those who indulge in violence. They think only in terms of winning an election and forget that the cause of the country and of the people is bigger than any party. If we forget India and her people while pursuing our smaller objectives then we are indeed guilty of betraying our country. I wish to emphasize that all of us must understand that our most important objective is the safety and security of India and the prosperity and advancement of her people. That can only be achieved effectively if we stop quarrelling amongst ourselves and try to solve the great problems that confront us by democratic and peaceful methods.

We must look at our problems in a proper perspective. If we are preoccupied with petty problems, we shall fail to solve the larger and more important ones.

We must learn to depend on ourselves and not look to others for help every time we are in trouble. Certainly we want to make friends with the rest of the world. We also seek the goodwill and co-operation of all those who reside in this country, whatever their race or nationality. We welcome help and co-operation from every quarter but we must depend primarily on our own resources. We should not forget that those who lean too much on others tend to become weak and helpless themselves. A country’s freedom can be preserved only by her own strength and self-reliance.

We are not hostile to any country and we do not want to meddle in other people’s affairs. Every nation should be free to choose the path it considers best. We do not wish to interfere with the freedom of other nations and expect them to feel the same about our freedom. That is why we have decided not to join any
of the power blocs in the world. We will remain aloof and try to be friendly to all. We intend to progress according to our own ideas. We have decided to follow this policy, not only because it is essentially a sound one from our country’s point of view but also because it seems to be the only way to serve the cause of world peace. Another world war will spell ruin and shall not escape the general disaster. We are determined to make every possible effort in the cause of peace. That explains our present foreign policy.

Perhaps you know that I am shortly going to visit a country which is great and powerful. I propose to carry with me a message of friendship and assurances of co-operation from our people. Keeping our own freedom intact, we wish to be friend to other nations. Our friendship with one country should not be interpreted as hostility to another.

Asia is passing through a great revolutionary phase and naturally India has also been affected. In other parts of Asia there is struggle and ferment. This morning’s newspaper contained the news of trouble and upheaval in a small but important country of Western Asia. We do not know all the facts and in any event I do not wish to express an opinion. All I want to say is that prevalence of violence and violent methods weakens a country and undermines her progress.

In Eastern Asia, a great and ancient country is experiencing revolutionary changes of tremendous significance. Whatever our individual reactions to these may be our policy, namely, that we do not wish to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of other countries, is clear. Each country should have the freedom to go the way it chooses. It is for its people to decide their future. Any attempt at outside interference or compulsion must necessarily lead to evil results. No country can impose freedom on any other. That is a contradiction in terms. The world has a great deal of variety and it should be no one’s business to suppress this variety or to impose one’s way of thinking and acting on others. We should, therefore, survey world events in a spirit of understanding and friendship to all.

Our Constituent Assembly is busy framing a new Constitution for India and soon we shall adopt a republican form of government. However, laws and constitutions do not by themselves make a country great. It is the enthusiasm, energy and constant effort of people that make it a great nation. Men of Law lay down constitutions but history is really made by great minds, large hearts and stout arms, by the sweat, tears and toil of a people.
Let us, therefore, learn to study our country’s problems in the larger perspective of the world and let us not permit the minor questions of the day to overwhelm us. I have faith in India and her great destiny. A country must have military strength but armed power does not by itself constitute a country’s real strength. Her real strength lies in the capacity of her people for disciplined work. Only hard work can produce wealth for us and rid us of our poverty. Each one of us, man or woman, young or old, must therefore, toil and work. Rest is not for us. We did not win our freedom so that we might rest afterwards but in order to work harder to hold and strengthen that freedom. There is a great difference between the voluntary labour of a free man for objective of his choice and the drudgery of a slave. Our labours as free men and women will lay the foundations for a great future and our labour of love for the cause of India and her people will endure, so will the fact that we are building, brick by brick, the great mansion of free India. There is joy in such work and even when we have departed that work will be there for future generations to see.

One of our most important problems today is that of growing more food. We must avoid wasting food at all costs. We must conserve our present resources with great care. We have to tighten our belts. If the co-operation of the people is forthcoming, we shall solve not only this problem but many others. Our petty squabbles and party differences can wait. What is vital and important for us is to keep before us the picture of a great India. India is enduring and will continue to be there long after we are gone."
CHAPTER XVI

INDEPENDENCE, SUPPRESSION OF

"That this Congress is of opinion that the rules prohibiting managers and teachers of aided institutions from taking part in political movements or attending political meetings without the consent of the Director of Public Instruction, or other authorities are likely to interfere with the practical and effectual exercise of the rights of British subjects, to withdraw able and influential men from the cause of education, and to restrict private enterprise and organisation for the spread of education in this country. And this Congress hopes that the Madras and Bombay Governments will take steps to remove from the educational rules and the grant-in-aid code the provisions to the effect described above."

15 : 1899 : Lucknow : VIII

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"This Congress places on record its emphatice and unqualified condemnation of the detestable outrages and deeds of violence which have been committed recently in some parts of the country and which are abhorrent to the loyal, humane and peace-loving nature of His Majesty's Indian subjects of every denomination."

23 : 1908 : Madras : III

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

23 : 1908 : Madras : XI

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

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

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

31:1916: Lucknow: XVI

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

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

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

(d) That the Congress urges that the non-official members of the Legislative Council of any province in which the detenues are being held should elect a visiting committee who shall visit all detenues in their province and report to the Government all cases of sickness and harsh or unfair treatment.”

32 : 1917 : Calcutta : IX

* * *

(a) That this Congress declares that the people of India are fit for Responsible Government and repudiates the assumption to the contrary contained in the Report on Indian Constitutional reforms.

(b) That this Congress entirely disagrees with the formula contained in the said Report that the Provinces are the domain in which the earlier steps should be taken towards the progressive realisation of Responsible Government and that the authority of the Government of India in essential matters must remain indisputable pending experience of the effect of the changes proposed to be introduced in the Provinces and this Congress is of opinion that simultaneous advance is indispensable both in the Provinces and the Government of India.”

33 : [Special] : 1918 : Bombay : III

* * *

(a) That this Congress reiterates its declaration of last year that India is fit for full Responsible Government and repudiates all assumptions and assertions to the contrary wherever made.

(b) That this Congress adheres to the resolutions passed at the Delhi Congress regarding Constitutional Reforms and is of opinion that the Reforms Act is inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.

(c) That this Congress further urges that Parliament should take early steps to establish full Responsible Government in India in accordance with the principle of Selp-Determination.

(d) “Pending such introduction this Congress trusts that so as may be possible the people will so work the Reforms
as to secure an early establishment of full Responsible Government, and this Congress offers its thanks to the Right Hon'ble M.S. Montagu for his labours in connection with the Reforms.”

“This Congress strongly urges that the Punjab and Bombay Governments and the Government of India should be requested to immediately cancel the orders passed under sections 15A. and 25A. and B of the Police Act V of 1861, levying certain indemnities for the injury done to person and property in various places in the Punjab and the Bombay Presidency inasmuch as these orders were inequitable and uncalled for.”

“This Congress expresses its firm conviction that the Moplah disturbance was not due to the Non-cooperation or the Khilafat movement especially as the non-cooperators and Khilafat preachers were denied opportunity of carrying on effective propaganda of non-violence in the effected parts by the district authorities for six months before the disturbance, but to causes wholly unconnected with the two movements and that the outbreak would not have occurred had the message of non-violence been allowed to reach them. Nevertheless this Congress deplores the acts done by certain Moplahs by way of forcible conversions and destruction of life and property and is of opinion that the prolongation of the disturbance in Malabar could have been prevented by the Government of Madras accepting the proffered assistance of Maulana Yakub Hassan and other non-cooperators and allowing Mahatma Gandhi to proceed to Malabar and is further of opinion that the treatment of Moplah prisoners as evidenced by the asphyxiation incident was an act of inhumanity unheard of in modern times and unworthy of a government that calls itself civilised.”

“This Congress heartily congratulates Shreeman Baba Gurudat-singji, the great organiser of Sri Guru Nanak Steamer who willingly surrendered himself after seven years’ fruitless search by the Government as a sacrifice for the nation and also congratulates the other Sikh leaders who have preferred imprisonment to the restriction of their religions rights and liberty and congratulates the Sikh community on their non-violent spirit at the time of the Babaji’s arrest and on other occasions in spite of great provocation by the Police and the Military.”
"Whereas it has been discovered that many otherwise deserving men are unobtainable for national service because of their reluctance to accept remuneration for service, the Congress places on record its opinion that there is not only nothing derogatory to one's dignity in accepting remuneration for national service, but the Congress hopes that patriotic young men and women will regard it as an honour to accept maintenance for service faithfully rendered and that those needing or willing to do service will prefer national to other service."

* * *

"This Congress, while re-affirming the resolution of the All India Congress Committee on the Boycott of British Goods, resolves that, with a view to make such boycott effective, Provincial Congress Committees be called upon to organise a boycott of selected British Goods, having regard to the conditions of each province."

* * *

"That the Congress should vigorously carry on propaganda for boycotting all foreign cloth in general and British goods in particular."

* * *

"This Congress is of opinion that it is contrary to the spirit of the national struggle for freedom and derogatory to the nation's dignity for Congressmen to participate in any way in functions meant to consolidate foreign rule and do honour to the alien rulers of India and their officials. The Congress, therefore, reiterates its advice to the people in general and to Congressmen in particular that they should abstain from attending Government levees, durbars and all other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour."

* * *

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that if the object of the settlement between the Government and the Congress is the promotion of goodwill between Great Britain and India and if the settlement is an earnest desire of Great Britain's determination to part with power, the Government should release all political prisoners, detenus and undertrials not covered by the settlement, and remove all political disabilities imposed by the Government on Indians, whether in India or abroad, on account of their political opinions or acts.

This Congress reminds the Government that if they will res-
pond to this resolution, they will somewhat allay the strong public resentment that has been roused by the recent executions.”

45 : 1931 : Karachi : III

* * *

“This Congress congratulates all those who underwent great sufferings during the late Civil Disobedience campaign whether through imprisonment, shooting, bayonet or lathi charges, emigration from their homes and loss of property by suppression. The Congress more especially congratulates the women of India who rose in their thousand and assisted the nation in its struggle for freedom and respectfully assures them that no constitution will be acceptable to the Congress that discriminates against the sex in the matter of franchise.”

45 : 1931 : Karachi : VI

* * *

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

45 : 1931 : Karachi : VIII

* * *

“This Congress congratulates the Nation on its splendid response to Mahatma Gandhi’s call to the struggle for freedom and expresses its complete faith in his leadership.”

46 : 1932 : Delhi : III

* * *

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

1. Fundamental rights of the people, including:
   (i) Freedom of association and combination;
   (ii) freedom of speech and of the press;
   (iii) Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality;
(iv) protection of the culture, language, and scripts of the minorities.
(v) Equal rights and obligations of all citizens, without any bar on account of sex;
(vi) no disability to attach to any citizen by reason of his or her religion, caste or sex in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling;
(vii) equal rights to all citizens in regard to public roads, wells, schools and other places of public resort;
(viii) right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulations and reservations made in that behalf;
(ix) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling be entered, property sequestered or confiscated, save in accordance with law.

2. Religious neutrality on the part of the state.
3. Adult suffrage.
4. Free primary education.
5. A living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment.
6. Labour to be freed from serfdom or conditions bordering on serfdom.
7. Protection of women workers, and, specially adequate provisions for leave during maternity period.
8. Prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories.
9. Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for settlement of disputes by arbitration.
10. Substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue paid by the peasantry and in case of uneconomic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary, relief being given to small zamindars wherever necessary by reason of such reduction.
11. Imposition of a progressive income tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed minimum.
12. A graduated inheritance tax.
13. Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one-half of the present scale.
14. Expenditure and salaries in civil departments to be largely reduced. No servant of the state, other than specially employed experts and the like, to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month.
15. Protection of indigenous cloth by exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country.
16. Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs.
17. No duty on salt manufactured in India.
18. Control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses.
19. Control by the state of key industries and ownership of mineral resources.
20. Control of usury—direct or indirect.

It shall be open to the A.I.C.C. to revise, amend or add to the foregoing so far as such revision, amendment or addition is not inconsistent with the policy and principles thereof."

45 : 1931 : Karachi : XV

"The Congress draws public attention again to the widespread and intensive suppression of Civil and, in many instances, personal liberties in India by the British Government, with the object of crushing the national and labour and peasant movements. In particular, to the banning of hundreds of Congress and other national organisations, and labour and peasant unions, and political and other groups; seizure and continued possession by the Government of many ashrams and other educational institutions; the continuation of the Ordinance regime by the certification and passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, even after its rejection twice by the Assembly, and the enactment of similar provincial Acts; the Proscription and banning of books and periodicals; the numerous press laws and censorship resulting in the suppression of 348 newspapers in recent years and the forfeiture of large sums deposited as securities; the detention of large number of people for indefinite periods without charge or trial, the numerous special and additional disabilities under which the people of the Frontier Province have to suffer; the many encroachments on personal liberty in parts of Bengal; the restriction by extermination, internment and otherwise to the free movement of persons within the country, thus preventing them from carrying on their usual occupations and business, and even obstructing humanitarian and relief work; the application of measures like the Criminal Tribes Act and the Foreigners' Act to political workers; indiscriminate and widespread searches of houses; the difficulties placed in the way of Indians going abroad; and the barriers to the return home of many Indians in foreign countries, who have thus to live in exile far from their own people and their motherland. The Congress notes that at no period since the great revolt of 1857 has the suppression of
ind and personal liberties and the repression of the Indian people, which is the normal feature of British administration in India today, been so great as it is now. While recognising that this extraordinary suppression and repression are measures of the strength and success of India's struggle for freedom, the Congress desires to point out that such is the background to the Constitution Act in spite of the statements made by representatives of the British Government that constitutional progress is being made in India.

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

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

49:1936: Lucknow: IV

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CHAPTER VII

INDIA (Periodical)

Note:—Official Organ of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. This periodical is one of the original sources on Modern Indian Political Thought. The complete file of this unique journal is available in the Library of the All-India Congress Committee Office, New Delhi.

* * *

"That a sum of Rupees sixty thousand be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and cost of the Congress Publication "INDIA" and also for the expenses of the Joint General Secretary's Office, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged, either now, or hereafter in committee, for the year 1897."

* 12 : 1896 : Calcutta : XXII *

* * *

"That a sum of Rs. 30,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the publication of "INDIA".

* 16 : 1900 : Lahore : XVII *

* * *

"That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee, as at present constituted and the journal INDIA as published by it, be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance with the following scheme:—

That a circulation of 4,000 copies of INDIA be secured by allotting 1,500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras, 200 copies to the North-West Provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar and the Central Provinces and 1,000 copies to Bombay; the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8.

That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due for the copies of INDIA assigned to their respective
circles; and the money be paid in advance in two half-year instalments:

Bengal

\{ Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
    \}

\{ Bhupendra Nath Basu.
    \}

\{ Baikunta Nath Sen.
    \}

Bombay

\{ Hon’ble Mr. P.M. Mehta.
    \}

\{ Mr. D. E. Wacha.
    \}

\{ Hon’ble Mr. G.K. Cokhale.
    \}

Madras

\{ Hon’ble Mr. Srinivas Rao.
    \}

\{ Mr. Vijay Raghava Chariar.
    \}

\{ Mr. V. Ryru Nambier.
    \}

\{ Mr. G. Subramania Iyer.
    \}

Berar and the Central Provinces.

Mr. R.N. Mudholkar.

N.-W. Provinces

\{ Mr. M.M. Malaviya.
    \}

And Oudh

\{ Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma.
    \}

\{ Mr. S. Sinha.
    \}

\{ Mr. A. Nundy.
    \}

Cawnpore

Mr. Prithwi Nath Pandit.

Punjab

Lala Harkishan Lal.

That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of INDIA and the British Committee a special delegation fee of Rs.10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902’’ 18 : 1962 : Ahmedabad : XX.

* *

‘That this Congress* records its sense of high appreciation of the services of Sir William Wedderburn and other Members of the British Committee and resolves that the Organisation of the British Committee and ‘INDIA’ should be maintained.’

431 : 1916 : Lucknow : IV

* *

*The 17th annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1901, also passed a similar resolution.
"This Congress notes with satisfaction that it has been agreed by the Board of Directors of the Journal 'INDIA' that it shall represent the views of the Congress and refers the recommendations contained in the Report of the Congress Deputation for the extension and improvement of the said Journal to the All-India Congress Committee."

34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : XXI
INDIA—FRONTIER POLICY

See
FOREIGN RELATIONS—Frontier Policy

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INDIA—FOREIGN RELATIONS

See
FOREIGN RELATIONS

* *

INDIA—HEALTH AND HYGIENE

See
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME (Vol. I)

* *

INDIA—JUDICIARY

See
JUDICIARY

* *

INDIA—LEGISLATION

See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (Vol. I)

* *

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
BRITISH COMMITTEE

See
POLITICAL PARTIES—Indian National Congress

* *

INDIA—NATIONALISM

See
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS—I—IX (Vol. I)

* *

INDIA—NATIONAL FLAG

See
NATIONAL FLAG

* *

INDIA—PARLIAMENT

See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (Vol. I)

* *
INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

INDIA—SOCIAL REFORMS

See

SOCIAL REFORMS

* * *

INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

See

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS—I—IX (Vol. I)

* * *
CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

"That in the opinion of this Congress the Competitive examinations now held in England, for first appointments in various Civil Departments of the Public service, should henceforth in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860 "be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practical identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit"; and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (Excluding peonships and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil service be raised to not less than 23 years." 1: 1885: Bombay: IV

"That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress."

Hon’ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay)
" S. Subramania Iyer (Madras)
" Peary Mohan Mookerjee (Calcutta)
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras)
Babu Matilal Ghose (Calcutta)
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta)
" Gangapershad Varma (Lucknow)
" Ramkali Chaudhuri (Benares)
" Guru Prasad Sen (Patna)
Pandit Prannath (Lucknow)
 Munshi Kashipershad (Allahabad)
Nawab Reza Ali Khan (Lucknow)
Mr. Hamid Ali (Lucknow)
Lala Kanhyalal (Amritsar)
Rao Sahib Gundadhar Rao Madhaw Chitnavis (Nagpur)
Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (Bombay)

2: 1886: Calcutta: VI
"That this Congress approves and adopts the report submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI."

**REPORT**

"We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honour to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday:

1. That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
2. That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects.
3. That the classified list be prepared according to merit.
4. That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
5. That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, or, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
6. That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
7. That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability."

Sd. Dadabhai Naoroji
President of the Committee

2 : 1886 : Calcutta : VII

* * *

"That this Congress, while appreciating the concessions proposed in the Report of the Public Service Commission, yet feels it necessary to put distinctly on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India."

4 : 1888 : Allahabad : II

* * *

"That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty’s Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government’s orders in regard to the Public
Service Question (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India in this matter until the simultaneous holding in India and in England of all examinations for all civil branches of the public service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.”

5: 1889: Bombay: V.

* * *

"That Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, and Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu, be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the line indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress, and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., for presentation to the House of Commons.

To

The Hon’ble, The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the President and Members of the Eighth Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of December, 1892, Respectfully Showeth,

(1) That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Hon’ble House, the deep disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty’s Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.

(2) That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service, under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the people the full employment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India, in their resolution appointing the Commission, observed, “that the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service.” But the result of the Commission’s enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.
(3) That in respect, likewise, to simultaneous examinations in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous examinations. Among the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(4) That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commission, is of such a character that this Congress has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Hon’ble House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country."

* 8 : 1892 : Allahabad : XI.

*  

(c) That no attempt has been made to make out a case against the holding of simultaneous Examinations for the recruitment of the Engineering, Forest, Telegraph and the higher Police Service Examinations, and the Congress regrets that the despatches of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, and the various local Governments are absolutely silent with regard to this aspect of the Resolution of the House of Commons.

(d) That this Congress respectfully urges on Her Majesty’s Government that the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June, 1893 on the question of Simultaneous Examinations should be speedily carried out as an act of justice to the Indian people."

* 10 : 1894 : Madras : VI.

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"That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and repeats its conviction that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England." 11 : 1895 : Poona : VII.

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"That this Congress again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good result to the people of this country, and urges the desirability of holding the competitive examinations for the
Indian Civil Services, viz., Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest and Accounts, both in India and in England, in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons of the 2nd June, 1893. This Congress further points out that in regard to the employment of Indians in the higher ranks of the Postal, Salt and Abkari and Forest Services, the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have not been adequately carried out, and prays that in all ranks of the said Services more educated Indians should be employed."

"That the Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, again records its deep regret that the labours of the Public Service Commission have practically proved void of any good results to the people of this country, and is strongly of opinion that no satisfactory solution of the question is possible unless effect is given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June, 1893, in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Services, i.e., Civil, Medical, Police, Engineering, Telegraph, Forest and Accounts both in England and in India. That the policy of the Government of India in regard to minor Civil Services practically excludes the Natives of India from higher appointments in them and is, therefore, opposed not only to the recommendations of the Public Service Commission but to Royal and Viceregal pledges given to the Indian people from time to time."

(a) That, in the opinion of this Congress, the principles and policy enunciated by the Government of India in their Resolution, dated 24th May, 1904, on the subject of the employment of Indians in the higher grades of the Public Service, are inconsistent with those laid down in the Parliamentary Statute of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 by the late Queen Empress, and this Congress enters its respectful but emphatic protest against an attempt to explain away pledges solemnly given by the Sovereign and Parliament to the people of this country, and to deviate from arrangements deliberately arrived at by the Government after a careful examination of the whole question by a public commission.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that the true remedy for many existing financial and administrative evils lies in the wider employment of Indians in the higher branches of the country's service; and while concurring with pre-
vious Congresses in urging that immediate effect should be given to the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June, 1893, in favour of holding the competitive examinations for the Civil Services simultaneously in England and in India, this Congress places on record its firm conviction that the only satisfactory solution of this question is to be found in the re-organization of the Indian Civil Service, which should be reconstituted on a decentralised basis, its judicial functions in the meantime being partly transferred to persons who have been trained in the profession of law.

(c) That this Congress, concurring in the opinion of the last Congress, deplores the abolition of the competitive test for the Provincial Service. Past experience has amply established the fact that a system of Government nomination degenerates, in the special circumstances of this country, into a system of appointment by official favour, and this, by bringing unfit men into the service, impairs the efficiency of the administration and in addition, unfairly discredits the fitness of Indians for high office. This Congress, therefore, respectfully urges the Government of India to restore the competitive test for the Provincial Service."

21 : 1905 : Banaras : VI.

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The Civil Services in India
Section 96B of the Government of India Act, 1919

(1) Subject to the provisions of this Act and of rules made thereunder, every person in the Civil Service of the Crown in India holds office during His Majesty's pleasure, and may be employed in any manner required by a proper authority within the scope of his duty, but no person in that Service may be dismissed by any authority subordinate to that by which he was appointed, and the Secretary of State in Council may (except so far as he may provide by rules to the contrary) reinstate any person in that Service who has been dismissed.

If any such person appointed by the Secretary of State in Council thinks himself wronged by an order of an official superior in a Governor's Province, and on due application made to that superior does not receive the redress to which he may consider himself entitled, he may, without prejudice to any other right of redress, complain to the Governor of the Province in order to obtain justice, and the Governor is hereby directed to examine such complaint and
require such action to be taken thereon as may appear to him to be just and equitable.

(2) The Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct. Such rules may, to such extent and in respect of such matters as may be prescribed, delegate the power of making rules to the Governor-General in Council or to Local Governments, or authorize the Indian Legislature or local Legislatures to make laws regulating the Public Services:

Provided that every person appointed before the commencement of the Government of India Act, 1919, by the Secretary of State in Council to the Civil Service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing rights, or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them as the Secretary of State in Council may consider just and equitable.

(3) The right to pensions and the scale and conditions of pensions of all persons in the Civil Service of the Crown in India appointed by the Secretary of State in Council shall be regulated in accordance with the rules in force at the time of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919. Any such rules may be varied or added to by the Secretary of State in Council and shall have effect as so varied or added to, but any such variation or addition shall not adversely affect the pension of any member of the service appointed before the date thereof.

Nothing in this section or in any rule thereunder shall prejudice the rights to which any person may, or may have, become entitled under the provisions in relation to pensions contained in the East India Annuity Funds Act, 1874.

(4) For the removal of doubts, it is hereby declared that all rules or other provisions in operation at the time of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919, whether made by the Secretary of State in Council or by any other authority, relating to the Civil Service of the Crown in India, were duly made in accordance with the powers in that behalf, and are confirmed, but any such rules or provisions may be revoked, varied or added to by rules or laws made under this section.
Offices reserved to the Indian Civil Service: Section 98 and Schedule III of the Government of India Act, 1919

Subject to the provisions of this Act all vacancies happening in any of the offices specified or referred to in the Third Schedule to this Act, and all such offices which may be created hereafter, shall be filled from amongst the members of the Indian Civil Service.

* * *

THIRD SCHEDULE

Offices reserved to the Indian Civil Service

A. Offices under the Governor-General in Council

1. The Offices of Secretary, Joint Secretary, and Deputy Secretary in every department except the Army, Marine, Education, Foreign, Political, and Public Works Departments: Provided that if the office of Secretary or Deputy Secretary in the Legislative Department is filled from among the members of Indian Civil Service, then the office of Deputy Secretary or Secretary in that department, as the case may be, need not be so filled.

2. Three offices of Accountants General.

B. Offices in the Provinces which were known in the year 1861 as ‘Regulation Provinces’

The following offices, namely:

1. Member of the Board of Revenue.
2. Financial Commissioner.
3. Commissioner of Revenue.
4. Commissioner of Customs.
5. Opium Agent.
6. Secretary in every Department except the Public Works or Marine Departments.
7. Secretary to the Board of Revenue.
8. District or Sessions Judge.
9. Additional District or Sessions Judge.
10. District Magistrate.
11. Collector of Revenue of Chief Revenue Officer of a District.

* * *
Memorandum by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, Ex-Minister, United Provinces, to the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 10 August, 1924*

The two provisos to Rule 10 of the Devolution Rules place the responsible Ministers on the same footing as the non-responsible Members of the Executive Council. . . The first proviso extends to officers of both the all-India and provincial Services; the second is limited to the former. The provisos may work without producing friction; but they may not. We have had both experiences in the United Provinces, particularly in respect of proviso (a). I can conceive of no justification for proviso (b). The Functions Committee in paragraph 70 of their report urge such restriction of the powers of a Minister only in the case of officers of the I.M.S. [Indian Medical Service]. 'because, owing to variations in the value of private practice in different appointments an order of transfer may seriously affect emoluments'. I do not approve of this. It is the Civil Assistant Surgeons promoted to the position of Civil Surgeons who have most to complain on this score, and actually several of the ablest among them have declined the promotion offered to them because they could only get districts which did not offer much scope for private practice. However this may be, the Devolution Rules of 1920 have gone far behind the Functions Committee of 1918. If Ministers cannot be trusted even in the matter of transfers and postings, it would be simpler, more logical and more intelligible to dispense with them altogether.

'A Local Government shall employ such number of Indian Medical Service officers in such appointments and on such terms and conditions as may be prescribed by the Secretary of State in Council,' (Devolution Rule 12). The officers belong to a Military Service; and medical administration is a Transferred subject. Unlike other heads of departments the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals may not be appointed by the Governor except with the concurrence of the Government of India. Sir John Hewett protested against this arrangement as long ago as 1907 in the memorandum he communicated to the Royal Commission on Decentralization. This 'previous sanction' subsists even after a Minister has been made responsible for medical administration. A certain amount of authority was claimed by the Government of India in 1921 even in respect of I.M.D. [Indian Medical Department] officers in civil employ, officers whose salaries are votable. A lengthy correspondence ensued and when on Budget day in 1922 the Minister (Pandit Jagat Narayan)

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*Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee (1924).*
went before the Council with proposals pressed upon him by Delhi and Simla they were sharply attacked by the non-official members and defeated without a division after an elaborate apologia by the Inspector-General.

* * *

There are certain posts in departments dealing with Transferred subjects which are reserved for officers serving in departments dealing with Reserved subjects. For example, there is the office of Excise Commissioner. It must be filled by an officer of the I.C.S. It is regarded as being the perquisite of a senior magistrate and Collector and oftener than not, an officer is selected who is not thought fit for promotion to the more coveted position of Commissioner of a Division (although as one officer remarked, while it is easy to understand that a person may not have the qualities essential for a successful Collector it is difficult to make out why anyone should be deemed unfit to be a Commissioner), but who may be too senior to remain a mere District Officer. In other words the convenience of the Government and not the public interest is (or was) the determining factor in the selection of the head of the department. With the concurrence of the Finance Member—the able officer who is Secretary both for Finance and Excise fully agreed with us—and His Excellency the Governor, it was decided towards the close of 1921 to appoint as Excise Commissioner the then Deputy Excise Commissioner who was both an expert (having put in many years of service in the corresponding department in Britain) and a man of administrative capacity and was besides a temperance reformer. He was appointed to officiate and a dispatch was prepared asking for the sanction of the Secretary of State to remove the post from the cadre of the I.C.S. and give liberty to the Governor acting with his Ministers to select which officer—I.C.S. or other—he might from time to time deem to be the best fitted therefor. At this stage the Finance Member and the Secretary both went on leave and the new Secretary, instead of submitting to the Governor the draft dispatch approved both by Sir Ludovic Porter and me, took it upon himself to send the case to the Chief Secretary on the ground that the proposal affected an all-India Service. This he did although the Chief Secretary’s chief, the Finance Member, who was in charge of General Administration as well as Appointments, had already given his consent. The Chief Secretary interposed every obstacle he could. The case had to go before more than one subsequent meeting of the Government. When at last the dispatch was sent in a truncated form it was returned by the Government of India with discouraging advice. In the interval
the Governor moved in sympathy away from me and in the direction of the Chief Secretary, and the final result is that we have the *status quo ante*.

* * *

I will not multiply instances. And I should further like to record that it should not be thought that they were very frequent. On the other hand there were many officers whose attitude towards the Ministers was correct and some who were cordial and helpful. And Pandit Jagat Narayan and I look back upon our association with them—and they included officers in our own as well as in the Reserved Departments—with pleasure and in some instances with a feeling of gratefulness...

The rules of Executive Business impose upon the Secretary the duty and confer upon him the right of submitting to the Governor cases which in his opinion were of such importance that he should see them. He should do so when in any important matter a Member of the Government did not accept the opinion of a Member of the Board of Revenue, the Commissioner of a Division or the head of a department and he could also do so when he himself was not satisfied with the decision of an H.M. The Secretary has his weekly interview with the Governor; the head of a department is seen by H.E. when requested for an interview. Both Secretaries and heads of departments are appointed by the Governor after consultation with the colleague concerned. Appointments to the more important of other offices are made by the Member of the Government concerned, but are subject to the Governor's approval. Every matter relating to all subordinate Services except variations of cadres and scales of salaries is in the hands of heads of departments. Either decisions are specifically reserved to the Governor, or they are subject to his approval, or they have to be submitted to the Governor because there is a difference between the head of a department and a Member of the Government, or they are so submitted because the Secretary elects to do so. It will be seen that the margin of discretion left to the Minister responsible to the Council is not dangerously wide. The system can work notwithstanding its inherent imperfections as long as the Governor is sympathetic and helpful and when the atmosphere is one of mutual trust and goodwill. Perhaps it can work, too, when a strong Governor selects a weak Minister. But do these conditions invariably exist? My experience was that it very much depended upon a Secretary's good humour whether ten or ninety per cent of cases were submitted for the Governor's approval and upon the Governor's general attitude or personal feeling towards a Minister at a given time whether he ordinarily supported or overruled him. I
passed through every stage from a habitual ‘the Hon. Minister is responsible and his view must prevail’ and ‘I must support the Hon. Minister’ to being overruled in matters of varying degrees of importance and unimportance down to nominations to a library committee; ultimately prevailing in matters in which I was not prepared to be overruled only by making it clear that I would have to consider my position. A Governor and one or more colleagues not of their political persuasion and Secretaries and heads of departments and other superior officers to whom every act of Indianization or provincialization or political advance means something that reduces their own opportunities, are the chief under whom, the colleagues with whom, and the agency through which Ministers have to act, at the same time fulfilling their responsibility to the Legislative Council and satisfying their constituents and countrymen. The system has not worked well; it must break down. A constitutional Governor not belonging to the permanent Services, a responsible cabinet of M.L.C.’s [Member of Legislative Council] of identical ideals and sympathies with collective responsibility, and a rapid Indianization and also provincialization of the superior Civil Services, the rights of officers now in service being secured, can in my judgment be the only proper substitute for the present hybrid system.

* * *

Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 3 December, 1924*

...We consider that there can be no doubt but that the members of the Services generally loyally co-operated with the Ministers in working the Reforms. There may have been a few instances in which this was not the case, but we believe they were exceptional. We consider that the evidence before us also goes to show that the members of the permanent Services did not hesitate to carry out any policy once it had been decided upon by the Ministers. In some cases we feel that the Ministers did not fully appreciate the position of the permanent Services or sought to take a greater share themselves in the detailed work of a department than is normally expected from its political head. It was only to be anticipated that honest differences of opinion would arise between the heads of the permanent departments and the Ministers, and that the heads of the permanent departments would urge their own point of view with some tenacity. We believe, however, that for the most part they have been prepared to assist the Ministers fully in coming to conclusions and have loyally co-operated in carrying out their gene-

* Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee (1924)*
ral policy. Any contrary conclusion, save in regard to the few exceptional cases to which we have referred, is not, we consider, supported by the answers given in examination by the witnesses themselves, or by other evidence produced before us. As was stated by one witness neither Members nor Ministers nor autocratic nor democratic administrators are exempt from occasional friction and unpleasantness.

* * *

...we should refer to another aspect of the evidence in regard to the permanent Services which has been placed before us. This point is referred to in the reports of several Local Governments, but we think that we can illustrate it best by a quotation of the words of the Government of the United Provinces:

The spirit and the outlook of the Services are not what they were. It may be difficult to specify the precise extent to which they have been affected, or to disentangle the various causes. But of the broad fact there can be little doubt. In the heated political atmosphere of the first fifteen months after the inauguration of the Reforms, the European Services were the object of constant vilification and abuse in the Press and on the platform; indeed, as will be seen from the published proceedings, in the Legislative Council also, where though criticism was more restrained, it was often hostile and prejudiced. During the more peaceful period, which followed the collapse of the campaign of disorder, matters have much improved; and from various quarters keen appreciation has been expressed of the capacity of European officers to handle a difficult or dangerous situation. But there is still a tendency to look very sharply into any mistakes or shortcomings of hardpressed European officers, and to ignore their reasonable claims. More than one resolution has been passed which, if carried out, would have deprived them of appointments to fill which they had been recruited. It is not suggested that the Legislative Council has deliberately sought to inflict injustice on European officers. The constitution of the all India Services is not well understood, and many members of the Legislature are influenced by the feeling (for which there is justification) that in the past Indians have not received their fair share of the higher appointments. The natural effect, however, of the attitude of the Legislature has been to create in the minds of Englishmen serving in India an impression of hostility and a feeling of insecurity, which makes it difficult for them to give of their best. There are distinct signs that the Services are losing their former keenness. Since they no longer have the power of
shaping policy to the extent which they had, they no longer feel that the progress of the country depends upon their efforts, nor indeed that any efforts of theirs are likely to have abiding results. Enthusiasm and energy have also been sapped by financial pressure, and by the cloud of uncertainty which hangs over the future of the country to which they have given their lives.

We consider that this extract points to a regrettable feature of the present conditions prevailing in India. We are impressed with the desirability in the interests of India’s constitutional development of securing contented permanent Services and a return to that keener which, it is said, is being lost. None of us would deny that during the months following the inauguration of the Reforms the Services were subjected to much unjust criticism and to a great deal of annoyance. We are, however, of opinion that criticism of the Services is inevitable in the present conditions of India. The extent to which the permanent official may by his advice influence policy is apt to concentrate criticism on him which should rightly attach to the Government which adopts the policy. This is unjust and unfair but, in view of the position which the Services have held in the past, is not altogether unnatural. It is possible that the Services do not sufficiently make allowance for this aspect of the case. Criticism they will inevitably encounter in the exercise of their functions, and some of this criticism may be quite unjust. That is perhaps a consequence of a democratic or a partially democratic Constitution. It is when that criticism takes a racial bias that we all consider that it must be wholly condemned.

* * *

Minority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 3 December, 1924*

While it is possible to understand the feeling that the Services have no longer the power of shaping policy to the extent that they had or their feeling that the progress of the country no longer depends upon their efforts, or that any efforts of theirs are not likely to have abiding results, it may as well be pointed out here that this is the inevitable consequence of the transference of power, limited as it is, to local Legislatures; and indeed it constituted the raison d’être of the Reforms. The Imperial Services in the past have been mainly responsible for the shaping of policy in India and the combination of political and administrative functions in the Services is to our mind mainly responsible for the frequency and strength of the criticism to

*Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee (1924).*
which they have been exposed in the past. The immunity which Public Services in England or the Dominions enjoy from hostile or unfriendly criticism cannot, we are afraid, be secured for the Services in this country in any large measure unless, among other things, the relations of the Services to the Legislatures are brought into closer approximation with those prevailing in England or the Dominions. When it is recognized by the public that the Services are mere instruments for the execution of the policy of the Government and that they have no political functions to discharge, we think they will cease to be the targets of that criticism which is pointed out as an undesirable feature of the present political conditions in India; for when that stage is reached, it will be the responsible Ministers and not the Services who will have to bear the brunt of public criticism. As matters stand at present, the control of the Services or their recruitment does not rest with the Local Governments or with the Government of India. It seems to us, therefore, that in the best of circumstances the present position is apt to give rise at times to friction and a feeling of mutual distrust which cannot be conducive to efficient and good administration.

...Our own conclusion upon a review of the evidence is that generally speaking the attitude of the members of the Services was one of loyal co-operation, though in a few exceptional cases it might not have been so. At the same time, we are bound to point out that our analysis of the situation leads us to think that two important factors have operated to affect the relations of the Services to the Ministers. The first is the natural difference between the points of view of members of the permanent Services and the Ministers in regard to questions of policy inasmuch as they represent different schools of thought, one bureaucratic and the other popular. The second factor is that under the present Constitution the Ministers feel that the Services can look to higher powers for the enforcement of their views in cases of differences, which tends to undermine the Ministers’ authority.

We venture to think that, under the present system, the entire Constitution, the methods of recruitment and control of the Services are incompatible with the situation created by the Reforms and the possibility of their further developments. The present organization of the Services came into existence when admittedly the centre of political gravity was outside India and when the Services took a leading part in the shaping of policy. Those conditions have appreciably changed and will change still further, and it is but natural that there should be dissatisfaction among the Services with their position and also among the Legislatures with the restraints and
limitations imposed on their powers in relation to the Services. We think that the question of the Services is inseparably connected with the question of constitutional development in India and we are of the opinion that the relation of the Services to the Legislatures cannot be put on a satisfactory and enduring basis by a mere amendment of the rules or even by the delegation of certain powers under section 96B. We desire to repeat what we have already stated that the position of the permanent Services in India should be placed on the same basis as in England; we fully realize the imperative necessity of safeguarding the interests of the Services. Whether this can be achieved by the passing of an Act by the Imperial Parliament or by the Indian Legislature or by the incorporation of special provisions for the protection of the rights and interests of the Services in the future Constitution of India, are questions on which we recognize there may be differences of opinion. Whichever method is adopted, we are persuaded that the question calls for an effective and early solution.

See also

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

* * *
CHAPTER IX

INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

"That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interest of public medical education and the advancement of medical science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such services in other civilised countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military service, so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government, which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch, and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available and indigenous talent in particular."

9 : 1893 : Lahore : IV.

*   *

(a) That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when the interests of public Medical Education, and the advancement of Medical Service and of scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of the Military Service.

(b) That the very unsatisfactory position and prospects of Members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Assistant-Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the Public Service, require thorough investigation and redress, and pray that Government will grant for the purpose an open enquiry by a mixed Commission of official and non-official members.

(c) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the desire of the Imperial Government to reorganise the Chemical Analyst's department with a view to its administration as an independent scientific department, it
earnestly hopes that Government will not fail to recognise the responsible and meritorious work of Assistant, or as they in reality are, Government Chemical Analysers, and place them on the footing of Specialists.'

10: 1894: Madras: VIII.

* * *

(a) "That this Congress is of opinion that the present constitution of the Higher Civil Medical Service is anomalous, indefensible in principle, injurious in its working, and unnecessarily costly; that the time has arrived when, in the interests of the public, medical education and the advancement of the medical service and scientific work in the country, as also in the cause of economic administration, the Civil Medical Service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such service in other civilized countries, wholly detached from and independent of the military service.

(b) That whilst this Congress views with satisfaction the action of the Imperial Government in throwing open 19 Civil Surgeon vacancies to be filled up by promotion from the ranks of Civil Assistant Surgeons, it deplores nevertheless the unsatisfactory position and prospects of members of the Subordinate Civil Medical Service (Civil Assistant Surgeons and Civil Hospital Assistants) compared with the members of similar standing in other departments of the public service, and prays that Government will grant an open inquiry into the present constitution of the Subordinate Civil Medical department by a mixed commission of official and non-official members.

(c) That in this connection the Congress desires to place on record its sense of loss the Congress and the country have sustained by the untimely death of the late Dr. K.N. Bahadurjee, of Bombay, the last years of whose life were devoted to the promotion of the reform of the Medical Services in this country." 14: 1898: Madras: XI

* * *

"That this Congress is of opinion that the union of the Military and Civil Medical Services is extravagant, inconvenient and prejudicial to the interests of the Government as well as of the people, and strongly urges the necessity of the separation of the two services by the creation of a distinct Civil Medical Department
recruited by open simultaneous competition in England and India."

That this Congress is of opinion that in the interests of the public, the medical science and the profession, as well as to secure economy of administration it is necessary:

(1) That there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches—one for the European army and the other for the Native troops, graduates of Indian colleges being employed to the latter with greater economy, and efficiency to the State, and

(2) That the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted as a distinct and independent Medical service wholly detached from its present military connection and recruited from the open profession of medicine in India and elsewhere, due regard being had to the utilization of indigenous talent. That this Congress while gratefully acknowledging what has been done to improve the position and prospects of the subordinate Medical Service, is of opinion that the grievances of assistant surgeons and hospital assistants compared with members of similar standing in other departments of the public service, require thorough redress.”

See also

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
CHAPTER X

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY*

NOTE: The Indian National Army which is also defined as the army of "Free India" was originally organized by those Indian soldiers, under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, "who fell into the Japanese hands" after the British forces in Malaya, surrendered to the Japanese on 15th February, 1942, at Singapore.

Many books have already been written on Indian National Army. The authors of these publications have come to various conclusions. In this study I have selected only a few important basic documents. For the detailed study readers are referred to the books mentioned in the foot note below.

Thirty-five Resolutions passed at the Bangkok Conference on 30th June, 1942**

1. WHEREAS it is the objective of the war of Greater East Asia to destroy British Imperialism in Asia; and

*1. Ayer, S.A. Unto Him a Witness
4. — — On to Delhi.
5. — — On with the Fight.
8. Lahiri, A. Said Subhas Bose.
10. Palta, K.R. My Adventures with the I.N.A.
12. Singh, Mohan. Leavas from My Diary (1946)

**These Thirty-five resolutions form the basic source material on the organization of the Indian National Army. The Conference was held at Bangkok on 30th July, 1942. Late Shree Rash Behari Bose, President, Indian Independence League, was in the Chair.
WHEREAS it gives an opportunity for India to realise the goal of complete independence; and
WHEREAS it is the belief of this Conference that a new and regenerated Asia of free Nations is certain to arise as a result of this said war:
This Conference expresses its sincere gratification at the war policy of Japan and conveys to the Imperial Government its best wishes for the continued success of the Imperial Japanese Armed Forces.

* * *
2. This Conference conveys to all the powers fighting against British Imperialism its sincere congratulations and prays that their efforts may meet with complete success.

* * *
3. This Conference places on record its sense of deep admiration of the most determined manner in which the Nationalist Leaders at home have been trying to refuse to be drawn into this war on the side of the British and their Allies, and for the frank and definite demand for the withdrawal of the British from India. In the opinion of this Conference, unless the British withdraw from India and the Allied Forces cease to make use of India as a base for war operations and war preparations, unimaginable and innumerable sufferings will be the lot of people of India.

* * *
4. Resolved that a Movement for achieving complete and immediate independence of India be sponsored by this Conference.

Object
5. This Conference endorses the view of the Tokyo Conference held in March 1942 that the Complete Independence of India free from any foreign control, domination or interference of whatever nature shall be the object of this Movement, and is emphatically of opinion that the time has arrived to take necessary steps for the attainment of that object.

* * *
Guiding Principles
6. Resolved that the Indian Independence Movement sponsored by this Conference shall be guided by the principles indicated
APPENDIX I

(a) That UNITY, FAITH, SACRIFICE, shall be the motto of the Indian Independence Movement.

(b) That India be considered as ONE, and indivisible.

(c) That all activities of this Movement be on a national basis, and not on a sectional, communal or religious basis.

(d) That in view of the fact that the Indian National Congress is the only political organisation which could claim to represent the real interests of the people of India and as such to be acknowledged the only body representing India, this Conference is of the opinion that the programme and plan may be so directed as to bring them in line with the aims and intentions of the Indian National Congress.

(e) That the framing of the future constitution of India be only by the representatives of the people of India.

(f) That a joint Axis policy favourable towards India will be advantageous to India.

(g) That the sympathy, co-operation and support of Japan is invaluable in securing the object of this Movement, namely the Independence of India.

*

7. Resolved that an organisation be started for carrying on the Indian Independence Movement and that it shall be known as the Indian Independence League.

8. Resolved that the Indian Independence League shall immediately proceed to raise an Army called the Indian National Army from among the Indian soldiers (combatants and non-combatants) and such civilians as may hereafter be recruited for military service in the cause of Indian Independence.

*

Constitution

9. This Conference adopts the following Constitution for the Indian Independence League Organisation:

(i) The Indian Independence League shall consist of:

(a) A Council of Action;

(b) A Committee of Representatives;

(c) Territorial Branches; and

(d) Local Branches.
(ii) (a) Local branches of the Indian Independence League may be formed only at a public meeting of Indians in any locality who shall elect a Committee and a President.

(b) Vacancy of such Committee or the Office of the President may be filled up by the Committee.

(c) All Indians above the age of eighteen shall be entitled to be members of such Branch on compliance with rules of the Branch.

(d) No such Branch shall be recognised as a Branch unless the Territorial Committee as constituted hereinafter accords and continues to accord to such Branch due recognition, provided, however, that all Branches of the Indian Independence League now in existence and recognised in the various territories mentioned in article (vi) hereof shall until otherwise decided upon be recognised by this Movement.

(iii) Representatives elected by the Committee of Local Branches in each territory shall form a Territorial Committee, and the Territorial Committee shall make such rules as it may consider necessary for the effective working of the Movement within the territory.

(iv) The Territorial Committee in each territory shall guide, supervise and control the work of the Movement within its territory and shall also elect representatives as constituted hereinafter.

(v) Territorial Committees and Committees of Local Branches under them shall have power to make rules not inconsistent with the rules made by the Committee of Representatives or in case of Local Branches by the Territorial Committees.

(vi) (a) A Committee of Representatives shall be constituted by civilian representatives elected by the Territorial Committees in the territories herein below set out and by representatives selected by the Indian National Army:
APPENDIX II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan and Manchukuo</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burma</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borneo and Celebes</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hongkong, Canton and Macao</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parts of China, including Shanghai</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indo-China</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumatra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andamans</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian National Army</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The Council of Action shall be at liberty to include in the above list of territories any other territory and fix the number of representatives from such territory to the Committee of Representatives, providing in that event for increase in the representatives from the Indian National Army, equal to two-thirds of the number fixed for such territory.

(vii) Every member of the Committee of Representatives shall sign the Oath of Secrecy in the prescribed form before he takes his seat on the Committee.

(viii) The Committee of Representatives shall be responsible for the general policy and programme of the Indian Independence Movement and its decision shall in every case be final and binding on each and every member of this Movement.

(ix) The Committee of Representatives shall have power to alter, amend or rescind any previous decisions made by it, including any decision arrived at in this Conference.

(x) No meeting of the Committee of Representatives shall be valid unless two-thirds in number of the Members of the Committee are present (either in person or by proxy).

(xi) A Council of Action consisting of a President and four (4) members, of whom at least one-half shall be from the Indian National Army in East Asia, shall be appointed
by the delegates to this Conference. The first President shall be Sjt. Rash Behari Bose and the four members shall be:

1. Sri N. Raghavan.
2. Captain Mohan Singh.

(xii) Any vacancy in the Council of Action caused by death, resignation or otherwise of Members not exceeding two in number at a time, may be filled up by the other Members of the Council, and in the event of more than two such vacancies the Council of Action shall call a meeting of the Commitee of Representatives to fill such vacancies.

(xiii) The Council of Action shall be responsible for the carrying out of the policy and programme of work laid down by this Conference and as may hereafter be laid down by the Committee of Representatives and shall deal with all new matters that may arise from time to time and which may not be provided for by the Committee itself.

(xiv) For the proper and efficient carrying out of the work the Council of Action shall have power to create as many departments as are necessary and to appoint and dismiss administrative officers and staff whenever necessary.

(xv) The Council of Action shall have no power to alter or amend the Policy laid down by this Conference without the sanction of the Committee of Representatives.

(xvi) The Council of Action may at any time summon a meeting of the Committee of Representatives to be held at such places as the Council may decide provided that necessary facilities for travel to representatives and at least 14 days' notice of such meeting have been given to the Secretaries of the Territorial Committees and to the Headquarters of the Indian National Army. On a requisition by twenty members (Representatives) hailing from more than one territory such a meeting shall be called by the Council of Action and the necessary notices and facilities for travel shall be given.

(xvii) The Council of Action shall have general superintendence and control over all Branches of the Indian Independence League in all territories mentioned in article (vi) and over the Indian National Army.

(xviii) The Council of Action shall cause to be kept a register of all the territorial and local organisations and may remove
therefrom the names of any such organisations and withhold or withdraw recognition of any such organisation.

(xix) The Council of Action shall have collective responsibility.

(xx) The allotment of Portfolios shall be amongst the Members of the Council of Action and at the discretion of the President.

(xxii) The Headquarters of the Committee of Representatives and the Council of Action shall be privileged and no action of a disciplinary character can be taken against any member in consequence thereof by any Branch or Territorial Committee or by the Indian National Army.

(xxii) Changes in the Constitutions of the Indian Independence League may be made only by vote to that effect by three-fourths of the Members of the Committee of Representatives.

10. Resolved that a request be made to the Nippon Government that it may be pleased to place immediately all Indian soldiers in territories in East Asia under their control at the disposal of this Movement.

11. Resolved that the formation, command, control and organisation of the Indian National Army be in the hands of Indians themselves.

12. Resolved that it is the earnest desire of this Conference that the Indian National Army from its inception be accorded the powers and status of a free National Army of an Independent India, on a footing of equality with the armies of Japan and other friendly powers.

13. Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be made use of only:

(a) For operations against the British or other foreign powers in India;

(b) For the purpose of securing and safeguarding Indian National Independence; and

(c) For such other purpose as may assist the achievement of the object, viz. Independence of India.

14. Resolved that all officers and men of the proposed Indian National Army shall be members of the Indian Independence League and shall owe allegiance to the League.

15. Resolved that the Indian National Army shall be under the direct control of the Council of Action and that the said Army
shall be organised and commanded by the General Officer Commanding, Indian National Army, in accordance with the directions of the Council of Action.

* * *

16. Resolved that in the event of military action being taken against the British or other foreign powers in India, and for the said purpose the Council of Action may be at liberty to place the military resources available to it, under the unified command of Indian and Japanese Military Officers under the direction of the said Council of Action.

* * *

17. Resolved that before taking any military action against the British or any other foreign power in India, the Council of Action will assure itself that such action is in conformity with the express or implied wishes of the Indian National Congress.

* * *

18. Resolved that the Council of Action shall make all efforts to create an atmosphere in India which would lead to a revolution in the Indian Army there, and among the Indian people, and that before taking military action the Council of Action shall assure itself that such an atmosphere exists in India.

* * *

19. In view of the great urgency and imperative necessity of informing and convincing our countrymen in India and abroad, and friends of India all over the world, of the meaning and purpose of this movement, and in view of the fact that propaganda in and outside India is one of the most effective means of waging the war for Indian Independence, this conference resolves to take immediate steps to carry on active and vigorous propaganda by Broadcasts, Leaflets, Lectures and by such other means as may be found possible and practicable from time to time.

* * *

20. That all foreign assistance of whatever nature shall be only to the extent and of the type asked for by the Council of Action.

21. Resolved that for the purpose of financing the Independence Movement the Council of Action be authorised to raise funds from Indians in East Asia.

* * *

22. The Conference places on record its grateful appreciation of the support and encouragement given to this Movement by the
Imperial Government of Japan, and resolves that the Council of Action be authorised to approach if and when necessary the said Government with a request to render such monetary help as may be required from time to time for the successful carrying out of the object of this Movement, on the distinct understanding that such monetary help is to be treated as a loan repayable to the Imperial Government of Japan by the National Government of India.

* * *

23. Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to provide all facilities for Propaganda, Travel, Transport and Communications within the area under the control of the Imperial Government of Japan, in the manner and to the extent requested by the Council of Action, and also all facilities to come into contact with the National leaders, workers and organisations in India.

* * *

24. Resolved that the Imperial Government of Japan be requested to be good enough to arrange with the local authorities concerned that in matters of administration affecting the Indian Community, the Indian Independence League in the respective places, and in places where there are no branches of the League, recognised leaders of the community approved by the League Branch nearest to such places, be consulted.

* * *

25. Resolved that the Government of Thailand be requested to be good enough to consult the Indian Independence League (formerly known as the Indian National Council and the Independence League of India) in matters of administration affecting the Indian community in Thailand.

26. The Conference, while recording its grateful appreciation of the various pronouncements made by General Tojo, the Premier of Japan, expressing the preparedness of the Nipponese Government to give its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence reiterates the Resolution of the Tokyo Conference that in further clarification of the attitude of Japan towards India, the Imperial Government be good enough to make a formal declaration to the effect:

(a) That immediately on the severance of India from the British Empire, the Imperial Government of Japan shall respect the territorial integrity and recognise the full sovereignty of India free from any foreign influence, con-
trol or interference of a political, military or economic nature.

(b) That the Imperial Government of Japan will exercise its influence with other powers and induce them to recognize that National independence and absolute sovereignty of India.

(c) That the framing of the future Constitution of India will be left entirely to the representatives of the people of India without interference from any foreign authority.

27. Resolved that this Conference is committed to a definite policy of close co-operation with Japan, and it shall, on eliciting an official definition satisfactory to this Movement of the term 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere' and its implications, endeavour to persuade Independent India:

(a) To be a member of such Sphere or a member of any other international combine of which Japan is a member, on a footing of equality with Japan; and

(b) To confer on Japan the most favoured nation treatment on a reciprocal basis.

28. WHEREAS it has come to the knowledge of this Conference that Indians in the territories which are now freed from the domination of the Anglo-Saxons and their Allies by the Imperial Forces of Japan own considerable movable and immovable properties in these territories; and

WHEREAS owing to the exigencies of war a number of Indians had to leave these territories, leaving behind their properties without making arrangements for their care and management; and

WHEREAS the Imperial Government of Japan has promised its unstinted support to the cause of Indian Independence; and

WHEREAS an enormous amount of money is required to carry on and complete the object of the said movement in East Asia; and

WHEREAS in the opinion of the Conference, the handing over of such properties to the Indian Independence League by the authorities concerned, on the distinct understanding that the said properties are to be returned to their rightful owners when claimed, will be welcomed as a sign of goodwill and encouragement towards the Movement;

That the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to arrange with the authorities in the territories now freed from the
domination of the Anglo-Saxons and their Allies by the Imperial Forces of Japan, to hand over the properties owned by the Indians (including those owned by Indian Companies, firms and partnerships) and left by them owing to the exigencies of war, to the Council of Action in this Movement in trust for their rightful owners, to manage and control the said properties, and advance the income thereof for the use of this Movement, to be repaid as and when claimed by the said owners.

29. This Conference having learned with regret that Indians residing in certain countries under the occupation of the Imperial Forces of Japan are being treated as enemy aliens, and suffer hardship and loss in consequence; resolves that the Imperial Government of Japan may be pleased to make a declaration to the effect:

(1) That Indians residing in the territories occupied by the Imperial Forces of Japan shall not be considered enemy nationals so long as they do not indulge in any action injurious to this movement or hostile to the interest of Japan, and

(2) That the properties both movable and immovable of those Indians who are now residing in India or elsewhere (including the properties of Indian companies, firms and partnerships) be not treated by Japan as enemy properties so long as the management or control of such properties is vested in any person or persons residing in Japan or in any of the countries occupied by or under the influence or control of the Imperial Japanese Forces, and to instruct the authorities concerned in the respective territories to give effect to this policy as early as possible.

30. That this Movement adopts the present National Flag of India and requests the Imperial Government of Japan and the Royal Government of Thailand and the Governments of all other friendly powers to recognise the said flag in all territories under their jurisdiction.

31. This Conference requests Sjt. SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE to be kind enough to come to East Asia, and appeals to the Imperial Government of Japan to use its good offices to obtain the necessary permission and conveniences from the Government of Germany to enable Sjt. SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE to reach East Asia safe.
32. That no unauthorised publicity be given to any of the Resolutions adopted at this Conference, but a manifesto be issued by this Conference setting out the purpose and policy of this Movement, and incorporating such decisions and details as may be found proper and beneficial to be made public.

* * *

33. This Conference places on record its deepest appreciation of and grateful thanks for the co-operation, assistance and support extended to this Movement and its objective by the Imperial Government of Japan.

34. This Conference gratefully acknowledges the sincere and friendly attitude the Governments and the peoples of Germany and Italy have adopted towards our struggle for freedom, and places on record its deep appreciation and thanks for the offer of assistance and co-operation extended by them to this Movement.

* * *

35. This Conference places on record its grateful thanks to the Government and people of Thailand for the opportunity given to hold third Conference at Bangkok, for their kind hospitality, and for their sympathy and co-operation in India’s struggle for freedom.”

RASH BEHARI BOSE  
President  
INDIAN INDEPENDENCE LEAGUE  
30th June, 1942.

* * *

Special order of the day on the occasion of a taking over  
   Direct Command of the Army *

“In the interests of the Indian Independence Movement and of the Azad Hind Fauj I have taken over the direct command of our army from this day. This is for me a matter of joy and pride because for an Indian there can be no greater honour than to be a commander of India’s Army of Liberation. But I am conscious of the magnitude of the task that I have undertaken and I feel weighed down with a sense of responsibility. I pray that God

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued on 25th August, 1943 this Special Order.
may give me the necessary strength to fulfil my duty to India under all circumstances, however, difficult or trying they may be.

I regard myself as the servant of thirty eight crores of my countrymen who profess different religious faiths. I am determined to discharge my duties in such a manner that the interests of these thirty eight crores may be safe in my hands and that every single Indian will have reasons to put complete trust in me. It is only on the basis of undiluted nationalism and of perfect justice and impartiality that India’s Army of Liberation can be built up.

In the coming struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, for the establishment of a government of Free India based on the goodwill of thirty-eight crores of Indians and for the creation of a permanent army which will guarantee Indian Independence for all time the Azad Hind Fauj has a vital role to play. To fulfil this role we must weld ourselves into an army that will have only one goal, namely the freedom of India and, only one will—namely to do or die in the cause of India’s freedom. When we stand the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a wall of granite; when we mar the Azad Hind Fauj has to be like a steam roller.

Our task is not an easy one; the war will be long and hard but I have complete faith in the justice and the invincibility of our cause. Thirty eight crores of human beings who form about one-fifth of the human race have a right to be free and they are now prepared to pay the price of freedom. There is consequently no power on earth that can deprive us of our birthright of liberty any longer.

Comrades, Officers and men, with your unstinted support and unflinching loyalty the Azad Hind Fauj will become the instrument of India’s liberation. Ultimately victory will certainly be ours I assure you.

Our work has already begun. With the slogan Onward to Delhi on our lips let us continue to labour and fly the National flag over the Viceroy’s House in New Delhi and the Azad Hind Fauj hold its victory parade inside the ancient Red Fortress of Indian metropolis.”

23rd August, 1943

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE
Supreme Commander.
After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice and in the pages of that history the names Sirajuddoula and Mohanlal of Bengal; Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India; Appa Sahib Bhoisle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Maharashtra; the Begums of Oudh; Sardar Shyam Singh Atarivala of Punjab and last but not least Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Tope, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib among others, the names of all these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not, therefore, put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation they made a concerted move and under the flag of Bahadur Shah in 1857 they fought their last war as freemen. In spite of series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Tope, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subject, to terror and brutality the Indian people lay prostrate for a while but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 there came a new awakening. From 1885 until the end of the last World War, the Indian people in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty tried all possible methods, namely agitation, and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage......and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately, in 1920 when the Indian people haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for a new method, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with the new weapon of Non-co-operation and Civil Disobedience.

For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of freedom was

*This proclamation was issued by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose from Synanon on 21st October, 1943.*
carried to every Indian home. Through personal example the people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice and to die in the cause of freedom. From the centre to the remotest villages the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939 through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus on the eve of the present World War the stage was set for the final struggle for India’s liberation. During the course of this war Germany with the help of her allies has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe while Nippon with the help of her allies has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances the Indian people today have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their national emancipation.

For the first time in recent history Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organisation. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home but are also marching in step with them along the path to freedom. In East Asia in particular over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx inspired by the slogan of ‘Total Mobilisation.’ And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India’s Army of Liberation with the slogan ‘Onward to Delhi’ on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India’s Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic suppot of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain’s Indian Army and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad—but relying in the first instance on its own strength India’s Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed—it is not possible to set up a Provisional Govern-
ment within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that government. It is, therefore, the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India) and of conducting the last fight for freedom with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League of East Asia we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland. And we hereby pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of her freedom, of her welfare and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up on Indian soil the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to, and hereby claims the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and strive for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India and to prosecute that struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in final victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.
Signed ON BEHALF OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF AZAD HIND
SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE (HEAD OF THE STATE, PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER FOR WAR AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS)
Captain Mrs. Lakshmi (Women's Organisation)
S.A. Ayer (Publicity and Propaganda)
Lt.-Col. A.C. Chatterji (Finance)
Lt.-Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt.-Col. N.S. Bhagat, Lt.-Col. J.K. Bhonsle,
Lt.-Col. Gulzara Singh, Lt.-Col. M.Z. Kiana, Lt.-Col. A.D.
Lokanathan, Lt.-Col. Ehsan Qadir, Lt.-Col. Shah Nawaz
(Representatives of the Armed Forces)
A.M. Sahay, Secretary (with Ministerial rank)
Rash Behari Bose (Supreme Adviser)
Karim Ghani, Debnath Das, D.M. Khan, A. Yellappa, J. Thivy,
Sardar Ishar Singh (Advisers)
A.N. Sarkar (Legal Adviser)

Syonan, 21st October, 1943.

* * *

Special Order of the Day *

The eyes of the whole world are focussed on the Arakan Front where events of far reaching consequence are taking place today. The glorious and brilliant actions of the brave units of Azad Hind Fauj working in close concert with the forces of the Imperial Nippon Army have helped to foil all attempts by the Anglo-American forces to start a counter offensive in this sector.

I am sure that the brave deeds of our comrades on the Arakan Front will be a great inspiration to all officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj wherever they may be stationed at the present moment. Our long awaited march to Delhi has begun and with grim determination we shall continue that march until the tricolour National Flag that is flying over the Arakan mountains is hoisted over the

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this Special Order on 9th February, 1944.*
Viceregal Lodge, and until we hold our Victory parade at the ancient Red Fortress of Delhi.

Comrades, Officers and men of Indian army of Liberation, let there be one solemn resolve in your hearts—"Either Liberty or Death." And let there be but one slogan on your lips ‘Onward to Delhi.’ The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. That is the road along which we must march. Victory will certainly be ours. Inqilab Zindabad, Azad Hind Zindabad.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

I.N.A. Proclamation on Entering India *

I. The Indian National Army under the leadership of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind has now massed in force and advanced into a territory of Eastern India as the spearhead for the creation of a Free India.

The Indian National Army with the help and co-operation of the Imperial Nipponese Army has pushed into Eastern India with the object of crushing the Anglo-American forces, the common enemy of East Asia, of making India really an India for Indians by liberating her from the shackles of the despotic rule under which she has been groaning for ages; of bringing complete freedom and peace and order to three hundred and eighty millions of our brothers and sisters in India; and also of driving away the Anglo-American menace from the borders of our neighbours—the Independent Burmese.

Brothers and Sisters in India,

Be engaged in your daily work without fear; gather wholeheartedly under your Tricolour Flag of Independence hoisted by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind; brace yourselves up for winning Complete Independence by retaking our Motherland from the hands of our enemies, the Anglo-Americans.

The East Indian Territory into which the Indian National Army has advanced with the powerful aid of the Imperial Nipponese Army as well as the people thereof, have now been liberated from the bondage of the Anglo-Americans. This territory has become the first free Indian territory on the mainland of India under the Provisional Government and will serve as the base for liberating our Motherland. The Imperial Nipponese Army will not establish a

* This proclamation was distributed amongst all the members of the Indian National Army in the form of a leaflet. This was a pledge.
military administration but will co-operate with and whole-heartedly help the Provisional Government of Azad Hind in maintaining perfect peace and order.

II. If any person fails to understand the intentions of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or of our ally the Nippon Army and dares to commit such acts as are itemised hereunder which would hamper the sacred task of emancipating India he shall be executed or severely punished in accordance with the Criminal Law of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or with the Martial Law of the Nippon Army the application of which has been agreed upon between the two allied armies, namely the Indian National Army and its Ally the Imperial Nipponese Army.

Punishable Acts

(1) Rebellious acts against the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or the Indian National Army or our Ally the Nipponese Army.

(2) Acts of spying.

(3) Acts of stealing and taking by force, damaging and destroying war materials which are in the possession of the Provisional Government or belong to our Ally the Nippon Army.

(4) Acts of damaging or destroying the valuable material resources controlled or utilised by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind or by the Nippon Army under previous agreement with the Provisional Government.

(5) Acts of destroying various installations or equipments for traffic communication, transportation, broadcasting etc., which are controlled or utilised by the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or by the Nippon Army under previous agreement with the Provisional Government or acts of interference with the employment and utilisation thereof.

(6) Violent acts against, intimidation of killing or wounding of or doing other harmful acts to those who belong to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or our Ally the Nippon Army.

(7) Acts of spreading enemy propaganda or wild and false rumours and other acts of disturbing and misleading the minds of the inhabitants.

(8) Acts of disturbing the money circulation and economic organisation or of obstructing the production and free interchange of commodities.

(9) Any act other than those contained in the above items that benefits the enemy or is harmful to peace and order and the
well being of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and the Indian National Army or our Ally the Nippon Army.

(10) Acts of attempting, instigating and abetting those acts contained in the above items. The trial and punishment of such criminals will entirely be at the discretion of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind except when crimes committed are of such a nature as of necessity owing to war time emergency must be dealt with by the Nippon Army as agreed upon between the two Allied Armies.

III. The Nippon Army will maintain strict discipline and protect, in the area into which they have advanced, the lives and properties of the Indian masses who do not commit any hostile act and due respect will be paid to the religions, customs and manners of the Indian people.

It is guaranteed that any Nippon soldier that may violate these strict injunctions shall be severely punished in accordance with the Martial Law of the Imperial Nipponese Army.

The Indian National Army will maintain strict discipline and protect, in the area into which it has advanced, the lives and properties of the Indian masses who do not commit any hostile act and due respect will be paid to the religions, customs and manners of our countrymen.

It is guaranteed that any Indian soldier that may violate these strict injunctions shall be severely punished in accordance with the Martial Law of the Indian National Army.

The above is solemnly proclaimed in the Month of......in the year 1944 by the Supreme Commander of the Indian National Army.

*  *

Second Proclamation, dated 4th April, 1944*

Under the leadership of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind which was formed on the 21st October, 1943 at Syonan (formerly Singapore) by the unanimous will of the three million Indians in East Asia, the Indian National Army has crossed the frontier and has penetrated deep into Indian territory.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind, your own government has only one mission to fulfil. That mission is to expel the Anglo-American armies from the sacred soil of India by armed force

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this Proclamation on 4th April, 1944 as Head of the State etc.
and then to bring about the establishment of a Permanent National Government of Azad Hind in accordance with the will of the Indian people.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind will continue the armed struggle until the Anglo-American forces are annihilated or expelled from India.

While prosecuting the armed struggle for complete liberation of India, the Provisional Government of Free India will push on with the work of reconstruction of the liberated areas.

The Provisional Government of Azad Hind is only lawful Government of the Indian people. The Provisional Government calls upon the Indian people in the liberated areas to render all assistance and co-operation to the Indian National Army and to the civilian officials appointed by the Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government guarantees the safety of life and property of the Indian population in the liberated areas but will inflict severe punishment on those who carry on any activities overt or covert which might be of help to our Anglo-American enemies or their allies or might disturb the work of reconstruction to be started by the Provisional Government.

The Provisional Government calls upon the Indian people to co-operate wholeheartedly with our Ally the Nippon Army who are giving unstinted and unconditional assistance in defeating our enemies. In the last two years the British have been strongly reinforcing themselves with troops from America, Australia, Chungking, China and East and West Africa. The Provisional Government has, therefore, felt compelled to avail itself of the generous offer of all our aid made by Nippon whose armed forces have scored unparalleled victories over the Anglo-Americans since the beginning of the war in East Asia. The Provisional Government of Azad Hind is supremely confident that the Indian National Army with the aid of the invincible forces of our Ally the Nippon army will crush the Anglo-Americans and bring about the complete liberation of India.

The Provisional Government is fully convinced of Nippon's sincerity towards India. The Provisional Government is convinced that Nippon has no territorial, political, economic or military ambitions in India. The Provisional Government is convinced that Nippon is interested only in destroying the Anglo-American forces in India which are the enemies not only of India but of Asia as well. The destruction of Anglo-American imperialism alone will terminate this war and bring peace to the world.
In accordance with its status as an independent government the Provisional Government of Azad Hind is arranging to issue its own currency in Rupee Notes of different denominations. But owing to the rapid development of the war situation culminating in our quick advance into India it has not been possible to bring into India in time the currency of the Provisional Government. The circumstances have, therefore, rendered it necessary for the Provisional Government to borrow from the Nipponese Government the currency (viz. military rupee notes) already in its possession and to use that currency as a temporary measure. As soon as the Provisional Government's own currency is available, the currency borrowed from the Nipponese Government will be gradually withdrawn from circulation.

Brothers and Sisters, now that our enemies are being driven out of Indian soil you are becoming once again what you were before—namely free men and women. Rally round your own Government—the Provisional Government of Azad Hind and thereby help in preserving and safeguarding your newly won liberty.

Subhas Chandra Bose,
Head of the State, etc.

4th April, 1944.

Special Order of the Day of the Withdrawal from Imphal*

Comrades of the Azad Hind Fauj,

In the middle of March this year advanced units of the Azad Hind Fauj fighting shoulder to shoulder with their valiant allies, the Imperial Nippon forces crossed the Indo-Burma border and the fight for India's liberation thereupon commenced on Indian soil.

The British authorities by ruthlessly exploiting India for over a century and bringing foreign soldiers to fight their battles for them, had managed to put up a mighty force against us. After crossing the Indo-Burma border inspired by the righteousness of our cause we encountered these numerically superior and better equipped but heterogeneous and disunited forces of the enemy and defeated them in every battle. Our units with their better training and discipline and unshakable determination to do or die on the path of India's freedom soon established their superiority over the enemy whose morale deteriorated with each defeat. Fighting under the

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this Special Order as Supreme Commander, Azad Hind Fauj, on 14th August, 1944, from Burma.
most trying conditions our officers and men displayed such courage and heroism that they have earned the praise of everybody. With their blood and sacrifice these heroes have established traditions which the future soldiers of free India will have to uphold. All preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault on Imphal when torrential rains overtook us and to carry Imphal by assault was rendered a tactical impossibility. Handicapped by the elements we were forced to postpone our offensive. After the postponement of the offensive it was found disadvantageous for our troops to continue to hold the line that we then had. For securing a more favourable defensive position it was considered advisable to withdraw our troops. In accordance with this decision our troops have withdrawn to a more favourable defensive position. We shall now utilise the period of lull in completing our preparations so that with the advent of better weather we may be in a position to resume our offensive. Having beaten the enemy once in several sectors of the front our faith in our final victory and in the destruction of the Anglo-American forces of aggression has increased tenfold. As soon as all our preparations are complete, we shall launch a mighty offensive against our enemies once again. With the superior fighting qualities, dauntless courage and unshakable devotion to duty of our officers and men, victory shall surely be ours.

May the souls of those heroes who have fallen in this campaign inspire us to still nobler deeds of heroism and bravery in the next phase of India’s war of liberation. Jai Hind.

SuBhAs Chandra Bose,
Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj.

Burma, 14th August, 1944.

* * *

Special Order of the Day—New Year’s Day 1945*

Comrades of the Azad Hind Fauj,

On this auspicious New Year’s Day I want you first of all to look back on your achievement and on your progress since the formation of the Azad Hind Fauj. There can be no doubt whatsoever that in spite of many difficulties and drawbacks your achievement and progress made have been truly remarkable. This has been possible because of the passionate desire for freedom which inspires the Indian people today, the many-sided assistance rendered by our

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this New Year Message on 1st January, 1946.*
countrymen in East Asia, valuable aid offered by our Allies and—above all—the hard work and sacrifice that you yourselves have put in.

Before the end of 1943 units of the Azad Hind Fauj began moving in the direction of the Indo-Burma frontier. On the 4th February, 1944 India’s War of Independence was launched in the Arakan region of Burma. On 21st March, 1944 we were able to proclaim to the whole world that the Azad Hind Fauj had crossed the Eastern frontier of India and was fighting on the sacred soil of India. Since then the fight has been going on and in the course of that campaign many of our comrades while fighting heroically have laid down their lives on the field of battle.

The heroism and self-sacrifice of the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj in India’s War of Independence have already become a priceless heritage for the India of tomorrow—while for the Azad Hind Fauj itself they have become a glorious and undying tradition which will serve as an inspiration for all time.

Comrades! On this auspicious day I want you all to pay a silent homage to our immortal heroes and to renew your solemn pledge to continue the fight until complete victory is achieved. India is calling you. The souls of your comrades are urging you on to still braver deeds. Therefore, gird up your loins for the hard battle that lies ahead. There can be no rest and no pause for us until our tricolour national flag is hoisted over India’s metropolis.

Comrades! Our immortal heroes have paid for India’s liberty with their own blood. We are proud of them. But we too must be ready for that supreme sacrifice. The Azad Hind Fauj can justify its name and fulfil its task only if it is ready to fight and die to the last man. We have to give our blood and take the blood of our enemies. Therefore, let your slogan—your battle cry—for the year 1945—be ‘Blood, blood and blood.’

SHUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE.

1st February, 1945.

* * *

On the Desertions*

Comrades!

As you all know the positive achievements of the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj last year on the field of battle and the

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this Special Order as Supreme Commander, Azad Hind Fauj from Burma on 13th March, 1945, on the desertsions of some officers.
victories that they scored over the enemy through their patriotism, bravery and self-sacrifice were marred to some extent by the cowardice and treachery of a few officers and men. We were hoping that with the advent of the New Year all traces of cowardice and treachery would be wiped out and that in this year’s operations the Azad Hind Fauj would be able to put up an unsullied record of heroism and self-sacrifice. But that was not to be. The recent treachery of the five officers of the H.Q. of the 2nd Division has come as an eye opener to us that all is not well within our ranks and that the seeds of cowardice and treachery have yet to be wiped out. If we now succeed in exterminating cowardice and treachery once for all this shameful and despicable incident may through God’s grace ultimately prove to be a blessing in disguise. I am therefore, determined to take all possible measures necessary for the purification of our Army. I am confident that in this I shall have your full and unstinted support. In order to destroy completely the germs of cowardice and treachery the following measures will have to be adopted:

1. Every member of the Azad Hind Fauj—officer, N. C. O. or sepoy will in future be entitled to arrest any other member of the Azad Hind Fauj no matter what his rank may be if he behaves in a cowardly manner or to shoot him if he acts in a treacherous manner.

2. I am giving an opportunity to all members of the Azad Hind Fauj who may not feel inclined to work dutifully or fight courageously in future to leave the ranks of the Azad Hind Fauj. This offer will be open for one week from the time of its communication.

3. In addition to giving an opportunity to unwilling elements to leave voluntarily the ranks of the Azad Hind Fauj I want to carry out a thorough purge of our Army. During the course of this purge all those will be removed against whom there is suspicion that they may fail us or betray us at the critical moment. In order to carry out this purge successfully I want your fullest cooperation and I want you, therefore, to give me and my trusted officers all available information about any cowardly or treacherous elements that may still exist in our Army.

4. It will not be enough to carry out a thorough purge now. In future also vigilance will have to continue. It will, therefore, be the duty of every member of the Azad Hind Fauj in future to keep his eyes and ears open in order to detect in good time any tendency towards cowardice or treachery. In future if any member of the Azad Hind Fauj detects any tendency towards cowardice or treachery he should report at once either orally or in writing either to
me or to the officers who may be within reach. In other words from now onwards and for all time every member of the Azad Hind Fauj should regard himself as the custodian of the honour and reputation of the Azad Hind Fauj and of the Indian Nation.

5. After the purge has been carried out and unwilling elements have been given an opportunity of leaving our army if there is any case of cowardice or treachery the punishment will be death.

6. In order to create within our Army a moral bulwark against cowardice and treachery we have to create an intense hatred against cowardice and treachery in any form. A strong feeling has to be created in the mind of every member of this Army that for a revolutionary army, there is no crime more heinous and despicable than to be a coward or a traitor. Instructions are being issued separately as to how we can create such an intense hatred against cowardice and treachery so that there will be no more cowards or traitors within our ranks.

7. After the purge has been carried out every member of the Azad Hind Fauj will be required to renew his oath to fight on bravely and courageously until the emancipation of our dear Motherland is achieved. Instructions regarding the form and manner of this oath will be issued separately.

8. Special rewards will be given to those who give information regarding cowardly and treacherous elements or who arrest or shoot at the front cowardly and treacherous elements.

Subhas Chandra Bose
Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj

Burma 13th March, 1945.

*On the Traitors*

Comrades,

In order to express our indignation, disgust and hatred against cowardice and treachery a special observance will be held in every camp of the Azad Hind Fauj on a day to be previously fixed for the purpose. All officers and other ranks must take part in the observance. With regard to the details of the observance each camp will be free to draw up its own programme with a view to making the observance a complete success. Directions in broad outline are, however, being given herewith:

(a) Poems or articles may be written and read expressing hatred and disgust against cowardice and treachery.

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this Order from Burma, on 13th March, 1945.*
(b) Dramas may be improvised and acted for expressing abhorrence against cowardice and treachery.

(c) Effigies of the traitors (Riaz, Madan, Sarwar, Dey, Mohammad Baksh and others) in cardboard or straw or clay or any other suitable material either in human or in animal form should be prepared and every member of the camp should give full vent to his disgust and hatred against the traitors.

(d) Lectures should be delivered praising Indian heroes of the past and lauding the brave deeds of the members of the Azad Hind Fauj in the course of the present war of Liberation.

(e) The day’s observance should end with the singing of the National Anthem and collective shouting of slogans.

Special reward will be given to the camp that can put up the best show.

Subhas Chandra Bose
Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj

Burma, 13th March, 1945.

* * *

On Leaving Burma*

Brave Officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj!

It is with a very heavy heart that I am leaving Burma—the scene of the many heroic battles that you have fought since February 1944 and are still fighting. In Imphal and Burma we have suffered a reverse in the first round in our fight for Independence. But it is only the first round, we have many more rounds to fight. I am a born optimist and I shall not admit defeat under any circumstances. Your brave deeds in the battle against the enemy on the plains of Imphal, the hills and jungles of Arakan and the oil field area and other locality in Burma will live in the history of our struggle for Independence for all time.

Comrades! At this critical hour I have only one word of command to give you and that is that if you have to go down temporarily then go down fighting with the National Tricolour held aloft; go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline. The future generations of Indians who will be born not as slaves but as free men, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that.

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*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this Order on 24th April, 1945, on leaving Burma.*
you, their forbears, fought and suffered reverses in the battle in Manipur, Assam and Burma, but through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory.

My unshakable faith in India's liberation remains unaltered. I am leaving in your safe hands our National Tricolour, our national honour and the best traditions of India's warriors. I have no doubt whatsoever, that you, the vanguard of India's Army of Liberation will sacrifice everything, even life itself, to uphold India's National Honour so that your comrades who will continue the fight elsewhere may have before them your shining example to inspire them at all times.

If I had my own way, I would have preferred to stay with you in adversity and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the advice of my Ministers and high ranking officers, I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for emancipation. Knowing my countrymen in East Asia and inside India, I can assure you that they will continue the fight under all circumstances and that all your suffering and sacrifices will not be in vain. So far as I am concerned I shall steadfastly adhere to the pledge that I took on the 21st October, 1943, to do all in my power to serve the interest of the thirty eight crores of my countrymen and fight for their liberation. I appeal to you in conclusion to cherish the same optimism as myself and to believe like myself that the darkest hour always precedes the dawn. India shall be free and before long.

May God bless you; Inqilab Zindabad, Azad Hind Zindabad. Jai Hind

Subhas Chandra Bose,
Supreme Commander,
Azad Hind Fauj.

Dated 24th April, 1945.

* * *

On Leaving Burma (II)*

To my Indian and Burmese Friends in Burma,

Brothers and Sisters! I am leaving Burma with a very heavy heart. We have lost the first round of our fight for Independence. But we have lost only the first round. There are

*This special message Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued on 24th April, 1945. This was addressed to "my Indian and Burmese Friends in Burma".*
many more rounds to fight. In spite of our losing the first round I see no reason for losing heart.

You, my countrymen in Burma, have done your duty to your Motherland in a way that evoked the admiration of the world. You have given liberally of your men, money and materials. You set the first example of Total Mobilisation. But the odds against us were overwhelming and we have temporarily lost the battle in Burma.

The spirit of selfless sacrifice that you have shown particularly since I shifted my Headquarters to Burma something that I shall never forget as long as I live.

I have the fullest confidence that spirit can never be crushed. For the sake of India’s freedom I beseech you to keep up that spirit. I beseech you to hold your heads erect and wait for that Blessed day when once again you will have an opportunity of waging the War for India’s Independence.

When the History of India’s last war of Independence comes to be written Indians in Burma will have an honoured place in that History.

I do not leave Burma of my own free will. I would have preferred to stay on here and share with you the sorrow of temporary defeat. But on the pressing advice of my Ministers and high ranking Officers I have to leave Burma in order to continue the struggle for India’s liberation. Being a born optimist my unshakable faith in India’s early emancipation remains unimpaired and I appeal to you to cherish the same optimism.

I have always said that the darkest hour precedes the dawn. We are now passing through the darkest hour; therefore, the dawn is not far off.

\textit{India Shall Be Free}

I cannot conclude this message without publicly acknowledging once again my heartfelt gratitude to the Government and people of Burma for all the help that I have received at their hands in carrying on this struggle. The day will come when free India will repay that debt of gratitude in generous manner.

Inqilab Jindabad, Azad Hind Fauj Zindabad, Jai Hind.

\textit{Subhas Chandra Bose}
The Treatment of I.N.A. Prisoners*

Information that has reached us from reliable sources in Burma goes to show that vindictive and brutal treatment is being meted out to officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) who have been captured by the Anglo-Americans in Burma. As the whole world knows the Anglo-Americans and in particular the British have always been in the habit of condemning Germany and Japan for their supposed ill treatment of Anglo-American prisoners of war. But I would now like to ask what the Anglo-Americans are themselves doing with the members of the Azad Hind Fauj who happened to fall into their hands in Burma. Though the allied forces in Burma belong to several nationalities the responsibility as regards the ill treatment of the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj devolves solely on the British Authorities. The British Authorities cannot even invent the excuse that we ill treated their troops who fell into our hands. The only allied troops who fell into our hands were those who voluntarily came and joined the Azad Hind Fauj. And even Delhi Radio admitted some days ago that all those who joined the Azad Hind Fauj received good treatment.

It may be that the British Authorities think that we are not in a position to retaliate and that they can, therefore, do what they like with our officers and men. But I would like to warn the British Authorities that this is not the case.

If we are forced to do so, we can find ways and means for adopting retaliatory measures in case they continue to ill treat and persecute the officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj. But before we are forced to think of retaliatory measures, there is one remedy open to us which is not only efficacious but also easy. If our countrymen at home take up this matter and carry on a raging and tearing campaign inside India I am absolutely sure that the British Authorities will be brought to their senses, and will see the error of their ways. Public opinion in India may not be strong enough to force the British to concede independence to India, but it is certainly strong enough to stop the ill treatment and persecution of members of the Azad Hind Fauj who have become prisoners of war at the hands of the British. Members of the Azad Hind Fauj are honest patriots and revolutionaries fighting for the Freedom of their Motherland. They no doubt fought bravely and stubbornly against the British.

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this statement on 30th May, 1945, from Bangkok, on the treatment of Indian National Army.
but they fought with clean hands and with a clear conscience. They are, therefore, entitled to decent treatment during captivity in accordance with international usage and convention. Consequently I appeal to my countrymen at home to take up the cause of their own prisoners of war who fought for India’s liberation and who are now receiving brutal and vindictive treatment at the hands of the British. I appeal to them also to compel the British Authorities to divulge correct information about the fate of these prisoners of war so that the world may judge how far the British themselves observe the rules and canons of international warfare to which they pay so much lip homage.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

BANGKOK, 30th May, 1945.

*   *   *

On the Rumour of Surrender*

Comrades,

All sorts of wild rumours are now afloat in Syonan and other places, one of them being that hostilities have ceased. Most of these rumours are either false or highly exaggerated. Till this moment fighting is going on all fronts and I say this not only on the basis of reports from friendly sources but also of reports given out by the enemy radio. If there is any change in the war situation I shall be the first to inform you. Therefore, I want all of you to remain perfectly calm and unperturbed and carry on your duties in a normal way. Above all, do not allow yourselves to be influenced in any manner by wild bazar rumours. We have to face any situation that may arise like brave soldiers fighting for the freedom of their Motherland.

Jai Hind.

Syonan, 14th August 1945.
15:00 hours

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE,
Supreme Commander
Azad Hind Fauj

*   *   *

*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this Special Order on 14th August 1945, from Syonan on the rumour of surrender by I.N.A.*
On the Japanese Surrender*

Comrades,

In our struggle for the independence of our Motherland we have now been overwhelmed by an undreamt of crisis. You may perhaps feel that you have failed in your mission to liberate India. But let me tell you that this failure is only of a temporary nature. No setback and no defeat can undo, your positive achievements of the past. Many of you have participated in the fight along the Indo-Burma frontier and also inside India and have gone through hardship and suffering of every sort. Many of your comrades have laid down their lives on the battlefield and have become the immortal heroes of Azad Hind. This glorious sacrifice can never go in vain.

Comrades, in this dark hour I call upon you to conduct yourselves with the discipline, dignity and strength befitting a truly revolutionary Army. You have already given proofs of your valour and self-sacrifice on the field of battle. It is now your duty to demonstrate your undying optimism and unshakable will-power in the hour of temporary defeat. Know you as I do, I have not the slightest doubt that even in this dire adversity you will hold your heads erect and face the future with unending hope and confidence.

Comrades, I feel that in this critical hour, thirty eight crores of our countrymen at home are looking at us, the Members of India’s Army of Liberation. Therefore, remain true to India and do not for a moment waver in your faith in India’s destiny. The roads to Delhi are many and Delhi still remains our goal. The sacrifices of your immortal comrades and of yourselves will certainly achieve their fulfilment. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long.

Jai Hind.

Subhas Chandra Bose

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Message to Indians in East Asia**

Sisters and Brothers,

A glorious chapter in the history of India’s struggle for freedom has just come to a close and in that chapter the sons and daughters of India in East Asia will have an undying place.

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*Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this special order on 15th August 1945, on the surrender by the Japanese.

**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose issued this special message to those Indians residing in East Asia on 15th August, 1945. This is a very significant message.
You set a shining example of patriotism and self-sacrifice by
pouring out men, money and materials into the struggle for
India’s Independence. I shall never forget the spontaneity and
enthusiasm with which you responded to my call for Total Mobilisa-
tion. You sent an unending stream of your sons and daughters
to the camps to be trained as soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj and of
the Rani of Jhansi Regiment—Money and materials you poured
lavishly into the War Chest of the Provisional Government of Azad
Hind. In short, you did your duty as true sons and daughters of
India. I regret more than you do that your sufferings and sacrifices
have not borne immediate fruit but they have not gone in vain
because they have ensured the emancipation of our Motherland
and will serve as an undying inspiration to Indians all over the world.
Posterity will bless your name and will talk with pride about your
offerings at the altar of India’s freedom and about your positive
achievement as well.

In this unprecedented crisis in our history I have only one
word to say. Do not be depressed at our temporary failure. Be of
good cheer and keep up your spirits. Above all, never for a moment
falter in your faith in India’s destiny. There is no power on earth
that can keep India enslaved. India shall be free and before long.
Jai Hind.

Subhas Chandra Bose

* * *

Note on Local Inspection of Renkoji Temple, Tokyo*

On the 30th May after concluding the evidence of Rev.
Mochizuki, the head priest of the Renkoji temple, the members of the
Committee visited the Renkoji temple accompanied by Rev.
Mochi-
zuki and five members of the Temple Committee. The Renkoji
temple is situated in Suginamiku quarter of Tokyo about 6 miles
from the centre of the town where the Indian Embassy is situated.
The temple is of a moderate size built of timber in the usual style of
Japanese Buddhist temples. Around it is a small Japanese garden.
The temple although not very large is well kept. The ashes are
kept in the main shrine. Just behind the altar is a large glass case.
In this case are kept various venerated objects such as gilded images
of Bodhisattvas. On the left hand side of the glass case is a small
wooden casket in the shape of a pagoda about 2 ft. high. In front

*Netaji Enquiry Committee Report. Delhi, Government of India, 1956,
p. 64.
of it, is a small portrait of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. A larger photograph of Netaji is kept outside in the left hand corner of the glass case. Incense was burning before it. Rev. Mochizuki took out from the pagoda-shaped casket a rectangular shaped wooden box painted red. On opening it was revealed a small container about 8" cube covered with some kind of white cloth. On it was written in large English letters in black ink, “Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.” The contents of the smaller container were not examined. As he was handling these objects Rev. Mochizuki was intoning some sacred mantra. One by one, he put back the containers into their original positions and securely locked with a key the door of the glass case. Before entering the shrine, the Committee was entertained to tea in the Japanese style by the priest and members of the Temple Committee. In all, our Committee spent about half an hour at the temple. As in the case of most Japanese temples the temple was very clean both inside and outside. The Committee was satisfied that Rev. Mochizuki takes good care of the ashes and they are being kept properly within the limited means of the Renkoji temple.

Shri Debnath Das
171/3, Rash Behari Avenue,
Calcutta—19.

The 13th June, 1956.

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Defence Committee for I.N.A.*

“In view of the forthcoming trial by court martial of some officers and men belonging to the Hindustan Azad Fauj (Indian National Army) formed in Burma and Malaya, the Working Committee resolves that a defence committee consisting of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Shri Bhulabhai Desai, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Asaf Ali (convener) and Shri Raghunandan Saran with powers to co-opt, be formed to take all necessary steps for the defence of the officers and men and women of the I.N.A., or of like forces, who may be brought up for trial.”

* Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in Poona, from 12th to 16th September, 1946.
I.N.A.*

"Whilst the Congress must feel proud of the sacrifices, discipline, patriotism, bravery and the spirit of unity displayed by the Azad Hind Fauj, organized as an independent force in foreign countries under unprecedented conditions by Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, and whilst it is right and proper for the Congress to defend the members of that body now undergoing trial and to aid its sufferers, Congressmen must not forget that this support and sympathy do not mean that the Congress has in any way deviated from its policy of attaining Swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means."

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I.N.A. Inquiry and Relief Committee**

"In view of the many problems, other than those of legal defence, arising in connection with the personnel of the Azad Hind Fauj, it is resolved to form a committee separate from the I.N.A. Defence Committee, which has already been constituted, in order to gather information and give relief where needed to this personnel. This Committee will be called the I.N.A. Inquiry and Relief Committee and will consist of the undermentioned persons. The Committee will also arrange to gather full information about the dependants of those who died in the service of the I.N.A. The method of organizing relief should be, except for urgent and immediate purposes, to provide productive work.

The following shall be the members of the I.N.A. Inquiry and Relief Committee.

1. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Chairman)
2. Jawaharlal Nehru
3. J. B. Kripalani
4. Sarat Chandra Bose
5. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai
6. M. Daud Ghaznavi
7. Sri Prakasa (Secretary)
8. Raghunandan Saran
9. Khurshed Naroji

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in Calcutta from 7th to 11th December, 1946.

**The Congress Working Committee appointed this Inquiry and Relief Committee vide resolution number three of its meeting held in Calcutta from 7th to 11th December, 1945.
10. Rao Saheb Patwardhan
11. Sardar Partap Singh
12. A representative of the Bombay I.N.A. Committee, with power to add to their number.

The Treasurer of the All-India Congress Committee shall be in charge of the funds collected for I.N.A. Defence and Inquiry and Relief Work."

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I.N.A. Trials.*

*The I.N.A. trials which began with those of Col. Shah Nawaz, Captain Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon, created a great sensation throughout India. In fact they led to the discovery of the full facts relating to the formation of the Indian National Army and there was not a soul in India that was not stirred by and elated with the soul-stirring, heart-rending and blood-curdling tales which the experiences and exploits of the Army revealed. Day in, day-out, the stories unfolded in the Chambers of the Judge-Advocate's Court were eagerly read by the literate population of India and listened to with avidity by the illiterate. The radios, public and private were much in request for the day's developments about these trials. The services rendered by Bhulabhai Desai and his colleagues, were of inestimable value. The Law Court and the freedom of expression permitted within its premises led to the elaboration of liberal and democratic theories about the rights of a subject nation to wage war for its freedom. There was widespread agitation that the trials should be suspended and the prisoners at the bar liberated. At last, if we may anticipate events, the trial concluded, the three were sentenced to transportation for life and the Commander-in-Chief remitted the punishment. There was great jubilation in the country over their release and in their tour throughout the land they were hailed everywhere with cries of Jai Hind.

It may be added that the nation-wide demonstrations in favour of the release of the I.N.A. men undergoing trial in the winter of 1945, led to shooting in Calcutta in which 40 people died and over three hundred were injured and likewise in Bombay there was firing in which the casualties were 23 killed and some two hundred wounded. When Captain Rashid was sentenced in the second batch (February 1949) to transportation for life and the same was commuted by the Commander-in-Chief to 7 years R.I., there were again

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nation-wide demonstrations including Muslims on a large scale, in which in Calcutta once again 43 people were killed and some four hundred were wounded (February 1946).

Contemporary history carries with it its own charms as well as its own complications. And in it—Subhas's—what a history—what charms, what complications—A stormy life from boyhood onwards, a strange combination of mysticism and reality, of intense religious fervour and stern practical sense, of deep emotional susceptibility and cold, calculating pragmatism. During a whole year's Presidency of the Indian National Congress, from Haripura to Tripuri he spoke not a word. He found himself out of tune with his environment—with his acknowledged leader who called him to office, with his fellow-members of the Working Committee whom he called to office. With Gandhi Means are Ends. With Subhas Ends are Means. They were two polar opposites. Gandhi is moved by instinct. Subhas was guided by reason. He felt that there was a deplorable lack of clarity in the plan which the Mahatma had formulated and that he himself did not have a clear idea of the successive stages of the campaign which would bring India to her cherished goal of Freedom. That was not merely Subhas's complaint. It is a general complaint against Gandhi. Indeed whenever Gandhi was asked in 1922 about Mass Civil Disobedience, he said he himself did not know. His is rather the trend of the motor driver driving his car in a fog where he is able to see only 10 yards ahead and then another ten, and then another ten until he reaches his goal. He carries with him no road map to mark curves and culverts, bends and bridges, railroads and level-crossings. Yet he drives right enough because his direction is right and he knows his direction intuitively.

When Subhas gave up his career as a member of the Indian Civil Service and attached himself to the standard of Deshbandhu Das, he knew his leader, he chose his flag, and he began his campaign, though he little knew that the young cadet of the college or the G.O.C. of the Calcutta Congress in 1928 would blossom into the C in C of the I.N.A. It was a life of service and suffering that he chalked out for himself, but it was in accordance with the views and convictions of Deshbandhu who again differed with Gandhi on the main points of Gandhi's programme. When, therefore, Gandhi chose young Subhas for Haripura it was not as if he did not know his nominee. He had known him well enough in 1929 at Lahore when Subhas staged a walk-out and formed a new party—the Congress Democratic Party. Equally pronounced was Subhas in his verdict from Vienna jointly with Viththalbhai on Gandhi's withdrawal of the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1934, when he opined that the latest
action of Gandhi in suspending Civil Disobedience is a confession of failure. "We are clearly of the opinion that Gandhi as a political leader has failed. The time has, therefore, come for radical re-organisation of the Congress on new principles, as it is unfair to expect Gandhi to work the programme not consistent with his life-long principles. If the Congress as a whole can undergo this transformation it will be the best course. Failing that a new party will have to be found within the Congress composed of radical elements." It was this new party so clearly fore-shadowed that was formed at Ramgarh—some seven years later. The wonder was that in the interval Subhas himself in spite of these assertions on his part was accepted as the President of the Haripura session and he got through his year's term without a hitch, without a demur, without a word. All the trouble lay in store for him for the next year.

Why did Gandhi resent a second term to Subhas? That even after his election Gandhi was not reconciled to it was a fact about which no unnecessary secrecy was maintained. Subhas must have valued his second term only to reorganise the Congress on lines adumbrated by him from Vienna. That alone, if nothing else, would be ground enough for Gandhi to resist such an endeavour. Whether Gandhiji had any further grounds to justify his attitude, he alone must be able one day to say. Till then public judgment must remain suspended.

All these events were but the preparation for Subhas’s great ministry which covered a period of four and half years—from 26th January, 1941 to 15th August, 1945. This was an era of miracles. It is easy to shower high encomiums on Subhas after he had proved his heroism and after the hero had become a martyr. Few people that had only a cursory or distant acquaintance with him could have had an inkling of the real mettle displayed by this marvel of a character. It is none of our business to probe into the origin, the deeper depths or the progress and vicissitudes of the Indian National Army. Suffice it for the contemporary world to know that here was a man, every inch a ‘man’ that did not shine by reflected light, that had his own inner radiance that could dare and act, for he knew that truth of the great dictum that success often comes to those who dare and act. It seldom goes to the timid. This dictum of Jawaharlal’s that occurred in his Lahore Presidential address was left to be acted upon by Subhas who fashioned his own conduct and career on the high unassailable principles embodied in it. Subhas did dare and did act with what measure of success, posterity alone must judge.
To
The Chairman,
Netaji Enquiry Commission,
Government of India,
New Delhi.

Sir,
Enclosed herewith you will kindly find some papers in connection with steps that Netaji adopted to continue India's struggle for freedom. I could not submit these papers when I appeared to give evidence since they were kept at some of my friend's house and could not be had in time.

This is the English translation of the message received by Netaji from Tokyo through the Southern Command in reply to Netaji's enquiry on the attitude of the Japanese Government to extend facilities to proceed to Russia with some of his associates should he (Netaji) so desire in the events of Japan's collapse. The English version is no doubt rendered by Japanese officer as was usual and was submitted along with the original letter that was in Japanese. This was delivered to Netaji by the second week of June 1945. (The original English typed copy of this message submitted by the Hikari Kikan is in my possession, enclosed one being the true copy)*

Jai Hind

DEBNATH DAS

* Copy of Tokyo Telegram to Southern Command regarding Netaji's Opinion for their Consideration**

1. The opinion of the Nippon Government with regard to Your Excellency's plan of approaching the Soviet is as follows:

(a) Not only the assistance by Nippon Government to Your Excellency who are firmly determined to cooperate to the last with Nippon in order to attain the object of Indian Independence remains wholly unchanged but it also desires to still further strengthen the spiritual tie.

(b) Nippon Government pays a deep respect with its whole heart to Your Excellency's co-operation with Nippon on the

moral strength to the utmost in order to attain Indian Independence, convinced of Nippon's certain victory and without resorting in the least to the opportunism of following in the wake of the powerful in spite of the present unfavourable world situation to Nippon. It may be added that the reason why the above (a) item which is apparently needless to mention has been repeated here is that the Government more than ever earnestly hopes that Your Excellency will push on fighting for the liberation of India with firm determination to display the spirit of live or die together by India and Nippon.

(c) Nippon Government deems it almost without hope of success to get directly in touch with the Soviet Government on behalf of Your Excellency and it has no intention of doing so.

2. Nippon Government would like to study separate as to the possibility of Your Excellency making political move toward India through the Chungking Regime.

3. Nippon Government desires that Your Excellency would endeavour in bringing our active combined operation to a successful issue in spite of present difficulty of war situation through good understanding of Nippon's intention.

* * *

Statement of Colonel Habibur Rehman Khan,
Indian National Army, regarding the Air Crash at Taihoku, Formosa.*

At 10.30 hrs. on 16-8-1945 Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose accompanied by a few Government and Army Officers, I being one of the party, left Singapore for Bangkok by a Japanese bomber plane. We reached Bangkok at 15.30 hrs.

At 07.30 hrs. on 17-8-1945, two bomber planes left for Saigon.

On the Indian side, the following comprised the party:
Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.
Sri Ayer.
Col. Habibur Rehman Khan.
Col. Guizara Singh.
Sri Debnath Das.
Lt-Col. Pritam Singh.
Major A. Hasan.

Lt-Gen. Isoda, Chief of the Hikari Kikan, and H.E. Hachiya, Japanese Minister to the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, travelled by the other plane.

Saigon was reached at about 10.45 hrs. Lt-Gen. Isoda, H.E. Hachiya and Col. Tada, Staff Officer of H.Q. Southern Region, informed Netaji that a maximum of two seats were available in a bomber plane leaving Saigon at 17.00 hrs. the same day. It was decided to avail of the seats and I was to accompany Netaji.

The plane left Saigon Aerodrome at 17.15 hrs. Six Senior Japanese Officers, including Lt-Gen. Shidei, Chief of Staff of the Kwangtung Army, also were the passengers on the same plane. We spent the night at Tourane in French Indo-China where we reached at 19.45 hrs.

At 07.00 hrs. on 18-8-1945, we started from Tourane and reached Taihoku, in Formosa, at 14.00 hrs. Here we halted for about 35 minutes. At 14.35 hrs. the plane took off. It had not yet gained much height and was within the outskirts of the air field when a loud report like that of an explosion was heard from the front. In actual fact, one of the propellers of the aeroplane had broken. Immediately the plane crashed on the ground and it caught fire both in the front and in the rear.

At the time of the accident Netaji's position in the aeroplane was as follows:

Immediately behind the pilot was seated one Japanese officer and behind him on the left side was Netaji. On his immediate right was the petrol tank. I was behind Netaji.

Netaji got out of the plane from the left side from the front. I followed him. We had to pass through the fire in doing so. As soon as I got out, I saw that Netaji's clothes were on fire, from head to foot. I rushed to help him to remove the clothes. By the time his clothes were removed he had sustained severe burns on his body in addition to serious head injuries received during the crash. In my opinion, petrol had dropped on his clothes from the adjacent tank during the crash. Within 15 minutes we were rushed to the nearest Nippon Army Hospital. It was about 15.00 hrs. at the time. I also received serious head and body injuries in addition to burns on the face and the body.

Netaji was given immediate medical attention but his condition was very serious. Nippon medical authorities did all they could in his treatment but he unfortunately expired at 21.00 hrs. (T.T.) the same day. Prior to his death he was in his senses and was quite calm. Whenever he talked to me, it was regarding India's Inde-
pendence. Prior to his death he told me that his end was near and asked me to convey a message from him to our countrymen to the following effect:

"I have fought to the last for India’s Independence and now am giving my life in the same attempt. Countrymen, continue the Independence fight. Before long India will be free. Long Live Azad Hind."

Lt-Gen. Shidei and two other Japanese Officers had died instantaneously after the crash and all others were seriously injured.

I requested the Army authorities to arrange for the early transportation of the body either to Singapore or Tokyo, preferably to Singapore. They promised all help. I was told that arrangements for a box for the body and for the aeroplane were being made and that they had informed Saigon and Tokyo regarding the accident.

On 21-8-1945 a senior Japanese Staff Officer informed me in the hospital that the length of the box did not allow the box being put into the plane. He suggested that the body be cremated in Taihoku. Seeing no other alternative, I agreed to the suggestion and the body was cremated on 22-8-1945 at Taihoku under the arrangement of the Army authorities. The ashes were collected on 23-8-1945.

I have requested the Army authorities to arrange for the removal of the ashes to Tokyo where they can be kept in a safe place and from where at a later date they will be removed to India.

Above is the true account of the unfortunate tragedy and I have requested the authorities to keep it with the ashes so that one day India will know the truth regarding the death of its outstanding and heroic Leader.

(Note: Photographs of the body in the box, myself seated beside, were also taken.)

(Sd/-) HABIBUR REHMAN KHAN,
Colonel.

TAIHOKU, TAIWAN;
The 24th August, 1945.
Principal Points agreed to for Draft Report, dated 30th June, 1956.*

1. It was Netaji’s idea to continue the struggle for the liberation of India. This was thought of by Netaji some time before Germany and Japan surrendered and Netaji had at that time told a selected few that they would sooner or later lose the war. Netaji also discussed about this point with his Cabinet members.

Since October 1944, when Netaji visited Tokyo, he carried out these intentions of his and attempted to contact the Russian Ambassador, and finally decided to go to Manchuria with that purpose in view.

2. Whether the plane crash did take place. The plane carrying Netaji did crash. There is no other evidence to the contrary; the evidence should be considered carefully and in details.

3. Whether Netaji met his death as a result of this accident. The witnesses support this story. There is no reason why they should be disbelieved. After a lapse of about 10 years these witnesses who belong to different walks of life and to different nationalities—Habib, an Indian and subsequently a Pakistani, and the others, who are Japanese, who are mostly unconnected with one another and no longer in the service of their Government, and Japan not being a totalitarian State—would not be expected to state what was not true.

Enquiries made subsequently by (1) British Intelligence teams operating from Delhi (2) British and American Intelligence teams operating from Tokyo, and (3) non-official enquiry appear to corroborate the statements of these eye-witnesses and a few others who appeared on the scene immediately after.

A person of the status of Netaji as Head of a State that was not only recognised by Japan but was helped materially in every way by Japan, and vice versa, was not given the requisite facility and honour due to him from the very start, viz., by providing a separate plane or seats for him and for all of his associates; treatment in a small hospital with a junior medical officer—a Captain; manner of cremation; disposal of ashes, etc., all without due honour and respect viz., full military funeral, body placed on a gun carriage with full military honours, etc.

4. Cremation. Preliminaries by the two doctors and some of the subordinate Hospital staff.

Main evidence by (1) Habib, (2) Nakamura, and (3) Naga-
toma—more or less corroborative.

Regarding Habib—oath of secrecy may be argued only.

Regarding the other two—no interestedness, so their stories
supporting Habib take away most of the charge against Habib for
oath of secrecy; in what way could they be obliged to Habib? No
other suggestion that the body was disposed of in any other manner
—so body cremated.

The evidence of the doctors will have to be discussed very
carefully, as it will surely be a matter of detailed criticism by
eminent doctors throughout the world.

5. Ashes. Ashes from the crematorium to Renkoji temple
is a long way—first to Nishi Honganji temple, then to Tokyo, etc.

There is nothing to show that there was tampering, but to
prove that they were definitely those of Netaji, much more stringent
measures required by law, should have been taken and a different
and very strict procedure, by way of seals, guards, etc., should have
been taken.

In all probability, the ashes could be said to be those of
Netaji.

6. Treasure. Comments should be minimum. Evidence
recorded by us should be placed in a guarded manner.

We may state that out of the quantity carried by Netaji, a
portion eventually was deposited in the National Archives.

We should state that this may be the subject matter of a
separate Enquiry and this Enquiry should start from the complete
assets, in cash and kind, and liabilities of the Azad Hind
Government.

7. Shri Thevar’s statements and statements of Shri Goswami.
Their statements should be discussed while dealing with Netaji’s
death or otherwise and a little more in detail separately later on.

Draft by : Shri S.N.Maitra.
Draft : 10-7-1956.
Discussion, correction and finalisation : 13-7-1956.
Submission to the Government of India : 16-7-1956.

(Sd.) S.C. Bose. 2.7.56.

S.N. Maitra. 2.7.56.

Shah Nawaz Khan 2.7.56.
Recommendation*

The Committee has come to the conclusion that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose met his death in an air crash, and that the ashes now at Renkoji temple, Tokyo are his ashes. Rev. Mochizuki and the trustees of the Renkoji temple have already kept the ashes for a number of years. Their services deserve to be recognised. If the ashes are taken to be genuine, Renkoji temple cannot obviously be their final resting place. Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose died ten years ago. It is time that his ashes were brought to India with due honour and a memorial erected over them at a suitable place. This we recommend for the serious consideration of the Government of India. It may be mentioned in this connection that influential circles in Japan are considering putting up a memorial to Netaji in that country. If Netaji mortal remains are honoured and his ideals kept alive then one could truly ask, "Where is death's sting, where, grave thy victory?"

(Sd) SHAH NAWAZ KHAN
S.N. MAITRA

See also

DEFFENCE
POLITICAL PARTIES—Forward Bloc

* * *

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

See

POLITICAL PARTIES—Indian National Congress

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INDIAN YOUTH CONGRESS

See

POLITICAL PARTIES—Indian National Congress

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p. 61.
INDUSTRY

See

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

* * *

INDIVIDUAL SATYAGRAHA, 1940-41

See

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS, IV

* * *

INTERIM GOVERNMENT (1946)

See

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

* * *
CHAPTER XI

JALLIANWALA BAGH

Note: It was a tragedy which took place on April 13, 1919 at Amritsar (Punjab), resulting in the loss of hundreds of lives. A large meeting was held at Jallianwala Bagh, in open space, in the heart of the city enclosed by walls, with a narrow entrance. General Dyer entered the place at the head of the force composed of one hundred Indian and 50 British troops and ordered to fire at the crowd of about 20,000 comprising men, women and children. It is estimated that 1,600 rounds were fired, till the ammunition had run out. According to the official figures the number of people who were killed is 400. The number of persons who were wounded is estimated to be about two thousand. It is said that the injured persons were left to suffer the whole night without any medical aid.

On the official enquiry into the tragic incident, General Dyer stated that he resorted to firing only after ordering the people to disperse, but he admitted that the first round was fired after two or three minutes of the order. When the matter came up for discussion in the House of Commons, General Dyer’s action was condemned, but in the House of Lords, on the contrary, it was vindicated. The Indian National Congress also appointed an Enquiry Committee in 1919 to enquire into the tragedy. The Committee submitted the report after having interviewed several hundred witnesses.

Below are given some important documents, concerning the tragedy. On April 13, 1961 Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the First President of India, unveiled the 45 feet high national monument at Jallianwala Bagh dedicated to the martyrs. The architectural curves depict the pattern of “The Flame of Liberty.”

* * *

“That, having regard to the correspondence between His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Hon’ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma M. K. Gandhi, and between Lord Hunter and the Hon’ble Madan Mohan Malaviya, this Congress is of opinion that H. H. the Lieutenant-Governor’s action is not permitting even a few of the Punjab leaders undergoing imprisonment to attend and sit in the Committee room even as prisoners under custody to assist and instruct Counsel in the same manner as the Government Counsel was instructed by the officials
whose conduct was under investigation of the Disorders Inquiry Committee, constitutes a serious injustice and that it left no other course open to the Sub-Committee of the Congress to take than the one taken by it; this Congress, therefore, endorses and approves of the firm and dignified action taken by the Sub-Committee and its appointing Committee to make an investigation and submit a report.”

\[34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : IV.\]

* * *

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

\[34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : V.\]

* * *

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

Resolved further that this Congress desires to place it on record that in its opinion the Government of India and the Punjab Government must in any event be held responsible for the inexcusable delay in placing an authoritative statement of the massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh before the public and His Majesty’s Government.”

\[34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : VI.\]

* * *

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

34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : VII.

“That this Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the action taken by Sir Sankaran Nair in resigning his office as member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India, as a protest against the policy pursued by the Government of India, and the Government of the Punjab in promulgating and maintaining Martial Law administration in the Punjab in supersession of the ordinary Courts of Justice in the Province.”

34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : VIII.

“(1) This Congress offers its respectful condolence to the relatives of those persons whether English or Indian who were killed, and sympathy to those who were wounded or incapacitated during the April disturbances.

(2) This Congress further resolves that the site known as Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar be acquired for the Nation and be registered in the names of the Hon’ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Hon’ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru as trustees, and that it be used as a memorial to perpetuate the memory of those who were killed or wounded on the 13th day of April last during the massacre by General Dyer, and in order to give effect to the intention of the Congress the following are appointed a Committee:—

1. The Hon’ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
2. The Hon’ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru.
5. Lala Girdhari Lal.
6. Dr. Saif-ud-Din Kitchlew.
7. Lala Harkishan Lal.

with power to add to the number, to devise the best method of perpetuating the memory of the dead, to have a proper scheme of Trust prepared and to collect subscription for the purpose and otherwise to carry out the object of the Trust.”

34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : IX.

“In view of the fact that full effect has not yet been given to the general amnesty clause of the Gracious Proclamation of His Majesty the King Emperor and that the persons in the Punjab tried
by the Martial Law Commissioners, the Summary Courts, the Area officers and the tribunals constituted under the Defence of India Act, and the detenues, deportees and all political prisoners in Bengal and other parts of India including the Andamans have not been released, this Congress expresses the earnest hope and trusts that the fullest effect will immediately be given to the letter and spirit of Royal Command.”

“In view of the fact that Lord Chelmsford has completely forfeited the confidence of the people of this country, this Congress humbly beseeches His Majesty to be graciously pleased immediately to recall His Excellency.”

“This Congress records its condemnation of the unjust treatment meted out to University and School Students in the Punjab under the direct or indirect instruction of Martial Law authorities, and hopes that immediate steps will be taken by Local Government to cancel all punishments awarded against students without trial.”

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

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

(i) The report submitted by the majority of the Hunter Committee is tainted by bias and race prejudice, based on insufficient consideration of evidence and characterised by a too obvious desire to slur over the proved and manifest inequities of the Government officials concerned, and to whitewash the conduct of the Punjab Government of India;
(ii) The said report is unacceptable and unreliable as it is based upon evidence which is incomplete, one-sided and biased by self-interest;

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

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

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

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

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

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

35 : (Special) : 1920 : Calcutta : III.

*  *  *

“This Congress expresses its sense of bitter disappointment at the British Cabinet’s failure to take adequate action with reference to the atrocities of the Punjab, at their acquiescence in the recommendations of the Government of India, and their practical condonation of the misdeeds of the Punjab officials.

This Congress is further of opinion that, in spite of the fine and lofty sentiments expressed in their despatch, the British Cabinet by their failure to take adequate action have forfeited the confidence of the people of India.”

35 : (Special) : 1920 : Calcutta : IV.

*  *  *
To

The Hon'ble Pandit Moti Lal Nehru,

Ex-officio President, Sub-Committee,

Lahore*

Sir,

On the 14th November, 1919, the Punjab Sub-Committee of the All-India Congress Committee appointed yourself, the Hon'ble Fazlul Haq, and Messrs. C. R. Das, Abbas Tayabji, and M. K. Gandhi, as Commissioners, with Mr. K. Santhanam as Secretary, to examine, collate, and analyse the evidence already collected by and on behalf of the Sub-Committee regarding the events of last April in the Punjab and to supplement such evidence where necessary, and to present their conclusions thereon.

On being nominated President-elect of the National Congress, you considered it necessary to resign your office as Commissioner. The resignation was duly accepted by the Sub-Committee and as the work of taking evidence was practically concluded when you resigned, no other commissioner was appointed in your place.

The Hon'ble Fazlul Haq was called away on important business immediately after his arrival. Mr. M.R. Jayakar of the Bombay Bar was, therefore, appointed in his place.

We entered upon our work on 17th November, 1919.

We examined the statements of over 1,700 witnesses and we have selected for publication about 650 statements which will be found in the accompanying volumes of our report. The statements excluded were mostly statements proving same class of acts.

Every admitted statement was verified by one of us and was accepted only after we were satisfied as to bona fide of the witness. This does not apply to a few statements from Manianwala and neighbourhood, which were mostly brought at our request by Mr. Labh Singh, M.A., Bar-at-Law. Every such statement bears his name at the foot thereof. No statement was accepted without sufficient cross-examination of the witnesses.

It will be observed that many witnesses are men of position and leaders in their own districts or villages.

It will be further observed that some of the witnesses have made very serious allegations against officials. In each and every case the witnesses were warned by us of the consequences of making those allegations and they were admitted only when the witnesses adhered to their statements, in spite of the knowledge of the risk they personally ran and the damage that may ensue to the cause by reason of exaggeration or untruth. We have, moreover, rejected those statements which could not be corroborated, although in some cases we were inclined to believe the witnesses. Such for instance were the statements regarding ill-treatment of women.

Needless to say that our inquiry was confined to the Martial Law area and to the districts in which it was proclaimed. The principal places were personally visited by us. Thus Lahore, Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Kasur, Gujranwala, Wazirabad, Nizamabad, Akalgarh, Ramnagar, Hafizabad, Sangla Hill, Sheikhupura, Chunharkana, Lyallpur, Gujrat, Malakwal, and Sargodha were visited by some one of us. In most places large public meetings were held and the public were invited to make their statements to us. The nature of the evidence already recorded was placed before the meetings and those, who wished to challenge the accuracy of the statements made, were invited to send in their statements even under pledge of confidence if they so desired. No contradiction was received by us.

We have freely availed ourselves of the evidence placed before the Disorders Inquiry Committee, in order to strengthen or correct our conclusions. It may be mentioned that the vast majority of the statements appended were revived by us before Lord Hunter's Committee began its sittings.

The majority of the statements were given in the vernaculars. We have endeavoured to procure the most accurate translations but the statements appended to our report may be treated as original, as we checked the witnesses through the translations and made corrections or amendments ourselves, wherever necessary.

We have also studied the records of the trials by Martial Law Commissioners or Summary Courts, in so far as they were available to us, and we have studied the judicial records of several cases that arose during the recruiting period and of our recruiting methods.

In conclusion we desire to place on record our great obligation to the leading men of every place we have visited and the many workers in Lahore and elsewhere who have rendered valuable
assistance without which we could not have brought our labours to a close within the time at our disposal.

We are
Yours faithfully,

Benares,
M.K. GANDHI, C.R. DAS,

20th February, 1920. ABBAS. S. TAYABJI, M.R. JAYAKAR.

* Conclusion *

We have now dealt with the five districts in which Martial Law was proclaimed. We have dealt with Sir M. O'Dwyer's regime, and we have endeavoured to examine the Rowlatt Act and the Satyagraha movement.

We desire to state that we have endeavoured to keep ourselves to the facts before us, and not based our conclusions on anything outside the evidence, printed separately, supplemented by the evidence given before Lord Hunter's Committee and the record of the Martial Law Tribunals.

We have been obliged in places to use strong language, but we have used every adjective with due deliberation. We recognise that we have no right to exact an impossible standard of correctness from the Government. In times of excitement and difficulty, any officer is prone to make mistakes, in spite of the best intentions in the world. We recognise, too, that when the country is on the eve of important changes introduced in the administration, and the Sovereign has made an appeal to the officials and the people for co-operation, we should say nothing that may be calculated to retard the progress.

But we feel that it is not possible to ignore acts of atrocious injustice on a wholesale scale by responsible officers, as it would not be possible, no matter how bright the future might be, to ignore the criminal acts of the people.

In our opinion, it is more necessary now than ever before that the official wrong should be purged, as well as the people's. The task of working the reform and making India realise her goal in the quickest time possible would be well nigh impossible, if both the people and the officials did not approach it with clean hands and

*Report of Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-Committee of the Indian National Congress. Published by K. Santhanam, Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry, Lahore, 1920, pp. 156-160.*
clean minds. If, therefore, we recommend that officials who have erred should be brought to justice, we do so, not in a vindictive spirit but in order that the administration of the country may become purified of corruption and injustice. Whilst, therefore, we believe that the mob excesses in Amritsar and elsewhere were wrong and deserving of condemnation, we are equally sure that the popular misdeeds have been more than punished by the action of the authorities.

We believe that had Mr. Gandhi not been arrested while he was on his way to Delhi and the Punjab, and had Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal not been arrested and deported, innocent English lives would have been saved, and valuable property, including Christian Churches, not destroyed. These two acts of the Punjab Government were unalled for, and served like matches applied to material rendered inflammable by previous processes.

In examining, in detail, the events in the different districts of the Punjab we have refrained from saying anything regarding the Government of India. It is impossible, however, to ignore or slur over the inaction, if not the active participation, of the Central Government in the official action. His Excellency the Viceroy never took the trouble of examining the people's case. He ignored telegrams and letters from individuals and public bodies. He endorsed the action of the Punjab Government without inquiry. He clothed the officials with indemnity in indecent haste. He never went to the Punjab to make a personal inquiry, even after the occurrences. He ought to have known, at least in May, everything that the various official witnesses have admitted, and yet they failed to inform the public or the Imperial Government of the full nature of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, or the subsequent acts done under Martial Law. He became a party to preventing even a noble and well-known an English Christian of unimpeachable veracity in the person of Mr. C.F. Andrews from proceeding to the Punjab, whilst he was on his way, not to inflame passions, but simply to find out the truth. He allowed Mr. Thompson, the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government, to indulge in distortion of facts and insult the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya whose statements made in the Council, have almost all been now proved to be true out of the mouths of the official witnesses themselves. He expressed such a callous indifference to popular feelings and betrayed such criminal want of imagination, that he would not postpone the death sentences pronounced by the Martial Law Tribunals, except after he was forced to do so by the Secretary of State for India. He seems to have closed his heart against further light by shutting out
questions by a responsible member of the Council, like the Hon’ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He would not visit the Punjab for local inquiry. We refrain from criticising his attitude over the Rowlatt agitation. But a sense of public safety forbids us to ignore His Excellency’s inability to appreciate and deal with the situation in April. Whilst, therefore, we do not think His Excellency was wilfully neglectful of the interests of those who were entrusted to his charge by His Majesty, we regret to say that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford proved himself incapable of holding the high office to which he was called and we are of opinion that His Excellency should be recalled.

We summarize below our other conclusions:

1. The people of the Punjab were incensed against Sir M.O’Dwyer’s administration by reason of his studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes, and by reason of the cruel and compulsory methods, adopted during the war, for obtaining recruits and monetary contributions and by his suppression of public opinion by gagging the local press and shutting out nationalist newspapers from outside the Punjab.

2. The Rowlatt agitation disturbed the public mind and shook public confidence in the goodwill of the Government. This was shared by the Punjab in a fuller measure, perhaps than elsewhere, because of the use made by Sir M. O’Dwyer of the Defence of India Act for purposes of stifling public movements.

3. The Satyagraha movement, and the hartal which was designed as a precursor of it, whilst they vitalised the whole country into activity, saved it from more awful and more widespread calamities, by restraining the violent tendencies and passions of the people.

4. The Rowlatt agitation was not conceived in an anti-British spirit, and the Satyagraha movement was conceived and conducted in a spirit entirely free from ill-will and violence.

5. There was no conspiracy to overthrow the Government in the Punjab.

6. The arrest and internment of Mr. Gandhi, and the arrests and deportations of Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal were unjustifiable, and were the only direct cause of hysterical popular excitement.

7. The mob violence which began at Amritsar was directly due to the firing at the Railway overbridges, and the sight of the dead and wounded at a time when the excitement had reached white heat.

8. Whatever the cause of provocation, the mob excesses are deeply to be regretted and condemned.
9. So far as the facts are publicly known, no reasonable cause has been shown to justify the introduction of Martial Law.

10. In each case, Martial Law was proclaimed after order had been completely restored.

11. Even if it be held that the introduction of Martial Law was a state necessity, it was unduly prolonged.

12. Most of the measures taken under Martial Law in all the five districts, were unnecessary, cruel, oppressive and in utter disregard of the feelings of the people affected by them.

13. In Lahore, Akalgrah, Ramnagar, Gujrat, Jalalpur Jattan, Lyallpur and Sheikhpura, there were no mob excesses at all worthy of the name.

14. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre was a calculated piece of inhumanity towards utterly innocent and unarmed men, including children, and unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration.

15. The Martial Law Tribunals and the Summary Courts were made the means of harassing innocent people and resulted in abortion of justice on a wide scale, and under the name of justice caused moral and material sufferings to hundreds of men and women.

16. The crawling order and other fancy punishment were unworthy of a civilized administration, and were symptomatic of the moral degradation of their inventors.

17. The imposition of indemnity and of punitive police at various places notwithstanding exemplary and vindictive punishments meted out, through nearly two long months, mostly to innocent men, and the exaction of fines and illegal impositions were an uncalled for, unjust and added injury.

18. The corruption and bribery, that took place during Martial Law, form a separate chapter of grievance, which could have been easily avoided under a sympathetic administration.

19. The measures necessary for redressing the wrong done to the people for the purification of the administration and for preventing a repetition in future of official lawlessness are:

(a) Repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

(b) Relieving Sir M. O'Dwyer of any responsible office under the Crown.

(c) Relieving General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan, of any position of responsibility under the Crown.
(d) Local inquiry into corrupt practices of the minor officials, whose names have been mentioned in the statements published by us, and their dismissal on proof of their guilt.

(e) Recall of His Excellency the Viceroy.

(f) Refund of the fines collected from people who were convicted by the Special Tribunals and Summary Courts.

(g) Remission of all indemnity imposed on the cities affected, refund thereof where it has already been collected; and removal of punitive police.

It is our deliberate opinion that Sir M. O'Dwyer, General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith, Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan have been guilty of such illegalities that they deserve to be impeached, but we purposely refrain from advising any such course, because we believe that India can only gain by waiving the right. Future purity will be sufficiently guaranteed by the dismissal of the officials concerned.

We believe that Col. MacRae and Capt. Doveton have failed equally with Col. O'Brien and others to carry out their trust, but have purposely refrained from advising any public action against them, as, unlike the others mentioned by us, these two officers, were inexperienced and their brutality was not so studied and calculated as that of the experienced Officers.

M.K. GANDHI
C.R. DAS
ABBAS S. TAYABJI
M.R. JAYAKAR.

* * *

Gandhiji's Advice*

Mahatma Gandhi rose amidst prolonged applause to move the second resolution. It ran as follows:

"This Congress, while fully recognising the grave provocation that led to a sudden outburst of mob frenzy, deeply regrets and condemn the excesses committed in certain parts of the Punjab and

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*The above are the extracts from the speech Mahatma Gandhi delivered while addressing the annual session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar in December, 1919.*
Gujarat resulting in the loss of lives and injury to person and property during the month of April last."

He made a magnificent speech in Hindi in the course of which he said as follows:

"I want to say to my brothers and sisters that I like this resolution. I want to say by this resolution that I am sorry for what was done at Ahmedabad, in the Punjab and other places. I feel no hesitation in expressing my condemnation of the wrongs done by the mob. I want to tell you if the wrongs that were done in April by our brethren were not done, our position today would have been different. The Rowlatt Act would surely not have been on the Statute Book now.

"I admit there were great provocations, but in spite of them our Indian brethren ought not to have done what they did. I refuse to believe that one could serve his country by burning places of worship of a brother or by killing a brother. This resolution is for performing our "Prayashchitta". This is to purify our souls. I am free to admit that it was my own people who were absolutely in the wrong in Viragram, Ahmedabad and Bombay. I am convinced of these wrongs and I am going to speak of them before the Hunter Committee. I want my sisters and brothers to burn in their souls at the sight of wrong even when that wrong has been done by their own countrymen.

I tell my countrymen and the leaders, if you have done anything wrong, come and admit your fault. True heroism consists not in returning wrong for wrong, rather in facing wrong but not submitting to it.

To my brethren of the Punjab, I say, you must suppress your anger and follow the path of truth and justice and then you could be great and become the jewel in the crown of India. India is a "Punyabhumi" and you can make India a holy land only if you follow the path of truth and justice. I have been charged with the holy work of performing "prayashchitta" by moving this resolution and I commend it to your acceptance."

Mahatma Gandhi then addressed a few words in English for the benefit of those who did not understand Hindi. He said: "I say to those who are before me in this assembly and those who occupy the seats of prominence on the platform that to my mind there is no greater resolution before this Congress than this resolution. The whole key to success in future lies in your hearty acceptance of this resolution, your hearty recognition of the truth underlying this
resolution. To the extent we fail to recognise truth, to that extent we are bound to fail in our efforts.

The speech was received with prolonged cheers.

* * *

"Out of Evil Cometh Good"

"It is exactly twelve months today since the ghastly tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh was enacted in Amritsar under circumstances now made perfectly clear to all the world. Outraged humanity today cannot look back without a shudder on the terrible events of a year back and mourn with the relatives of the numerous dead and wounded and sympathise with the unspeakable misery of the terrified spectators. All over the Punjab, all over India, and all over the world where the events of last year at this time are made known a feeling of utter despair is caused by the failure of a civilised government to understand and peacefully govern a people, who by nature are averse to creating troubles of any kind.

The ruthless shooting of hundreds of people in Amritsar and the horror occasioned by it all over the land can never be forgotten. The agony of the men, women and children caused by this and other deeds of wanton cruelty and outrage serves to indicate how unspeakably wicked, how utterly depraved and entirely unrestrained humanity can be in spite of the tons of paint and glitter and gloss it loves to put on itself to advertise its vaunted civilization and culture. History has recorded in the most impressive language possible the errors and follies of individuals in power and the heavy penalties they have paid for them. Indian history likewise is full of events depicting the struggle between the weak and the strong, the humble and the proud and the alternate rise and fall of dynasties and kingdoms all sounding trumpet notes a warning which every one may read and retain in memory, but—alas, forget, at the very moment when it is needed most.

We have no desire to dwell on the painful and bitter memories of the past, however vividly they may appear before us now and however difficult it may be to brush them aside. A month has wrought unexpected changes in the outlook and judgement of men.

*Owing to Martial Law, no newspaper comments on the Jallianwala Bagh incidents could be published in 1919. The above are extracts from an editorial under the heading "The fateful 13th Day of April", which appeared in "The Tribune" a year later, on the first anniversary of the firing.

and happily served to assuage the feelings of the outraged. The events of the Martial Law period and the real causes that led to it have been laid bare before a discriminating public and an appeal is made for an impartial verdict. That verdict has already been given in a way by those whose conscience is clear in favour of the sufferers.

The whole country is demanding the trial and punishment of those officials who were mainly responsible for the crimes of last year. Of the two commissions that were engaged in enquiring into Punjab affairs, one has published its report and the other has submitted its conclusions to the authorities. One result of all these labours is already announced in the departure of both Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, the two men whose names will appear in the pages of history by the side of many others who flourished in the dark and dismal period of human history.

In memory of the tragic and unforgettable events of April last, the scheme of the Jallianwala Memorial is completed and the required funds are pouring in from all quarters of India.

Nor is this all. The 13th of April is even more significant to the world than what appears from the surrounding circumstances and events of the tragic week. It marks the date on which the decay and downfall of bureaucracy as a modern system of government begins in this country. The Amritsar tragedy and the Punjab horrors marked the length of folly and madness to which the bureaucratic system of government under its high priest Sir Michael O'Dwyer, could go. The terrible mistake of April last arose from the policy of distrust and suspicion of the people which underlies all bureaucratic systems of government.

The King's Proclamation came not a day too soon and the release of political prisoners and other conciliatory measures have helped to change the outlook and heal the lacerated heart of the Punjab. Out of evil cometh good, and let us hope that the tragedy of the 13th April, ghastly and repulsive though in its excesses, has served as a copetive in the edifice of the future government of India based on national freedom and will."
Tagore’s Condemnation of Amritsar Massacre*

The third and last public meeting in celebration of the National Week and Jallianwala Bagh Day was held late yesterday night. Mr. Jinnah presiding.

Mr. Gandhi moved the following resolution:—“This meeting of the citizens of Bombay is of opinion that whilst mob excesses at Amritsar, although committed after grave provocation, were worthy of condemnation, the deliberate, and calculated massacre without warning by General Dyer of innocent, unarmed and otherwise defenceless men at Jallianwala Bagh was an unexampled act of barbarity, and hopes that the Government of India and the Imperial Government will take such steps as to render impossible a repetition of such and other similar barbarities committed by responsible officers in the Punjab during the period of Martial Law administration, and hopes that the recommendations made by the Punjab Subcommittee of the Indian National Congress will be carried out in their entirety.”

The resolution was seconded by the Hon’ble Mr. Abdul Kasim and supported by Pandit Ramboj Dutt Chaudhry and Mr. Jamna Dass Dwarka Dass and passed unanimously.

Poet Tagore’s Message

At the outset, the President announced that Poet Rabindranath Tagore was unable to be present but had sent a message which he called upon Mr. C. F. Andrews to read. The message ran as follows:

“A great crime has been done in the name of law in the Punjab, such terrible eruptions of evil leave their legacy of wreckage of ideals behind them. What happened in Jallianwala Bagh was itself a monstrous progeny of a monstrous war which, for four years, had been desiring God’s world with fire and poison physical and moral. The immenseness of the same through which humanity had waded across its blood red length of agony has spread callousness in the minds of those who have power in their hands with no check of sympathy within or fear of resistance without. The cowardliness of the powerful who had no shame in using their machines of frightfulness upon the unarmed villagers and inflicting unspeakable humiliations

*The above account of a public meeting held at Bombay on April 14, 1920, with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the chair, appeared in The Tribune, dated April 16, 1920.
upon their fellow beings behind the screen of an indecent mockery of justice and yet not feeling for a moment that it was the meanest form of insult to their own manhood has become only possible through the opportunity which the late war had given to man for constantly outraging his own higher nature trampling truth and honour under foot. This disruption of the basis of civilization will continue to produce a series of moral earthquakes and men will have to be ready for still further sufferings. That the balance will take a long time to be restored is clearly seen by the suicidal ferocity of vengefulness ominously tinging red the atmosphere of peace deliberations. But we have no place in these orgies of triumphant powers rending the world into lists according to their own purposes. What most concerns us is to know that the moral degradation not only pursues the people, inflicting indignities upon the helpless but also their victims. The dastardliness of cruel injustice confident of its impunity is ugly and mean, but fear and impotent anger which they are apt to bread upon the minds of the weak are no less so.

Brothers, when physical force in its arrogant faith in itself tries to crush the spirit of man, then comes the time for him to assert that his soul had indomitableness. We shall refuse to be afraid and to own moral defeat by cherishing in our hearts soul dreams of retaliation. Time has come for the victims to be the victors in the field of righteousness. When brother spills the blood of his brother and exalts in his own sin, giving it high sounding name, when he tries to keep the blood stain fresh in the soil as a memorial of his anger, then God in shame conceals it under his green grass and the sweet purity of his flower. We, who have witnessed the wholesale slaughter of the innocents in our own neighbourhood, let us accept God’s own office and cover the blood stains of iniquity with our prayer. With them, Gracious O Terrible, for ever save us. For the true grace comes from the Terrible who can save our souls from fear of suffering and death in the very midst of terror and from vindictiveness in defiance of injury. Let us take our lesson from His hand even when the smarting of the pain and insult is still fresh the lesson that all meanness, cruelty and untruth are for the obscurity of oblivion and only the noble and true are for eternity. Let those who wish try to burden the minds of the future with stones carrying the black memory of wrongs and their anger but let us bequeath to the generations to come memorials of that only which we can revere. Let us be grateful to our forefathers who have left us the image of our Buddha, who conquered self, preached forgiveness and spread his love far and wide in time and space.”
Motilal Nehru held O'Dwyer Responsible*

"The saddest and most revealing of all was the great tragedy which occurred here (Jallianwala Bagh) on the Vaisakhi day. No Indian and no true Englishman can hear the story of the Khuni Bagh, as it is now aptly called, without a sickening feeling of horror. One friend, Mr. C. F. Andrews, to whom this province and our country is so much indebted, has described it "as a cold and calculated massacre". He says: 'I have gone into every single detail with all the care and thoroughness that a personal investigation could command and it remains to me an unspeakable disgrace, indefensible, unpardonable, inexcusable.'

Such is the verdict of an Englishman. What words, fellow delegates, can I use to express your feelings and mine whose kith and kin were mercilessly shot down by the hundred in cold blood?

The facts of this incident are before you, they have largely been admitted by the authorities. But I am not aware of any condemnation from the authorities. I do not know of any high official who has protested against this grim occurrence. That is a revelation of official mentality which staggers me. General Dyer, the author of the deed, has almost boasted of his achievement. He has sought to justify it. To him it was 'a merciful act' to fire without warning on an inoffensive crowd because it might have made fun of him if he had refrained from doing so.

His Duty

He admits that he could have dispersed it without firing but that would have been derogatory to his dignity as a defender of law and order. And so, in order to maintain his self-respect, he thought it his duty to 'fire and fire well' till his ammunition was exhausted and 2,000 persons lay dead and wounded. There ended his duty. It was none of his business, he tells us, to look after the dead and wounded. It was no one's business. The defenders of law and order had won a great victory, they had crushed the great rebellion. What more was needed?

This is the deed which received the benedictions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. This is the deed which has been defended by official after official before Lord Hunter's Committee. The plea of necessity is raised, the plea that the massacre produced a good effect on the surrounding districts. We have heard of these excuses before when

* * The above are extracts from Pandit Motilal Nehru's presidential address delivered at the 34th session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar on December 27, 1919.
Louvalin was razed to the ground, when atrocities were committed at Dinaut Termonde. For these crimes against humanity the late Kaiser and his underlings are going to be tried. But General Dyer is secure. His late chief has blessed him and his colleagues in the civil and military administration of this country stand by him and applaud his deed.

Crawling

The shooting in the Jallianwala Bagh was not the only feat which General Dyer performed. His subsequent conduct was no less revealing of his perverted mind. He tells us that he searched his brain for a new punishment, a new terror for the people as General Hudson put it in the Imperial Council to “strike the imagination.” And the punishment that was meted did credit to General Dyer’s ferocity. It was worthy of the days of the inquisition......

Martial Law Cases

I do not intend discussing any of the hundreds of cases disposed of by the Martial Law Commissions and the Summary and Area Courts. They have caused the greatest misery to the people, the suffering which endures. Hundreds still lie in jail, many for having done what no honest man need be ashamed of. You will have some idea of the sentences inflicted when I tell you that 108 persons were sentenced to death and the aggregate sentences of imprisonment amounted to the stupendous total of 737 years and 5 months, allowing 20 years for the sentences of transportation for life. The figures of whipping, forfeitures, fines and impositions, on villages and towns are not yet fully available. Those I have given for imprisonments have been compiled from the official statements presented to the Imperial Council. I am told that even these figures are incomplete and that the official statements do not contain many cases. Many of these sentences have been largely reduced by the present Lieutenant-Governor. Clemency has been shown where justice was needed. Injustice cannot be tempered with mercy. Sir Edward Maclagan is a kindly gentleman who has tried to mitigate the rigours of his predecessor’s regime but he has not had the courage or the wisdom to break through the evil traditions he has inherited...

O’Dwyer’s Role

Such, in briefest outline, is the story of the Punjab. The responsibility of Sir Michael O’Dwyer for much that occurred here is admitted and established beyond doubt. I have endeavoured to show you the whole trend of his administration. It would appear that he was striving to make the Punjab a kind of Ulster in relation to the rest of India, a bulwark of reaction against all reform. “We now
seem to be drifting into what is known as Birrellism in Ireland”, he complained, “truckle to the extremist, encouraging the idea that we are going to hand over the administration to them.” And even in his memorandum on the reforms he could not help lamenting that the Punjab politicians, “hitherto quiescent, were encouraged to assert themselves, and to come into line with other provinces.” To him there was little difference between a constitutional agitator and an anarchist. For both he had the same remedy—repression. But remedy failed him and but increased the disease. And then he played his master card and brought in Martial Law to kill once for all the breed that agitates. He has failed again in his endeavour, but his policy has resulted in death for many and the utmost misery for thousands. For that he is fully responsible. He is responsible for the actions of General Dyer and his military colleagues in Amritsar, he is also responsible for the doings of his subordinates in the other districts under Martial Law.”

* * *

In view of the fact that, in the matter of the events of the April* of 1919, both the said Governments have grossly neglected or failed to protect the innocent people of the Punjab and punish officers guilty of unsoldierly and barbarous behaviour towards them, and have exonerated Sir Michael O’Dwyer who proved himself directly responsible for most of the official crimes and callous to the sufferings of the people placed under his administration, and that the debate in the House of Lords betrayed a woeful lack of sympathy with the people of India, and systematic terrorism and frightfulness adopted in the Punjab, and that the latest Viceroyal pronouncement is proof of entire absence of repentance in the matters of the Khilafat and the Punjab,

this Congress is of opinion that there can be no contentment in India without redress of the two aforementioned wrongs, and that the only effectual means to vindicate national honour and to prevent a repetition of similar wrongs in future is the establishment of Swarajya,

this Congress is further of opinion that there is no course left open for the people of India but to approve of and adopt the policy of progressive non-violent non-co-operation inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi, until the said wrongs are righted and Swarajya established.

And inasmuch as a beginning should be made by the classes

*Resolution on non-co-operation and boycott of the Reformed Councils moved by Gandhiji and passed by the Indian National Congress, 4-9 September, 1920.*
who have hitherto moulded and represented public opinion and
inasmuch as Government consolidates its power through titles and
honours bestowed on the people, through schools controlled by it,
its Law Courts and its Legislative Councils, and inasmuch as it is
desirable in the prosecution of the movement to take the minimum
risk and to call for the least sacrifice compatible with the attain-
ment of the desired object, this Congress earnestly advises,

(a) surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation
from nominated seats in Local Bodies:

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

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

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

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

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

(g) boycott of foreign goods.

And inasmuch as non-co-operation has been conceived as a
measure of discipline and self-sacrifice without which no nation can
make real progress, and inasmuch as an opportunity should be given
in the very first stage of non-co-operation to every man, woman
and child for such discipline and self-sacrifice, this Congress advises
adoption of Swadeshi in piece-goods on a vast scale, and inasmuch
as the existing mills of India with indigenous capital and control do
not manufacture sufficient yarn and sufficient cloth for the require-
ments of the Nation, and are not likely to do so for a long time to
come, this Congress advises immediate stimulation of further manu-
facture on a large scale by means of reviving hand-spinning in
every house and hand-weaving on the part of the millions of weavers
who have abandoned their ancient and honourable calling for want
of encouragement.
"This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-co-operation or in the principle of non-co-operation, but who consider it essential, for the sake of national self-respect, to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning, and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition and to Hindus, to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes."

See also

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS I—IX
CHAPTER XII

JUDICIARY

Note: Judiciary is that branch of the Government in which judicial powers are vested. Its functions are to interpret the law, apply it to individual cases and see that justice is meted out. No court of law can function efficiently, justly and disinterestedly unless it is entirely independent of the executive. In India the separation of the executive from the judiciary has yet to become a fait-accompli. The District Collector exercises both executive and judicial powers. This bench played a very eminent part in trying in the courts those participants in India's struggle for freedom who had broken laws and were sentenced to various terms.

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"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force."

2: 1886: Calcutta: VIII.

* * * * *

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then, for the first time, vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn."

2: 1886: Calcutta: IX.

* * * * *

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision, similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a committal to the Sessions Court), should be introduced into the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions."

2: 1886: Calcutta: X.

* * * * *

"That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction, that a complete separation of executive and
judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.” 2: 1886: Calcutta: XI.

“That this Congress once again places on record an expression of the universal conviction, that a complete separation of the Executive and Judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity and declares that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure.”  
3: 1887: Madras: III.

“That this Congress, having read and considered:
Resolution VIII of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force”. Resolution IX of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872 in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdict of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and the powers then for the first time vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts of setting aside verdicts of acquittal should be at once withdrawn”—

And Resolution X of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

“That, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a committal to the Sessions Court) should be introduced into the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions”—

does now hereby affirm the same respectively”.

4: 1888: Allahabad: III.

“That this Congress having read and considered Resolution XI, of the Congress of 1886, to wit—
“That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity; and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve some extra expenditure”—

and Resolution III of the Congress of 1887, to the same effect, does now hereby affirm the same respectively.”

4 : 1888 : Allahabad : III.

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“That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

(a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of the executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;

(b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;

(c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;

(d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;

(f) the expediency of both establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis;

(g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount;

(h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of dimini-
shing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches; and the necessity, in view to the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a Mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;

(i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country;

(j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India;

(k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act), that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licences to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle, or crops; and that these and all licences issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial Jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.”

“6: 1890: Calcutta: II.

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“That this Congress, seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve extra expenditure.”

8: 1892: Allahabad: III.

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“That this Congress having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of the gravest stigmas on British rule in India, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each province, of a Committee (one half at least, of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and
experience in the workings of the various courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own province with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Government officials thereon, to himself, at some early date which he may be pleased to fix.”

“That this Congress regrets to notice that the Secretary of State for India in his recent despatch to the Government of India has enunciated the doctrine that occasions may arise in which it may be the duty of the Executive Government to criticise Judicial errors, the Congress being of opinion that such criticism is calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the independence of Judicial tribunals.”

“That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now come to raise the status of the Chief Court of the Punjab to that of a Chartered High Court in the interest of the administration of Justice in that Province.”

“That this Congress views with great dissatisfaction the system of recruiting the higher Judicial Service of the country, and is of opinion that provision should be made for proper Judicial training being given to persons who are appointed to the post of District and Sessions Judge, and that the higher Judicial Service in Bengal, the N.W.P. and Oudh, Bombay and Madras, and the Judicial Service generally in other parts of the country, should be more largely recruited from the legal profession than is now the case.”

“(c) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions.”

“That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India which, the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once
again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform. In this connection the Congress desires to record its deep regret at the death of Mr. Mon Mohun Ghose who made this question the subject of his special study."

12: 1896: Calcutta: III.

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"That this Congress having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of Trial by Jury, and to the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, and concurring with previous Congress, is of opinion that Trial by Jury should be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply, and that the verdicts should be final."

12: 1896: Calcutta: VII.

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"That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating:

(a) Persistent pressure by the Government of India on all Provincial Administrations to induce them to carry out in its integrity the excise policy enunciated in paragraphs 103, 104 and 105 of the Despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of effective local option;

(b) The introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they may be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(c) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, or visitors to India without distinction of creed, caste or colour; to ensure the liberal concession of licences wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and to make all licences, granted under the revised rules, of life-long tenure, revocable only on proof of misuse, and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued;

(d) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian army;"
(e) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India;

(f) The discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation Allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employers of Government;

(g) The abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India;

(h) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature and a Provincial Legislative Council in the Punjab;

(i) The withdrawal of the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in Territories under British administration in Native States, as being retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people.”

12: 1896: Calcutta: XI.

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“That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.”

13: 1897: Amrooti: VIII.

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“That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress once again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.”

14: 1898: Madras: X.

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“That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the Judicial from the executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of
State in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition, which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform."

"That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd-Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of State in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes that the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition, which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform."

"That the Congress once again records its deliberate opinion that the separation of judicial and executive functions is necessary in the interests of righteous and efficient administration of justice; the Congress is supported in this opinion by high and distinguished authorities, intimately familiar with the administration of criminal justice in India, such as Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir William Markby, Sir James Jardine, Mr. Reynolds and others. This Congress understands that the question is now under the consideration of the Government of India; and having regard to the soundness of the principle involved, the unanimity of public sentiment on the subject and above all to the numerous instances of failure of justice resulting from the combination of judicial and executive functions, this Congress appeals to the Government of India to introduce this much-needed reform which has been too long delayed partly through the fear of loss of prestige and the weakening of the Executive Government, but chiefly on the score of expense which, it is believed, will not be heavy and which in any case ought not to be an insurmountable difficulty."

"That this Congress is strongly of opinion that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be strengthened so far as appeals from India are concerned and this Congress respectfully
ventures to suggest that Indian lawyers of eminence should be appointed as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the determination of appeals from India."  

"That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take early practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of judicial and executive functions in the administration of criminal justice, the desirability of which has been frequently admitted on behalf of Government. In this connection, the Congress regrets to notice that the trend of recent legislation is not only to deprive the judiciary of its salutary and wholesome power of check and restraint over the executive but to invest the executive with greater and uncontrolled powers."

"That this Congress is of opinion that the present system, under which a very large proportion of the District Judgeships, Joint-Judgeships and Assistant Judgeships, are filled by Covenanted Civilians without any special legal training, and without adequate guarantee of the knowledge of law necessary for the satisfactory discharge of the very important and responsible judicial duties entrusted to them, is injurious to the best interests of efficient judicial administration in the mofussil and that it is urgently necessary to devise means to ensure a higher standard of efficiency in the administration of law by securing the services of trained lawyers for the said posts."

"This Congress is strongly of opinion that the High Courts in India should have the same direct relation with the Government of India alone as the High Court at Fort William in Bengal has at the present time."

"That this Congress is strongly of opinion that all the High Courts of India, inclusive of non-chartered High Courts, should have the same direct relation with the Government of India alone, as the High Court of Fort William in Bengal has at the present time. The Congress is, further, of opinion that the Chief Judge of unchartered High Courts should be appointed from the members of the bar."

17:1901: Calcutta: V.

18:1902: Ahmedabad: XI.

18:1902: Ahmedabad: XII.

27:1912: Bankipur: XVII.

28:1913: Karachi: XII.
"This Congress, concurring with the previous Congresses, urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the best interests of the Empire, and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken, to be really effective, must place all the Judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every Province."  

29:1914:Madras:XIV.

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"This Congress re-affirms its resolution that it is desirable to invest the Chief Courts of the Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces with the status and powers of Chartered High Courts and while praying that early steps may be taken by the Secretary of State for India for the introduction of this urgent reform, regrets that the recommendations of the Local Government and the Government of India in that behalf in regard to the Punjab have been rejected by the Secretary of State."  

30:1915:Bombay:XV.

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KHADI

See

COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

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CHAPTER XIII

KHILAFAT MOVEMENT

Note: Khilafat was a campaign in defence of the Caliph of Turkey. After the armistice in 1918 it was feared that the Caliph would be deprived of his powers. Distressed at this prospect, the Muslims of India marshalled all their resources to impress on the British Government that the continued existence of the Caliphate (Khilafat) as a temporal no less than spiritual institution was the very essence of their faith. The peace terms crippled the power of Turkey and the deepest religious feelings of the Muslims were outraged. As a result there was considerable unrest and dissatisfaction in India also. In March, 1920 a day of national mourning was fixed. The Indian National Congress supported the Muslim contention, and under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, a non-violent non-co-operation campaign was launched.

The Khilafat agitation which was very strong in the Malabar district took a violent turn. Some Moplahs perpetrated atrocities against the Hindus of that district. This naturally created bitterness amongst the Hindus all over India and consequently there took place communal riots in Multan, Shahabad, Bombay, Kanpur, Kartarpur and other places. Swami Shraddhanand, who once was an eminent leader of the non-co-operation movement led by Mahatma Gandhi, started the Shuddhi movement which was criticised both by Congressmen and the Muslims. The Muslims on their side started the Tabligh and Tanzim movements. The entire country was in the grip of communal riots, cold murders and hatred among the members of two eminent communities in India. After all reasonable efforts to bring unity through the All Parties' Conference, the Nehru Report and the personal conversations among the leaders, the result was the rejection by the Muslim League at its Lahore Session the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its Madras Session. Some historians believe that the Khilafat movement which brought unity between the two communities for couple of years, sowed the seeds of disunity and disharmony which ultimately resulted in the partition of India in 1947.
"This Congress respectfully protests against the hostile attitude of some of the British Ministers towards the Turkish and Khilafat question as disclosed by their utterances and most earnestly appeals to and urges upon His Majesty’s Government to settle the Turkish question in accordance with the just and legitimate sentiments of Indian Mussalmans and the solemn pledges of the Prime Minister without which there will be no real contentment among the people of India.”

34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : XV.

"This Congress appeals to all those who do not believe in full non-cooperation or in the principle of non-cooperation, but who consider it essential, for the sake of national self-respect, to demand and insist upon the redress of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, and for the sake of full national self-expression, to insist upon the immediate establishment of Swaraj, to render full assistance to the nation in the promotion of unity between different religious communities, to popularise carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving from its economical aspect and as a cottage industry necessary in order to supplement the resources of millions of agriculturists who are living on the brink of starvation, and to that end preach and practise the use of hand-spun and hand-woven garments, to help the cause of total prohibition and if Hindus, to bring about the removal of untouchability and to help the improvement of the condition of the submerged classes." 36 : 1921 : Ahmedabad : II.

"This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha and the Turks upon their successes and assures the Turkish nation of India’s sympathy and support in its struggle to retain its status and independence.”

36 : 1921 : Ahmedabad : IV.

"This Congress congratulates Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha and the Turkish Nation on their recent successes and further records the determination of the people of India to carry on the struggle till the British Government has done all in its power and removed all its own obstacles to the restoration of the Turkish Nation to free and independent status and the conditions necessary for unhampered national life and effective guardianship of Islam and the Jaziratul-Arab freed from all non-Muslim control.”

37 : 1922 : Gaya : V.

"In view of the serious situation in the Near East which threatens the integrity of the Khilafat and Turkish Government and in view of the determination of the Hindus, Mussalmans and all other
people of India to prevent any such injury, this Congress resolves that the Working Committee do take steps in consultation with the Khilafat Working Committee in order to secure united action by the Hindus, Mussalmans and others, to prevent exploitation of India for any such unjust cause and to deal with the situation."

37 : 1922 : Gaya : IX.

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The Khilafat Movement and After*

"By the time the next session of the League met in December 1918 in Delhi where the Congress also held its session much had happened in the country and in the world. Mr. Montague had visited India and in conjunction with Lord Chelmsford the Viceroy prepared his report about reforms in pursuance of the declaration of British policy made in August 1917. The War had ended in favour of the Allies and against Germany and Turkey. The defeat of Turkey had brought into prominence certain problems, which affected the Mussalmans of India. While the war was going on British spokesmen had given assurances that Turkey would be fairly treated after the War and nothing would be done which would adversely affect the Muslim Holy places in Arabia and Mesopotamia. Although it was not yet quite clear what the terms to be imposed on Turkey would be the Mussalmans were agitated over the incidents which had occurred in Arabia under British investigation resulting in the Arabs asserting their independence of Turkey. Other incidents like the suppression of riots with a strong hand at Kanpur and the proscription of the speech of Dr. M. A. Ansari as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Delhi Session of the League had served only to exacerbate Muslim feelings. The Ulama reappeared on the political stage of Indian Mussalmans and began to take a leading part in their political movement. The League demanded the application of self-determination to India.

"The peace proposals falsified the promises held out to Indian Mussalmans. The Holy Places of Islam appeared to come under the control of non-Muslims as a result of weakening of the Khilafat. The Khilafat movement in India was a movement of protest against the Allies particularly the British and in support of the Khilafat. The Hindus under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi lent their whole-hearted support to the Khilafat movement. The anti-Turkish policy of the British Government armed even Mr.

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*Rajendra ad. India Dīvī mbay. Hind ta 4 page 113
Montague, the Secretary of State for India; and Lord Reading the Viceroy in a telegram urged the evacuation of Constantinople, the suzerainty of the Sultan over the Holy Places and the restoration of Ottoman, Thrace and Smyrna. The publication of this telegram at a time when negotiations were going on, resulted in the resignation of Mr. Montague. The feeling in India became more and more embittered and with a view to concentrating attention on the subject the Central Khilafat Committee was formed with branches all over the country. The Ulema under the leadership of Maulana Mahmudul Hassan Sheikhu-Hind established Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind. Deputations were sent to England to impress upon the authorities the strength of Indian Muslim sentiments in favour of the Khilafat and to plead that nothing should be done to bring about its dismemberment or to weaken its position as a power for the protection of the Holy Places of Islam. The failure of the deputation and the progress of the peace negotiations making it abundantly clear that the Allies were not to be deterred by the Muslim sentiment from their determination to impose a harsh treaty on Turkey even against pledges given, made a countrywide upheaval inevitable. The Khilafat Conference and the Jamait-ul-Ulema-i-Hind hereafter became the most active and influential organisation of the Mussalmans and continued leading them for some years. The League used to have its session side by side with the session of the Congress and these organisations used to be presided over by the most progressive nationalists among the Muslims like Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and the Ali Brothers.

*KISAN AGITATION*

See

AGRICULTURE AND LAND REFORMS

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS—I-IX.
CHAPTER IV

LABOUR AND LABOUR CLASSES

Note:— Among the volunteers who took major part in India's struggle for freedom were mostly among the workers employed in mills, peasants, and students. The Indian National Congress, therefore, passed many resolutions for the betterment of the lot of these people. In the following are given a few important documents.

Documents

"That the Government of India be moved, once for all, to put a stop, by new and express legislation (the existing provisions of the Penal Code having proved inoperative) to the existing oppressive system of forced labour (known as Begar) and forced contributions of supplies (known as Rasad) which, despite numerous Resolutions of the Government of India, are still prevalent throughout India."

9 : 1893 : Lahore : XVI.

"That the Congress respectfully submits that the provisions of the Indian Mines Bill, so far as they impose restrictions on the employment of labour, be omitted, and that the penal provisions thereof may not be put in force for a period of 5 years, and that, in the meantime, mining schools be opened in suitable centres where young men may qualify themselves for employment under the Act."

16 : 1900 : Lahore : XXV.

"That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for its benevolent intentions, regrets that immediate effect has not been given to the proposal made by the Government itself to enhance the coolies' wages in Assam, although such a course was strongly insisted on by the Chief Commissioner and was imperatively demanded by the plainest considerations of justice to the coolies; and this Congress is further of opinion that the time has come when the Government should redeem its pledge to do away with all penal legislation for labour in Assam."

17 : 1901 : Calcutta : XIII.

"That owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave results from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the
labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere."

"Owing to the scarcity of labour in India, and the grave consequences resulting from the system of indentured labour, which reduces the labourers, during the period of their indenture, practically to the position of slaves, this Congress strongly urges the total prohibition of recruitment of labour under indenture, either for work in India or elsewhere."

"This Congress re-affirms its Resolution passed at its last session against the system of Indentured Labour and urges its abolition as early as possible, the system being a form of slavery which socially and politically debases the labourers and is seriously detrimental to the economic and moral interests of the country."

"This Congress is of opinion that the report of the Inter-Departmental Committee which recently sat in London to consider the question of indentured labour is not calculated to deal with the evils of indentured labour. This Congress is further of opinion that nothing short of complete abolition of indentured labour, whether described as such or otherwise, can effectively meet the evils which have been admitted by all concerned to have done irreparable harm to the labourers, and this Congress records its grateful appreciation of the services rendered to the cause by Mr. C. F. Andrews who at considerable risk to health journeyed to the Fiji Isles, and is still labouring for the welfare of the Indians residing in those Isles."

"This Congress urges its Provincial Committees and other affiliated associations to promote Labour Unions throughout the country with the view of improving social, economic and political conditions of the labouring classes and securing for them a fair standard of living and a proper place in the body politic of India."

"Whereas this Congress is of opinion that Indian Labour should be organised with a view to improve and promote their
well-being and secure to them their just rights and also to prevent exploitation of Indian Labour and of Indian resources, it is resolved that this Congress, while welcoming the move made by the All India Trade Union Congress and various Kisan Sabhas in organising the workers of India, hereby appoints the following committee with power to co-opt, to assist the Executive Council of the All India Trade Union Congress for the organisation of Indian Labour, both agricultural and industrial.”

37 : 1922 : Gaya : XIII.

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“The Congress notes with sorrow and alarm the frequent occurrence of accidents in the collieries of Bengal and Bihar resulting in every case in the loss of numerous human lives, widespread misery among survivors and irreparable waste of a great deal of India’s mineral wealth. In the opinion of the Congress such accidents are preventable and demonstrate the inefficiency of the State, and utter incompetence of the owners and managers of these collieries and their indifference to human suffering. It is necessary that effective measures be immediately undertaken by further legislation and the stricter and more vigilant enforcement of rules and regulations to prevent such accidents. The owners of collieries should be made liable to exemplary damages to be paid to sufferers from such accidents and their heirs.”

50 : 1936 (Dec.) : Faizpur : XI.

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“The Railway workers on the State-owned Railways, and their organisations supported by the public have been demanding a court of inquiry into the question of Railway retrenchment in general and the question of the reduction of the pay of the lower grades of Railway service in particular. The Government and the Railway Board have persistently ignored this just and legitimate demand. This Congress is of opinion that even now if such a court of inquiry is instituted the present strike on the B. N. Rly. can be amicably settled.

This Congress congratulates the workers on the B. N. Rly. on their solidarity and the brave stand they have made against the repeated invasions on their rights. The Congress hopes that the public will extend to the strikers their full support and sympathy.”

50 : 1936 (Dec.) : Faizpur : XII.
The Working Committee view with deep concern the intense and widespread labour unrest which has in recent months involved numerous industries and services in the country in large-scale and prolonged stoppages, entailing heavy material loss and serious hardships to the community as well as the working class. The Committee are aware of the fact that the labour upheaval through which the country has been passing is largely occasioned by the serious privations to which the workers have been subjected in consequence of the tremendous economic maladjustments created by the war, especially the excessive rise in the cost of living that has remained uncompensated to a very large extent. The Committee are further of opinion that the labour troubles in the country have been aggravated by the total absence of a well-defined national plan or policy in dealing with the claims of this class, by the delay in redressing grievances by means of conciliation, arbitration, and adjudication, and by the confusion arising out of the un-co-ordinated action taken in the matter in different parts of the country. The sympathy of the Congress with the working class in its struggle to improve its economic position and its status is too well-known to require reiteration and, in furtherance of this, the Committee urge on Governments and employers in the country to take early steps to satisfy the legitimate needs and aspirations of the working class and to remove every cause of genuine discontent by arranging for an impartial examination of the conditions and complaints of the employees and by prompt settlement of points of disagreement by processes of conciliation and arbitration.

The Committee feel further that it is necessary in the general interest to point out that avoidable strikes cannot have the backing of public opinion, and in view of the dire need of the country for more goods and services, hasty or ill-conceived stoppages and the refusal to take advantage of the available means of settlement by negotiation, conciliation and arbitration, constitute a distinct disservice to the community and the working class itself.

The Committee in this connection emphasize that in particular industries and services, which are essential for the existence of the community and on which the continuity of public administration depends, should be immune from dislocation by strikes and lockouts and all disputes between the employees and employers (including governments) should be finally settled by arbitration and adjudication.

The Committee have also, with regret, to take note of the
growing lack of discipline and disregard of obligations on the part of the workers which have become evident in some recent labour disputes, and would stress the need for discipline and respect for the rights and requirements of others and of the community as a whole as the indispensable foundation of a strong trade union movement and the basis of economic progress and orderly social life.

The Committee understand that the undesirable features of the labour situation are due in part to the efforts of certain individuals and sections to exploit the ignorance of the workers and the need of the community for ulterior aims, political or other, and this makes it all the more incumbent on congressmen to develop further contacts with labour and serve its cause to the best of their ability, and to discriminate between occasions on which labour-action deserves their support and those which call for restraint or dissuasion.

While the means suggested by the Working Committee for improving the relations between employees and employers and for promoting amicable settlement of disputes will help to relieve the situation, the Committee are convinced that the inflated level of prices which still persists is retarding the restoration of normal economic conditions, and is leading to a vicious race between prices and wages, accentuating the existing difficulties, and that no lasting solution of these difficulties will be available so long as definite policy regarding a future price structure does not take shape and an orderly and just basis is not provided for the economic relations in the country. While these fundamental problems can be handled only by a Central Government the Committee feel that such integration of policy and action in this matter as is possible in the provincial sphere should be attempted immediately."

W.C. : August 8-13, 1946 : Wardha : VII.

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Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh

"Whereas the Congress has to play an increasingly active role in helping the working class to organize itself on sound and healthy lines, to achieve its rightful place in industry and society and to make a progressive contribution towards raising the economic and social standards in this country, the Committee have come to the conclusion that a central agency should be provided to encourage, support and co-ordinate the efforts and activities of Congressmen in the field of Labour Organization and the service of the working class. The Committee note with satisfaction that the Hindustan
Mazdoor Sevak Sangh has been functioning in this field for a number of years, and has built up a policy, tradition and machinery well calculated to advance and fulfil the aims which the Congress has in view in relation to labour. The Committee recommended to Congressmen to make the fullest use of the facilities provided by the Sangh for the service of the working class, and to accept its guidance in dealing with labour questions.

In order to give effect to the above resolution a Committee consisting of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Lala Gulzarilal Nanda and P. H. Patwardhan be appointed to confer with the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh and report to the Working Committee."

W. C. : August 8-13, 1946 : Wardha : IX.

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**Labour Sub-Committee Report**

"The Report dated 20th November, 1946 of the Labour Sub-Committee appointed by the Working Committee on 13th August, 1946, was considered. It was decided to postpone consideration and decision till the next meeting of the Working Committee."

W.C. : Nov. 21-22, 1946 : Meerut : IV.

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**Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh**

"The letter of Shri G. L. Nanda and the following resolution passed by the Council of Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh were placed before the Working Committee.

"The Constitution of the Sangh be revised to introduce the principle of election in the case of local and provincial branches, which have been functioning regularly for a period of not less than two years. Every member who has signed the pledge of the Sangh can be a voter in the primary election. The Central Board and the Working Committee will also be constituted by election."

It was resolved that the resolution should be sent to the members of the Committee appointed by the Working Committee by its resolution dated 13th August, 1946 and they be asked whether now after this resolution of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh they will recommend to the Working Committee to give effect to its resolution on recognition being given to the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh."

W.C. : May 1-4, 1947 : Delhi : III.
Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh

"The Working Committee considered the letter of Shri G. L. Nanda and passed the following resolution:—

"As the Constitution of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh has been democratised, the Working Committee decides that its previous resolution of August 1946 be now given effect to."

W.C. : May 31-June 5, 1947 : Delhi : IV.

* * *

I.N.T.U.C.

"The Committee considered representations received in connection with work in labour by Congressmen and Congress Committees. They passed the following resolution:—

In view of the fact that the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution in August, 1946, recommending to Congressmen to make the fullest use of the facilities provided by the Mazdoor Sevak Sangh for the service of the Working Class and to accept its guidance in dealing with labour questions and the subsequent resolution of the Working Committee in July, 1947, confirming its previous recommendation and further in view of the fact that the Sangh has recently extended its support to the newly organised I.N.T.U.C. whose aims and policy are in consonance with those of the Congress regarding labour, the Working Committee recommend to all Congressmen to get those unions which they are organising and of which they are members, affiliated to the newly formed Indian National Trade Union Congress."


* * *

Labour

"The Working Committee considered the note on Labour submitted to it by Shri Gulzarilal Nanda. It was decided that a Labour Department be created in the A.I.C.C. Office.

The Working Committee appointed the following Committee for the purpose of directing and co-ordinating Congress work in the entire field of labour. The following are the members of the Committee:—

1. Dr. Rajendra Prasad
2. Shri Sankarrao Deo
3. Shri Gulzarilal Nanda
4. Prof. N. G. Ranga
5. Shri Sampurnanand."


* * *

"The National Congress has always stood for the rights of the working class and for ending exploitation in every shape or form. Even while engaged in a life and death struggle to achieve the freedom of the country, it never lost sight of its essential duty of protecting and advancing the vital interests of the worker, whether in the field or in the factory. Mahatma Gandhi’s successful intervention in the Ahmedabad Textile Labour Dispute in 1918 ushered a new era in the peaceful settlement of industrial disputes between organised labour and capital. Congress Committees as well as individual Congressmen have worked ceaselessly in the service of the working class and have held aloft the ideal of securing social justice to the worker. The growth and development of Trade Unionism in this country owes much to the active sympathy, support and guidance of leading Congressmen and the Congress organisation.

With the achievement of independence, the task of more direct and active participation in the programme of ameliorating the condition of the working class devolves more squarely on this great national organisation. Believing that political freedom is the fountain-head of all other freedoms, social and economic, the Congress concentrated the bulk of its energies on the elimination of imperialistic exploitation. Now that independence has been achieved the Congress calls upon its members and its constituent bodies to take more active interest in the labour-field, to strengthen their links with the workers in fields and factories and to promote just relations between labour and management.

This Congress appreciates the progressive policy of labour legislation undertaken by the Central and Provincial Governments laying the foundations of social security and adopting other measures calculated to safeguard and promote the interests of industrial labour. It calls upon the Provincial Governments to pursue with vigour, and complete within the shortest possible time the programme of improving the lot of the agricultural labour already initiated by the Central Government through the Minimum Wages Act.

The Congress is aware of and fully sympathises with the difficulties and hardships of the workers due to various causes and yet appeals to them to take a realistic and responsible view of the critical situation through which the country is passing and not to
be swayed by destructive ideologies leading to greater strife, chaos and discord. The Congress further warns the workers against the organised attempts to exploit the working classes for narrow political ends in the utter disregard of the vital needs and basic interests of the country.

While appreciating the timely move of the Central Government to establish Industrial Truce this Congress asks both capital and labour to work whole-heartedly in the maintenance of peace and good relations in industry. This Congress is of the opinion that uninterrupted and expanding production is a vital and indispensable pre-condition for relieving the present hardship of the people and for raising the standard of living of the workers. Any slowing down or suspension of work for even a short period in industry or transport anywhere in the country would greatly hamper recovery, add to the already heavy burden of miseries of the people and prove exceedingly detrimental to the interests of the workers themselves.

The Congress fully admits that adequate incentives must be offered to the workers so that they can fully cooperate with the nation’s drive for increased production. In this connection this Congress approves of the recommendation of the Economic Programme Committee of the A.I.C.C. on fixation of fair wages and fair profits and the scheme of profit-sharing for labour in industry and calls upon the Central and Provincial Governments to take effective and early steps to implement these recommendations.”

55: 1948 : Jaipur : XII.

* * *

*Labour and Housing*

“Low productivity is a conspicuous feature of large-scale industry in this country and is adversely affecting the interests of the consumers as well as of the workers themselves. The appointment of working parties by the Central Government for effecting rationalisation on comprehensive lines in certain industries with due safeguards for the interests of labour is a welcome step. This process should be expedited and extended to other industries.

Special attention should be given to the improvement of conditions of work and better provision of amenities like drinking water and sanitary arrangements.

Considerable unemployment has arisen in certain industries owing to closure of mills and the retrenchment of a number of employees. Steps should be taken to avoid unemployment as far as possible. Where it becomes inevitable safeguards should be provided for the employees in the shape of suitable gratuity in the case of retrenchment and facilities for absorption in other establishments or occupations. A proposal for retrenchment by an employer should, however, when dispute arises be subject to the approval of the agency to be set up by the State Governments.

Progress of industrial housing under the scheme announced by the Central Government has so far been negligible. It is imperative in the interests of raising industrial efficiency and for ensuring industrial peace that large-scale construction of houses for industrial workers should be undertaken without delay. Any hindrances in the way of the execution of such a programme should be removed."

* Unemployment*

"The aim of a Welfare State is to provide full employment to the people. An important test of national planning with a view to realise a Welfare State must, therefore, be progressively fuller employment of the people. The A.I.C.C. recognises that as the implementation of the Five-Year Plan proceeds the benefits in terms of employment will grow. Nevertheless the Committee expresses its concern at the increase in unemployment in certain fields of economic activity notwithstanding the fact that generally there has been an upward trend of production both agricultural and industrial during the last 18 months. While the starting of new industries and public works has increased to some extent the volume of employment the difficulties of large number of people in seeking employment have been accentuated. Employment is influenced to some extent by fluctuations in business resulting from changes in the international situation and other factors. But the major cause of unemployment is the insufficient expansion of opportunities of work in relation to the increasing population of the country. In view of the under-developed condition of the country this deficiency can be made up

only by a vigorous, adequate and many-sided programme of economic development.

The situation, therefore, requires a re-examination of the Plan with a view to its expansion more especially in such directions as would lead to an increase in the volume of employment."

"The State must accept an increasingly active and positive role in regard to the development of industries. Such obstacles as exist in the implementation of the Five Year Plan should be removed by the Central or State Governments concerned. In particular, the State must assume a larger degree of responsibility in regard to cottage and small-scale industries by developing particular lines of production and the channels of distribution and in providing technical financial and other assistance. The success of cottage and small-scale industries depends upon constant improvements in the skill of the workers and the techniques of manufacture. Facilities of training should, therefore, be provided especially in rural areas for this purpose. The success of small-scale industries depends upon the adoption of the cooperative method. Cooperative societies should, therefore, be organised for cottage and small-scale industries.

Where unemployment becomes aggravated owing to special circumstances the State should undertake programmes of work including public works of different kinds in order to give relief and greater purchasing power to the people.

The problem of employment for those who receive education in schools and colleges is also becoming increasingly difficult. The number of such persons has increased out of proportion to the possible openings of the kind sought by them in present conditions and the quality and kind of education which they receive is in many cases not well adapted to the present requirements. The educational system should, therefore, be organised from this point of view and the admission to the public services should depend on special tests and merit and ability and not merely the possession of degrees."

See also

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

LAND REVENUE

See

AGRICULTURE AND LAND REFORMS
LANGUAGE QUESTION
See
NATIONAL LANGUAGE
* * *
LEGISLATION
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
* * *
LEGISLATION PROCEDURE
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
* * *
LIBERAL PARTY
See
POLITICAL PARTIES—LIBERALS
* * *
LOCAL-SELF GOVERNMENT
See
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
* * *
MARTIAL LAW
See
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE MOVEMENTS—I—IX
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS
JALLIANWALA BAGH
* *
CHAPTER XV

MINORITIES

Note: In India there live Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, Buddhists and people of other faiths. The British Government, as many historians believe, made full use of their already existing differences and tried, for their own interest, to widen them to the extent that they almost forgot, that India was a nation. The facts show that these differences among the people of India have been the real cause of her disunity and if something is not done, it is believed, that India will not be able to retain her political unity.

The word "Minorities" is the result of the state of affairs stated above. In other words, it is the by-product of the British Government's 'Divide and Rule' policy. It is believed that the word 'minorities' came into prominence in Indian politics after the publication of Minto-Morley Scheme of Reforms. Nationalist leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and few others who realized the dangerous consequences of creating these artificial barriers among the people made all efforts in vain for communal harmony. Ultimately India was partitioned mainly on Communal reasons.

The hatred against each other which the British Government planted fifty years ago in the minds of the members of so-called "minorities" now has grown into a mighty Kikar tree. Even after the rule by the National Government for sixteen years, the facts show that the differences have been widened than they were during the British Regime. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his inaugural speech which he delivered on 1st April, 1962 at an informal Meet of writers organised by Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi confirmed this view.

The revival of the Muslim League, organization of a few Communal organisations, the Assam and the Jabalpur Communal riots and the decisions taken at Amritsar by the Akali Party on May 28, 1961 are a few examples which show that at least on the issues like the "Minorities" and the "Linguistic Provinces" we are almost treading the same path which the British Government laid down for us.

It is heartening that the National Integration Committee was appointed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session which met at Bhavnagar. If the recommendations of the Com-
mittee are implemented in the right earnest there is some hope for communal unity.

For essential documents of the National Integration Committee readers are referred to Chapter on:

**NATIONAL INTEGRATION**

This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience."

32 : 1917 : Calcutta : XV.

"The proportion of Mohammedans in the Legislative Councils and the Legislative Assembly as laid down in the Congress-League Scheme must be maintained."

33 : (Special) : 1918 : Bombay : VII.

"The Congress congratulates the Akalis on the patient endurance and courage with which they are carrying on their struggle for gurudwara reform and hopes that these qualities of theirs will withstand and survive the insidious attempts now being made by the Punjab Government to crush the spirit of the brave Akalis.

The Congress views with horror and indignation the report of over one hundred deaths among the Akali prisoners in Nabha jail and expresses the strongest disapproval of the refusal of the Nabha authorities to permit the Akali Repression Enquiry Committee, appointed by the Congress Working Committee to visit the jail. The Congress is of opinion that the phenomenal mortality among the prisoners is proof of inhuman conduct of the authorities towards the prisoners.

The Congress tenders its respectful sympathy to the bereaved families."

39 : 1924 : Belgaum : XI.

"Inasmuch as propaganda is said to be going on in the Frontier Province that the Congress does not mean well by them and it is desirable that the Congress should take steps to dispel this suspicion, this Congress hereby places on record its opinion that in any constitutional scheme the N.W.F. Province shall have the same form of government as the other provinces in India."

45 : 1931 Karachi : XII.
Reservation of Posts for Minorities and Backward Classes
Government of India, Home Department Resolution
Dated 4 July 1934*
Section I. General

In accordance with undertakings given in the Legislative Assembly, the Government of India have carefully reviewed the results of the policy followed since 1925 of reserving a certain percentage of direct appointments to Government service for the redress of communal inequalities. It has been represented that though this policy was adopted mainly with the object of securing increased representation for Muslims in the Public Services, it has failed to secure for them their due share of appointments, and it has been contended that this position cannot be remedied unless a fixed percentage of vacancies is reserved for Muslims. In particular, attention has been drawn to the small number of Muslims in the Railway Service, even on those railways which run through areas in which Muslims form a high percentage of the total population.

The review of the position has shown that these complaints are justified, and the Government of India are satisfied by the inquiries they have made that the instructions regarding recruitment must be revised with a view to improving the position of Muslims in the Services.

2. In considering this general question the Government of India have also to take into account the claims of the Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans and of the Depressed Classes. Anglo-Indians have always held a large percentage of appointments in certain branches of the Public Service, and it has been recognized that in view of the degree to which the community has been dependent on this employment, steps must be taken to prevent in the new conditions anything in the nature of a rapid displacement of Anglo-Indians from their existing position, which might occasion a violent dislocation of the economic structure of the community. The instructions which follow in regard to the employment of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans in certain departments are designed to give effect to this policy.

3. In regard to the Depressed Classes it is common ground that all reasonable steps should be taken to secure for them a fair degree of representation in the Public Services. The intention of the caste Hindus in this respect was formally stated in the Poona

Agreement of 1932 and His Majesty's Government in accepting that agreement took due note of this point. In the present state of general education in these classes the Government of India consider that no useful purpose will be served by reserving for them a definite percentage of vacancies out of the number available for Hindus as a whole, but they hope to ensure that duly qualified candidates from the Depressed Classes are not deprived of fair opportunities of appointment merely because they cannot succeed in open competition.

4. The Government of India have also considered carefully the position of minority communities other than those mentioned above and are satisfied that the new rules will continue to provide them, as at present, a reasonable degree of representation in the Services.

5. The Government of India propose to prescribe annual returns in order to enable them to watch the observance of the rules laid down below.

Section II. Scope of Rules

6. The general rules which the Government of India have with the approval of the Secretary of State adopted with the purpose of securing these objects are explained below. They relate only to direct recruitment and not to recruitment by promotion, which will continue to be made as at present solely on merit. They apply to the Indian Civil Service, the Central Services, Class I and Class II, and the Subordinate Services under the administrative control of the Government of India, with the exception of a few services and posts for which high technical or special qualifications are required, but do not apply to recruitment for these Services in the Province of Burma. In regard to the railways, they apply to all posts other than those of inferior servants or labourers on the four State-managed railways and the administrations of the Company-managed railway will be asked to adopt similar rules for the Services in these railways.

Section III. Rules for Services recruited on an all-India basis

7. (1) For the Indian Civil Service and the Central and Subordinate Services, to which recruitment is made on an all-India basis, the following rules will be observed:

(i) Twenty-five per cent of all vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment of Indians will be reserved for Muslims and 8½ per cent for other minority communities.
(ii) When recruitment is made by open competition, if Muslims or the other minority communities obtain less than these percentages, these percentages will be secured to them by means of nomination; if, however, Muslims obtain more than their reserved percentage in open competition, no reduction will be made in the percentage reserved for other minorities, while if the other minorities obtain more than their reserved percentage in open competition no reduction will be made in the percentage reserved for Muslims.

(iii) If members of the other minority communities obtain less than their reserved percentage in open competition and if duly qualified candidates are not available for nomination, the residue of the 8½ per cent will be available for Muslims.

(iv) The percentage of 8½ reserved for the other minorities will not be distributed among them in any fixed proportion.

(v) In all cases a minimum standard of qualification will be imposed, and the reservations are subject to this condition.

(vi) In order to secure fair representation for the Depressed Classes duly qualified members of these classes may be nominated to a Public Service, even though recruitment to that Service is being made by competition. Members of these classes, if appointed by nomination, will not count against the percentages reserved in accordance with clause (i) above.

(2) For the reason given in paragraph 2 of this Resolution the Government of India have paid special attention to the question of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans in gazetted posts on the railways for which recruitment is made on an all-India basis. In order to maintain approximately their present representation in these posts the Anglo-Indian and domiciled community will require to obtain about 9 per cent of the total vacancies available to members of Indian communities. The Government of India have satisfied themselves that at present the community is obtaining by promotions to these gazetted posts and by direct recruitment to them more than 9 per cent of these vacancies. In these circumstances it has been decided that no special reservation is at present required. If and when the community is shown to be receiving less than 9 per cent of these vacancies it will be considered what adjustments in regard to direct recruitment may be required to safeguard their legitimate interests.
Section IV. Rules for Services recruited locally

8. In the case of all Services to which recruitment is made by local areas and not on all-India basis, e.g. subordinate posts in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs Department, Customs Service, Income-tax Department, etc., the general rules prescribed above will apply subject to the following modifications:

(1) The total reservation for India as a whole of 25 per cent for Muslims and of 8½ per cent for other minorities will be obtained by fixing a percentage for each Railway or local area or circle having regard to the population ratio of Muslims and other minority communities in the area and the rules for recruitment adopted by the Local Government of the area concerned.

(2) In the case of the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs Departments and Customs Service in which the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community is at present principally employed, special provisions described in the next paragraph are required in order to give effect to the policy stated in paragraph 2 above.

9. (1) (a) The Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community at present hold 8-8 per cent of the subordinate posts on the Railways. To safeguard their position 8 per cent of all vacancies to be filled by direct recruitment will be reserved for members of this community. This total percentage will be obtained by fixing a separate percentage (i) for each railway having regard to the number of members of this community at present employed, (ii) for each branch or department of the Railway Service, so as to ensure that Anglo-Indians continue to be employed in those branches in which they are at present principally employed, e.g., the Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering and Traffic Departments. No posts in the higher grades of the subordinate posts will be reserved, and promotion to these grades will be made, as at present, solely on merit.

(b) The reservation of 25 per cent for Muslims and 8 per cent for Anglo-Indians makes it necessary to increase the reservation of 33½ per cent hitherto adopted for all minority communities, in order to safeguard the interests of minorities other than Muslims and Anglo-Indians. It has been decided, therefore, to reserve for them 6 per cent of vacancies filled by direct recruitment, which is approximately the percentage of posts held by members of these communities at present. This total reservation will be obtained in the manner pres-
cribed in paragraph 8 (1) of this Resolution and will not be further subdivided among the minority communities.

(2) In the Posts and Telegraphs Department the same principles will be followed as in the case of the Railways for safeguarding the interests of the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community, which at present holds about 2·2 per cent of all subordinate posts. It has been ascertained that if a reservation is made for this community of 5 per cent of the vacancies in the branches, departments or categories which members of this community may reasonably be expected to enter, it will result in securing for them a percentage equal to slightly less than the percentage of subordinate posts which they at present hold. In the departments or branches in which a special reservation is made for Anglo-Indians, the reservation of vacancies for other minorities will be fixed so as to be equal approximately to the percentage of subordinate posts at present held by them. The total reservation for Anglo-Indians and other minority communities, other than Muslims, will in any case be not less than 8 1/2 per cent.

(3) Anglo-Indians are at present largely employed in subordinate posts in the Appraising Department and in the superior Preventive Service at the major ports. For the former department special technical qualifications are required, and in accordance with the general principles indicated in paragraph 6 it will be excluded from the operations of these rules. In the Preventive Service special qualifications are required, and the present system of recruitment whereby posts are reserved for Anglo-Indians will be maintained.

See also

COMMUNALISM
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

MODERATES

See

POLITICAL PARTIES—MODERATES
MINORITIES

MONTAGUE-CHELMSFÖRD REFORMS

See

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

MUSLIM LEAGUE

See

POLITICAL PARTIES—ALL-INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE
CHAPTER XVI

NATIONAL INTEGRATION

Note: — The first item of Mahatma Gandhi’s “Constructive Programme” is “Communal Unity”. By this unity he meant “an unbreakable heart unity” and not “political unity which may be imposed.” To bring about this kind of unity among Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians, and other people of India he worked all his life and ultimately was assassinated while serving the cause of “Communal Unity”.

On 15th August, 1947 India won her Political Independence but facts indicate that contrary to the expectations of most of us, fissiparous tendencies in our national life have crept in ever than before.

Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India while endorsing this general feeling which at present dawns upon us, said on April 1, 1962 in an informal Meet of Writers, organized by Sahitya Akademi at New Delhi:

“The recent elections in some places have disclosed the great power which communalism, casteism, linguism, have on our people. The danger to our country is not from outside but it is from within. Our enemies are not somewhere distant from us but they are within ourselves and within our country. These are the things that we have to fight if our country is to grow into a modern civilized nation.”

To check these ever growing anti-national tendencies among the people, the Government of India decided in May 1961 to set up the “Emotional Integration Committee” consisting of responsible men in various walks of life “to suggest some effective means by which those fissiparous tendencies can be checked so that the people of India may feel the “beneficial impact of the various constructive projects.”

The Indian National Congress at its annual session met at Bhavnagar in 1961, appointed the “National Integration Committee”, under the Chairmanship of Smt. Indra Gandhi.
Below are given a few important documents, speeches and articles of prominent people on this important National Problem which is so vital for the progress of our nation.

* * *

Documents:

Report of the National Integration Committee*
Introductory Note

"In the context of some recent developments in the country national unity assumes special and urgent importance. For the Congress the different languages, communities and religions have always represented diversity in unity. It has prized both. If diversity is emphasized at the cost of unity and liberties that democracy guarantees are misused for narrow sectional ends, democracy, socialism and all other high ideals we stand for in India and abroad are in danger."

(From AICC Circular, Feb., 1961)

In recent years many thinking people have been greatly distressed to notice that the fissiparous and separatist tendencies which had seemed to submerge in the upsurge of nationalism during the freedom struggle were again becoming aggressive. It now appears as if almost every move in the country is being exploited, by some section or another of the people, for appealing to the narrowest group loyalties. Communalism has not merely a religious label but takes many insidious forms.

Starting from the first General Elections, these tendencies have been gaining strength in every election. The reorganization of States, the boundary disputes and the concern over language have played up local pride to limits which verge on the dangerous, from the point of view of national unity.

In 1959, during my presidency of the A.I.C.C., a representative meeting was called and there were some discussions. The Working Committee approved our suggestion that a committee be formed to consider the whole question of national integration. Unfortunately there was a delay in implementing this. This situation continued to deteriorate and the disturbances in Assam gave rise to considerable anxiety. Finally at the Bhavnagar Congress a resolution was passed in pursuance of which the Congress President,
Shri Sanjiva Reddy, nominated the National Integration Committee.

The pattern of the linguistic disturbances in Assam, the harassment of the Jains in Bhopal and the communal trouble in Jabalpur, Saugar etc. has been so distressingly similar, even in points of details, that one is led to believe that the cause of these disturbances lies deeper than the incident or incidents which may have set off the spark. There seems to be a deep-seated malady in our society. This may have its roots in the system of castes and subcastes but is further aggravated by economic and social conditions which produce feelings of insecurity and frustration.

Extreme poverty and its attending evils are not new to India, but in pre-freedom days no hope of better conditions could be entertained and the people were resigned to their misery. The advent of freedom, the community development and other programmes for the welfare of rural and urban population opened the doors of opportunity and created a new social awareness. The fact that a bright new world could be glimpsed but not grasped in the near future, churned up long suppressed frustration and resentment. The unavoidable gap between the eagerness for equality and material gains and the meagre resources available for its fulfilment, has created a fiercely competitive spirit in which man clings to the loyalty with which he is most familiar, that is, his own caste or community. Ironically enough it would seem that progress has sharpened the sense of group exclusiveness of every kind. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is only education in its widest meaning and application, linked with social and economic change, which can ultimately bring about true secularism. As the Congress Election Manifesto of 1957 declares, “Secularism does not mean lack of faith but the protection of all faiths and the encouragement of spiritual and moral values.”

The whole question is a most complex one and needs deep and careful study. It was the intention of the Committee to consider the problem of integration from a broader point of view, but the Madhya Pradesh incidents took place only a short while before our meeting and this aspect of the problem naturally overshadowed our discussions. The Committee has made certain suggestions, the implementation of which could bring about a change of atmosphere, while other long-term measures are being considered.

The dangers of the present situation can hardly be exaggerated. An irresponsible section in the press sometimes seeks to increase circulation through sensationalism and anti-social propaganda. The part played by the politics and political parties and their en-
encouragement of anti-social elements must also be considered. A point to note is that such disturbances are most frequent near election time.

It is important that minority communities also realise the intricacies of the situation and their own responsibility towards creating a healthier atmosphere. While we sympathise with their problems, we urge restraint and patience, otherwise our task may be rendered more difficult.

We hope the Central and State Governments will give due consideration to the points made in our report and will expedite action on them. Ultimately, it is only the alertness of the public-spirited citizen and the timely exertion of the local authorities which can lead to effective preventive and deterrent action.

Sd/- Indira Gandhi.

* * *

Report of the National Integration Committee

The first meeting of the National Integration Committee took place in Delhi under the chairmanship of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The following members were present:

1. Shri Binodanand Jha
2. Shri Akbar Ali Khan
3. Maulana Hafizur Rehman
4. Shri Fazlur Rehman
5. Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
6. Shri A.K. Hafizka
7. Shri P.S. George, and
8. Shri Sadiq Ali.

Among the invitees were the following members of the Minorities' Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament:

1. Shri Ajit Prasad Jain
2. Shri A.M. Tariq
3. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir
4. Dr. Ram Subhag Singh
5. Shri Ram Sahai, and

Other persons who participated in the meeting were Shri A.Q. Ansari, Shri Mustafa Faki, Shri S.G. Kazi, Thakur Phool Singh, Shri S.A. Mehdi and Kumari Abha Maiti.

The Committee decided that they should, to start with, concentrate on the following four sets of problems:
1. Promotion of national outlook in the education and other fields.
2. Promotion of opportunities for minorities in economic and political field.
3. Maintenance of security of person and property.
4. The role of the Congress Organisation.

These problems required study. Four Sub-Committees were appointed for this purpose and asked to submit reports which would be considered by the Integration Committee at its next meeting in Bombay on April 22, 1961. The Committee which met in Bombay duly considered these reports. The following members were present at the meeting:

1. Smt. Indira Gandhi, Chairman
2. Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed
3. Sardar Swaran Singh
4. Shri A.K. Hafizka
5. Shri V.V. Dravid
6. Shri P.S. George
7. Shri Akbar Ali Khan, and
8. Shri Sadiq Ali.

Special Invitees:

1. Shri Ajit Prasad Jain
2. Shri A.M. Tariq
3. Shri Ram Sahai
4. Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir
5. Shri Shah Nawaz Khan
6. Shri K.K. Shah
7. Shri B.M. Yagnik
8. Shri Mustafa Faki
9. Shri S.G. Kazi
10. Shri A.Q. Ansari, and
11. Shri S.A. Mehdi.

The conclusions the Committee arrived at are embodied in the report given below.

* * *

1. National Outlook in the Fields of Education and other Spheres

Education is of the utmost importance in creating a national outlook. The most impressionable age is at the pre-primary stage
but we cannot afford to neglect any age group. Education should, therefore, be reorientated and made more broad-based. It should aim at (a) equipping students with an intimate knowledge of the different aspects of this country, including the events which led to freedom; (b) encouraging all studies and activities which lead to greater understanding between communities and States, thus fostering a feeling for national unity; and (c) creating a feeling that the country and its resources belong to the citizen who thereby acquires certain rights and privileges along with corresponding duties and responsibilities. The following suggestions may be considered:

1. Reading material provided to boys and girls in schools and colleges should be properly examined. Text Book Committees should receive definite guidance in this particular matter. If possible, model books should be prepared by the Centre. There are some Don’t’s which can be kept in mind when preparing text books. The Centre should appoint a Committee for this purpose.

2. Popular books on regional Indian heroes known for their national outlook should be prepared.

3. Cultural academies in States should help in strengthening the movement for unity.

4. Popular folk festivals should be celebrated by members of all communities.

5. Media like film, newspaper publicity, should be increasingly resorted to for inculcating a national outlook.

6. Short films and feature films should be prepared for fighting disruptive tendencies.

7. Seminars and dramas on the theme of communal harmony should be organised.

8. The question of placing a ban on communal parties has been raised in the country. While it may be open to question whether a ban is an adequate remedy for communalism the danger of communal parties cannot be minimised. Any communal emphasis on the part of a community in its propaganda, political and other activities creates an immediate unhealthy, aggressive communal reaction in the minds of the people of other communities and gives rise to various tensions. We have, therefore, to think in terms of breaking the vicious circle.

9. A mass contact movement for educating people in the values of communal harmony and in the dangers of communalism should be initiated. The Congress Organisation
should enlist in this campaign the support of persons outside the party, such as artists, writers and others.

10. Religious and communal tendencies within the services should be combated effectively. In recruiting personnel for important services the need for an All-India outlook should be emphasized.

II. Promotion of Opportunities for Minorities in the Economic Field

Our Constitution has assured certain Fundamental Rights to all our people. It lays down:

"14. The State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India.

"15. (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

"16. (1) There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State."

Implementation of this ideal of equality can be realized by raising the level of all handicapped communities. This necessitates widespread social services and opportunities in the economic field. Only through social and economic change can we achieve secularism and persuade the different communities to cease thinking of themselves as separate communities and to subscribe to a larger loyalty.

Having considered the various suggestions made to us in this behalf, we would like to recommend:

1. Economic backwardness in large sections of some of the minority communities and absence of opportunities for economic betterment creates a serious problem. Steps should be taken to ensure that all citizens have equal opportunity for entering the field of industry (large, medium or small-scale), trade and commerce according to their aptitude.

2. Facilities for professional and technical training should also be made available specially to those who are economically backward.

3. No proportions can or should be fixed for minorities but it would be worthwhile to examine the present position and take steps to expand opportunities where expansion
is justified. Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, Defence Establishments and Services, Police and the like, used to absorb a fair proportion. The position seems to have deteriorated now. There have been some complaints of discrimination which should be investigated.

4. Governments, Municipalities and Local Bodies can devise a more helpful approach to minorities in the matter of appointments in all their departments and in the agencies they set up for the development of the country.

5. Public Service Commission, Selection Boards and other appointing authorities should be so constituted and should so function as to inspire confidence in all sections of the people.

6. There is also a feeling that grades for promotion in Government and other services are not fairly dealt with. Complaints of unfairness should be investigated at the ministerial level.

7. Private establishments and enterprises, both Indian and foreign, can also help in creating the right atmosphere by appointing members of minorities in high posts. There is no dearth of suitable candidates.

8. With a view to discourage the tendency to form or establish institutions, specially in the educational and social fields, in the name of caste or community, it is necessary that Government and public bodies cease to extend any help, grant or assistance to the new ones. In the case of the old ones, such help, grant or assistance should be made conditional upon their being laid open to all members of the public.

III. Maintenance of Security of Person and Property

It is obvious that in our democracy every citizen whether of the majority community or any of the minority communities is entitled to full protection of person and property. The existing provisions of the normal law have been declared sufficient for dealing with the dissemination of communal hatred and incitement to communal violence. But in view of recent events some slight amendments may be necessary. It is up to the State Governments to enforce the law promptly, efficiently and impartially.
The Committee, in the light of the reports received and discussions held, has come to the following conclusions:—

1. Where the administration is efficient, rioting, loot and arson do not take place; where there is a breach of peace, the responsibility for it should be fixed and appropriate action taken.

2. In recruitment, adequate care should be taken to see that people of the right outlook are chosen. Insulation of right outlook should be a part of all training.

3. Constant vigilance should be exercised by higher officials to see that communal and sectarian tendencies do not develop in the lower staff.

4. It should be possible to apply the provisions of the Detention Act when communal situation deteriorates in any area or there is apprehension of breach of peace.

5. Section 133 (a) of the Indian Penal Code should be suitably amended and effectively enforced. Collective fines should be imposed against the community which has committed aggression.

6. It would be worthwhile to examine the desirability and feasibility of Federal Police Force.

7. Insistent complaints by Members of Parliament and the Press that firing was resorted to without discrimination is partly responsible for hesitancy on the part of the police to take strong action. While it is necessary to make it clear that discretion of Police Administration in all grave and difficult situations remains untouched, it should be emphasized that there would be no need to resort to firing or the like if the Administration is vigilant and precautionary measures are taken in all cases of apprehended trouble.

8. Members of the minority community in any particular situation should have facility to approach officers and seek adequate action.

9. People should not immediately believe rumours and perverse pieces of news. Responsible people should act immediately in all such cases.

10. While the administration should be strong and effective, the need for public cooperation should be fully recognised.

11. There should be Standing Vigilance Committees in areas where trouble is apprehended.
IV. Role of Congress Organisation

"National unity has been one of the central teachings of the Congress. This teaching we sought to implement in our struggle for political freedom. We have to continue to implement it in the more difficult phase of our struggle for social and economic freedom."

(A.I.C.C. Circular).

Congressmen have, therefore, a fundamental obligation. We would make the following suggestions:

1. The battle against communalism is a continuing process which can never be relaxed. After independence, we have attached more importance to administrative and economic reform, under-estimating the basic problem of India's unity.

2. Whenever any news of tension or possibility of tension is received, the P.C.C. President or some other eminent Congressman should visit the spot and make every effort to control the situation with the help of responsible persons of all communities.

3. There should be a small committee in each Pradesh under the Presidentship of the P.C.C President which should continuously take stock of the situation in the State in regard to this particular problem.

4. The P.C.C Chief should send, once every quarter, a report to the Congress President about the conditions in his State in relation to communal, linguistic and caste matters.

5. A drive for creating a national outlook should be initiated. A Committee consisting of responsible persons in each Pradesh should be formed. This Committee's task should be to see, among other things, that the books prescribed for education in government and other schools are promoting a national outlook. They should devote special attention to the younger generation.

6. Appropriate literature should be produced and translated in all languages and widely distributed.

7. Unity sections should be organised at the Pradesh and District levels. They would, among other things, organise Study Circles in which special emphasis will be placed on national integration.

8. Minorities should receive adequate representation in Mandal, District and Pradesh Congress Committees. No serious effort has been made to increase the membership.
of minority communities in these units of the Congress Organization.

9. Members of minority communities should be adequately represented in the Lok Sabha and State Legislatures.

Memorandum*

On the 31st of May, 1961, the Prime Minister presided over a conference of Chief Ministers and other ministers from States, which was convened to consider the question of national integration. The Congress President, the members of the National Integration Committee and some Union Ministers were also invited to the conference. On the afternoon of the 1st of June, 1961, the Prime Minister held another meeting, which was confined to the Chief Ministers of States and other State Ministers present in Delhi and some Central Ministers. The States Ministers and the Central Ministers present were unanimous in their decisions to check disruptionist tendencies which were opposed to the very basis of the Indian Constitution, and to provide equally for the growth of all minority communities in India, whether religious or linguistic, and thus give a solid basis for national integration. With this approach to the problem, the report of the National Integration Committee, appointed at the Bhavnagar Session of the Congress with Shrimati Indira Gandhi as its Chairman, was endorsed. The recommendations of the Committee and the Press communiqué issued on the 1st of June, 1961 are given here as annexure I and II.

2. The recommendations made in the report of the National Integration Committee are in four parts, namely:

(i) Promotion of national outlook in the fields of education and other spheres.

(ii) Promotion of opportunities for minorities in the economic field.

(iii) Maintenance of security of person and property.

(iv) Role of the Congress organisation.

The suggestions contained in Part IV of the report relate to the Congress organisation and were not considered at the two meetings.


1. Items 1 to 7.

These suggestions relate broadly to educational and cultural matters. Appropriate action has already been initiated in some

cases. The Education and Information Departments of the States
and the Ministers of Education and Information and Broadcasting
at the Centre may take necessary measures to implement the re-
commendations.

The Union Ministry of Education has appointed a Committee
under the Chairmanship of Shri Sampurnanand, whose terms of
reference are:

(i) To study the role of education in strengthening and promo-
ting the process of emotional integration in national life
and to examine the operation of tendencies which come
in the way of their development;

(ii) In the light of such study to advise on the positive educa-
tional programmes for youth in general and the students in
schools and colleges in particular to strengthen in them
the process of emotional integration.

(2) Item No. 10. (Religious and communal tendencies within
the services should be combated effectively).

This is an important suggestion and covers a wide field. The
action that is required to be taken is indicated later in this
memorandum in dealing with the suggestions made in Group III of
the recommendations of the National Integration Committee.

4. **Group II—Promotion of opportunities for minorities in the
economic field.**

(1) Items 1, 2 and 3.

It was agreed that though no rigid proportions could be fixed
for religious or linguistic minorities for representation in services,
particular attention should be paid to provide opportunities for mini-
orities in the economic field and with regard to the Government
services. The Constitution contains provisions to provide for the
representation of certain backward classes in the Government services
and it is a directive principle of State policy (Article 46) that the
State shall promote with special care the educational and economic
interests of the weaker sections of the people. It was agreed at the two
meetings convened by the Prime Minister that economic backwardness
rather than community or caste would provide a more appropriate
criterion for giving aid to individuals in matters of education, includ-
ing professional and technical training. In fact, some States have
already adopted this principle. It was agreed that it would be desir-
able for all the States to move in this direction. This matter may be
examined in the different States. It is expected that Government
aid on this basis would help in providing better educational facili-
ties for the minorities and would enable them to have a fairer
chance in competing on equal terms with others for entry into the Government services.

While appointments to Government services and promotions in service should normally be on the basis of merit, it is necessary that any handicaps from which the minorities—religious or linguistic—may suffer, should be investigated with a view to their removal.

In the higher services of the Centre or the States, recruitment is normally made on the basis of competition. In these services some place is found by the candidates of the minorities though the number is not quite adequate. But, in the lower posts, even where there is no competitive examination, the inadequacy is said to be more marked. The position is broadly known and collection of detailed statistical information regarding the different services would only delay matters, cause unnecessary irritation and would not help in providing a solution of the problem. What is required is a broad examination of the position so as to remove the difficulties and the handicaps, if any, from which the minorities may suffer in the matter of recruitment to services. The system of recruitment and the procedures may be surveyed and broadly analysed with a view to finding solutions for removing the difficulties of the minorities in securing adequate opportunities for employment and selection.

(2) Item 8 of Group II,
Item 10 of Group I, and
Items 2 and 3 of Group III.

These suggestions deal with the basic approach to the problem of national integration, to develop the right, secular and democratic outlook in, and the training of, the public services. The importance of item 8 of Group II is that in their formative stages the youth of the country should not get imbued with narrow caste and communal emotions, which are implicit even in the nomenclature of the institutions in which they may be studying. It is recognised that having regard to the provisions of Article 30 of the Constitution which guarantee the right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions, it might not be possible to ensure that the management of the institutions might be broadbased, but for securing aid from Government such educational institutions cannot deny admission on grounds only of religion or language. Consequently the avoidance of caste and communal nomenclature of the institutions would help in reducing the inculcation of narrow feelings in the students of such institutions. It is from the educational institutions that recruits to the different services are provided.

Item 10 of Group I requires that the conduct of the persons recruited to Government services should be such as to be free from
religious and communal tendencies. In the recruitment for important services, whether for the Central or the State services, an all-India outlook should be emphasised. In respect of the higher Central service a foundational course has been provided for the probationers in the newly established Academy of Public Administration at Mussoorie. In this foundational course, candidates selected for all the different services are given training. The idea is that civil servants at the higher levels should possess not merely professional skill and experience, but also a wide outlook and a deeper realisation of the ethics and obligations of public service. The ideal of service, as distinguished from mere exercise of power and authority, as the central motivation in a welfare state requires to be explained, emphasised and made part of the mental make-up of the civil servants. In this foundational course, amongst other subjects, emphasis is laid on the evolution of the modern Indian State as a democratic, secular and welfare State. The basic principles and the main provisions of the Constitution of India, parliamentary democracy—its postulates and implications—are to be explained. The impact of science and technology on economy, administration and social institutions in general, with particular reference to Indian conditions, forms a subject. Phonetics and linguistics, along with the common features of various languages prevalent in India, also form a subject. It is after this course that the probationers will be diverted to the specialised training institutions of their services. State Governments may consider provision for similar foundational training, in addition to mere professional training of the probationers for the higher services in the States.

Later on, items 2 and 3 of Group III require to be borne in mind, particularly in selecting Government servants for positions of higher responsibility. It was agreed that care should be taken to ensure that persons with the right outlook are chosen, say, for the important posts of district officers, so that they may inspire confidence amongst all sections of the public. This outlook should be nationalist and represent the basic provisions of our secular Constitution.

5. **Group III—Maintenance of security of person and property.**

(1) Items 1 and 4.

The attention of State Governments has already been invited to the subject matter of items 1 and 4 in a circular letter issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Appropriate action is being taken by the State Governments.
(2) Item 5:

An amendment of Section 153 of the Indian Penal Code is under consideration.

(3) Items 1, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

These items contain suggestions in regard to methods for dealing with difficult situations for relieving tension and creating confidence. Appropriate instructions may be issued by the State Governments.

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Emotional Integration Committee's Preliminary Report*

When the Emotional Integration Committee was set up at the end of May 1961, the Education Minister had expressed the view that the Committee might consider presenting a preliminary report to the Ministry. The first meeting of the Committee originally scheduled for June, could be held only on July 10, 1961. At this meeting a Working Paper prepared for the Committee's consideration was discussed, and it was agreed that a general questionnaire be issued to all the Vice-Chancellors, Principals of colleges, Heads of schools, the D.P.Is. and Directors of Education, and other education officials. Over 9,000 copies of the questionnaire were issued and in addition copies were sent on request to members of the public who expressed an interest in the Committee's work and to members of our Missions abroad. Replies from over 1,000 people have been received and analysed.

A questionnaire on textbooks was also issued to the various Governments. Several States have sent their replies; replies from others are expected shortly. The Committee set up a sub-committee to go into the content analysis of textbooks in the Social Studies and Languages. Since a complete content analysis of all the textbooks would have meant a mammoth study and, therefore, impractical of completion within the limited time at the disposal of the Committee, it was decided to conduct a sample analysis. The Secretary of the Committee has so far visited eight States and met the State Education officials and several Heads of schools and training colleges.

and textbooks have been made available to the Committee for the sample survey which is under way.

A second Working Paper was discussed by the Committee at its meeting on August 19 and 20. It was decided to present by November this year a brief Preliminary Report to the Ministry of Education embodying certain suggestions for immediate implementation in the next academic year so that it may be placed before the Central Advisory Board of Education at its next meeting in January 1962. The Preliminary Report has been written after due examination of the views expressed in the answers to the general questionnaire and after considering the evidence tendered by some eminent persons who were good enough to respond to our invitations and give us the benefit of their views on the very important problems facing the country today.

The Committee would here like to reiterate what the Prime Minister said at the National Integration Conference held at the end of September this year: "All over the world we see strange things happening and there are not many countries which can be considered to have real stability. In spite of our failings and weaknesses and difficulties we are a stable country going ahead, which can compare very favourably with any other country. But the fact also remains that the problems before us are of a giant stature. I have no doubt that we have the capacity to solve them. Essentially these big problems have to be approached logically, reasonably and as a matter of faith: faith in ourselves, faith in our people, faith in our capacity to work together." The Conference had also stressed the fact—and with this the Committee is in complete agreement—that the importance of education in fostering national unity could not be minimised. Education properly orientated can prove the greatest cohesive force in the country.

When submitting our main report which we hope to do in the next few months, the various problems confronting the country and schemes for the promotion of emotional integration will be dealt with in greater detail. The present report contains suggestions for immediate implementation. In making these suggestions the Committee would like to stress the composite structure of Indian culture and the need to preserve unity in diversity by cherishing and respecting equally the various cultural stands which enrich Indian civilisation.

**Recommendations:**

1. (a) The Third Five Year Plan envisages the provision of
universal primary education. Such an extension of educational facilities would go some distance towards removing traditional disabilities of large sections of our people. The situation as it is emerging requires a review of the existing policies of assisting the socially handi capped.

As far as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concerned they possess certain constitutional safeguards. These will continue for a decade, and their position will then be reviewed by competent authorities in the light of the results achieved.

(b) There are also other sections of people who suffer from social disabilities. It is not only necessary to provide wider educational facilities for students from these sections but to devote special attention to them. Measures must be taken to attract them to schools and improve the level of their education so that they can compete on less unequal terms with the advanced members of our society. For such students it is essential to have a better teacher-pupil ratio, and for such teachers, better training and remuneration should be provided. The extra expenditure incurred in this connection, in the opinion of the Committee, is perfectly justified.

(c) In regard to admissions to educational institutions and the award of scholarships and fellowships, national integration will be furthered if these are decided on the basis of means and merit. In considering means not only the income, but the educational and social background of the parents need to be taken into account. Such criteria which are essentially social and economic will be far more relevant to our secular democratic State than any based on caste and religion. The Committee is firmly of the opinion that together with determined efforts to assist in an effective manner the socially handicapped, we should move towards the adoption of criteria that are free from the age-old divisive characteristics of our society.

(d) Hostels should not be set aside for any one community or group. They should be open to all and mixing should be encouraged. It is repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution and national unity to
encourage separatism in academic institutions. Recognition should not be given to institutions where divisive tendencies are encouraged. However, in those cases where institutions are maintained by trusts or donors every effort should be made to persuade trustees and donors to open them to all communities. They should also be advised to get the trust deeds or gift deeds suitably changed through the appropriate court.

(e) Application forms for admissions to schools and colleges, other educational institutions and hostels, for recruitment to the various services and for scholarships should not contain any column seeking information regarding an applicant's caste or religion.

(f) Domiciliary restrictions in regard to migration of students at school and college level should be removed and every State should freely admit to its educational institutions students from other States, particularly at the University level.

2. (a) The Committee is in agreement with the importance assigned to Education by the National Integration Conference recently and it further broadly endorses the recommendation made by the Conference in this behalf.

(b) The Committee agrees with the Chief Ministers' Conference that the linguistic minorities are entitled to get instruction in their mother tongue at the primary stage of education. Effective steps should be taken to implement this principle not only in the letter but also in the spirit.

(c) At the secondary stage the medium of instruction will generally be the regional language or where certain circumstances prevail, another language mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, or English.

(d) The Committee endorses the three-language formula recommended by the Chief Ministers' Conference. The Committee regrets to note that the three-language formula has been misapplied in various ways by certain States. The variations result in either the three-language formula in practice operating as a two-language formula or in ignoring the need to study the two link languages, Hindi and English. The
formula should be clearly understood to mean that all students beyond the primary stage must learn both Hindi and English. Primary education will be in the mother tongue, secondary education will be in the regional language or in the mother tongue in the case of linguistic minorities provided (i) the mother tongue is one of the languages of the Eighth Schedule, and (ii) students in sufficient number are available who desire education in such a language. A further variation that will have to be allowed is the use of English or Hindi as the medium of instruction in selected secondary schools provided that the other language Hindi or English as the case may be, and the regional language are also added. At the university level, if the medium of instruction is the regional language, Hindi and English will be added as separate languages for study. It urges that not only should the formula be implemented forthwith but the opportunity be availed of in the Hindi-speaking regions to teach one of the South Indian languages as a reciprocal gesture to the need for learning Hindi in South India.

(e) The Committee recognises the need for strengthening the link for inter-State communication as also for developing another link for contact with the international world and with advances in science and technology. To this end the Committee recommends that the study of Hindi and English should commence in the school at an early stage.

(f) As regards the medium for University education, the Committee feels that the regional languages are bound to replace English as the medium of instruction over a period of time. The Committee is strongly of the view that such a change-over must be accompanied by the strengthening of the link of Inter-State communication and for this purpose Hindi must continue to be taught as a second language as in the secondary stage of education where necessary and, further that English will continue to be studied not only as an important language but as the medium of communication with the world and a source of enrichment for all our languages.

(g) The Committee is of the opinion that where schools
and colleges using minority languages cannot be affiliated to Universities or Boards within the State, they may be affiliated to Universities or Boards outside the State. Existing affiliations may continue.

(h) The Committee recommends that research should be undertaken on graded and basic vocabularies in the various Indian languages, to facilitate the implementation of the three-language formula and in view also of the fact that it is likely that the regional languages will ultimately be used for University education. The common Indian language which will ultimately take the place of English as a means of inter-State communication should also have its vocabulary enriched and strengthened, and its alphabet simplified. For this purpose the vocabulary should be drawn from all the living languages of India and "from the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in other languages of India", as laid down in Article 351 of the Constitution. The need, therefore, for an All-India Research Centre in Indian Languages, is in the opinion of the Committee, imperative.

3. The Committee does not propose in this preliminary Report to take up the question of textbooks and the many problems that they present, as they will be dealt with more fully in the main report. It, however, makes the following recommendations for immediate implementation.

(a) Scholarships and Fellowships

Scholarships and fellowships for specialised training abroad in textbook writing, production and illustration should be instituted on a priority basis in view of the urgent need for trained personnel in these two fields. Assistance from UNESCO may be obtained where necessary in getting the trainees/fellows suitably placed.

(b) World Seminar on Textbooks

To ensure that the country's problems in regard to textbook publication are not studied in isolation the Committee recommends the convening of a World Seminar on school text-books and supplementary readers, with India as the venue, in October 1962 as part of the U.N. Day programme. Such a seminar
would help teachers and educationists, textbook writers and publishers in India to profit from the experience of other countries.

(c) **All India Seminar on Textbooks**

The Committee recommends that before the World Seminar, an All-India Seminar on Textbooks with particular reference to the teaching of Social Studies and Languages should also be held.

(d) **World Exhibition of Textbooks**

A World Exhibition of Textbooks could also be usefully organised during the Seminar week and the books in question would form a useful addition to the Central Textbook Bureau of textbooks used all over the world.

4. The Committee feels that there are certain measures of a more or less ceremonial nature which have a great influence on the moulding of character in young children. They help to create a group consciousness sensitive to stimuli. With this end in view the following are suggested:

(a) **The School Uniform**

The Committee considers it necessary to have a common uniform in schools. It is possible that a large number of students may find it difficult to meet the cost, particularly where climatic conditions necessitate the use of two sets. However, the necessary money for these uniforms would have to be provided by the Government even though the whole cost need not fall on the exchequer. A substantial subsidy should be enough.

(b) **Daily Assembly**

It would be advisable to begin classes everyday with a gathering of all the students in the open air or the school hall depending on the season. After roll call there should be a ten minute talk by the head of the
institution or a senior teacher. The talk need not be extempore but a striking excerpt from the lives and speeches of well known personalities—aicent or modern—could easily form an occasional feature of this morning assembly. Much depends, of course, on the standard of the talk and on a uniform excellence being maintained. A series of talks, either collections from great writers or speeches by distinguished Indians, could be made available in gramophone records or in print. Some schools, perhaps already follow a similar method. It would be useful to extend it to schools all over the country and to see that a suitable collection of talks is put into a volume and made available to all schools. Audio-visual aids should also be used to help the teachers to equip themselves for these talks.

After the talks and before the children disperse, there should be a mass singing of the National Anthem. Children should not only know how to sing the National Anthem but they should also know all the verses of the Anthem and their meaning. Competent translations of the Anthem should be made in all the regional languages for this purpose. The story of the National Flag and the Anthem should be familiar to every child.

(c) **Terminal Gathering**

The Head of the institution should make it a point to have a gathering of students, teachers and parents twice a year at the beginning of each term where in addition to the brief resume of important events connected with the institution in the previous term and of activities which are planned for the current term, he should impress upon all students their responsibility to the school and to the country. At this terminal gathering students should repeat standing a pledge dedicating themselves to the service of their country and their countrymen. A draft to such a pledge in English is attached. Needless to say the effectiveness of the speech and of the pledge will depend on the general atmosphere which has been built up in the school and the solemnity preserved on the occasion.
(d) Open-Air Dramas

Integration through cultural activities is already being undertaken to some extent. One such activity that should be encouraged could take the form of open-air dramas. These are inexpensive and it should not be difficult for each school to have three or four such plays in a year. At least one play should be based upon a theme derived from the classics or from the history of ancient India and another could deal with some story from recent Indian history. A third could deal with a famous hero or heroine from the past not belonging to the region in which the institution is situated. In predominant Hindu areas there should be some plays dealing with non-Hindu lives and vice versa.

(e) Students Exchange and Tours

Conducted tours of students from one State to another should be undertaken in increasing numbers and it is equally important to have conducted tours for teachers. These inter-State visits, if properly organised, should do much to acquaint both teachers and children with different parts of our country. In this connection the Committee would like to emphasise that the Youth Hostel Movement needs to be taken up more seriously. A network of Youth Hostels should be set up by all the States in selected places. The Committee also recommends the practice prevalent in countries abroad where students live on pair, i.e. a child from one part of the country spends some time with a child in another part of the country on a reciprocal basis and this helps to foster understanding between different regions. Language would, of course, present some difficulties, but these difficulties are not insurmountable.

(f) School Improvement

The Committee is of the opinion that when so much needs to be done to improve the quality and standard of our school buildings and campus it would be very useful if every school and every institution could
carry out a plan, however small it might be, in this regard. Activities not necessarily in the curriculum could be taken up so that children could contribute in their own small way to the growth of the school. This would not only increase their pride in and loyalty to the school but would also help in improving the school for future students. All encouragement should be given to them to undertake campus activities in their own areas.

5. (a) The Committee does not propose at this stage to go into detailed recommendation regarding the curriculum but would recommend that the study of history and geography needs to be made compulsory in every school, having regard to the importance of these subjects as fields of study where emotional integration can be fostered. Equally important is the need to teach children about India's developmental projects not on a regional but on an All India basis.

(b) The Committee is of the view that the keystone of any educational structure is the teacher and the training colleges have a vital role to play in preparing teachers for the task of teaching subjects in such a way that the essential unity of the country is woven into the very fabric of the child's personality. Immediate steps should, therefore, be taken to have handbooks prepared for the teaching of Social Studies and Languages, with a view to fostering national unity. The teacher should always bear in mind that education should enable a child not only to develop his abilities and individual judgment but also his sense of moral and social responsibility. It would provide for the harmonious development of his personality by providing for his intellectual, moral, social and aesthetic needs. It should prepare him for good citizenship, for loyalty and service to the country and its traditions and culture. Handbooks should be prepared for the use of every primary and secondary school teacher with these objectives in view, containing suggestions for organising activities in all schools on a planned basis, for fostering national unity. These handbooks should form an essential part of the equipment of every teacher who should apply and
adapt these suggestions to suit the special conditions of the school in which he works.

6. The institution of an All-India Award for the best general essay in each State from high school and college students, on any other state in India, its climate, the characteristics of its people, social customs, plan projects and so on, is desirable. The essay need not be erudite but should show adequate knowledge well presented. The winner of each award may be given a free all-India tour. (Perhaps the Ministry of Transport and the Railway can help in this connection by providing free travel and free accommodation).

In conclusion, the Committee would like to emphasise that programmes undertaken for the promotion of national integration in schools and colleges would have at best a limited effect unless they have the full co-operation of the community for their implementation.

A summary of the recommendations is given below:

1. Admissions to schools, colleges and other educational institutions should be on the basis of means and merit and not on a communal or caste basis.
2. Recognition should not be given to institutions where divisive tendencies are encouraged.
3. Freeships and scholarships should be awarded only on the basis of means and merit.
4. Domiciliary restrictions in regard to migration of students between one State and other should be removed.
5. The three-language formula should be effectively implemented.
6. The study of Hindi and English should commence at a very early stage in the school.
7. Research in Indian languages with special reference to vocabularies should be undertaken.
8. Scholarships and fellowships should be awarded for specialised training in textbook writing, production and illustration.
9. A World Seminar and World Exhibition of textbooks should be held in 1962 to be preceded by an All-India Seminar on text-books.
10. A common uniform should be introduced in all the schools in the country.
11. There should be a daily 10 minutes, talk in the school
assembly and daily singing of the National Anthem.

(12) Terminal gatherings should be held twice a year at which students should take a pledge dedicating themselves to the service of their country and countrymen.

(13) Open-air dramas should be encouraged.

(14) Students exchanges and tours should be a regular feature of the school programme.

(15) The Youth Hostel Movement needs to be taken up seriously. Youth Hostels should be set up by all the States at select places.

(16) The teaching of History and Geography and India’s developmental projects should be made compulsory.

(17) Suitable handbooks for teachers in the Social Studies and Languages should be published.

(18) An annual All-India award for the best general essay on different States in India should be instituted.

The Committee recommends that these suggestions may be put into effect by the Central and State Governments from the next academic session.

(Sd.) Dr. Sampurnanand.
(Sd.) Shrimati Indira Gandhi.
(Sd.) Prof. T. M. Advani.
(Sd.) Prof. Hiren Mukerjee.
(Sd.) Shri M. Henry Samuel.
(Sd.) Prof. M. N. Srinivas.
(Sd.) Bhai Jodh Singh.
(Sd.) Shri A. E. T. Barrow.
(Sd.) Shri Asoka Mehta.
(Sd.) Shri A. A. A. Fyzee.
(Sd.) Dr. B. S. Haikerwal.
(Sd.) Shri K. Kuruvila Jacob.

New Delhi;
November 17, 1961.

* * *

Pledge

India is my country, all Indians are my brothers and sisters.
I love my country, and I am proud of its rich and varied heritage. I shall always strive to be worthy of it.
I shall give my parents, teachers and all elders respect and treat everyone with courtesy. I shall be kind to animals.
To my country and my people, I pledge my devotion. In their well-being and prosperity alone lies my happiness.

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Chief Ministers’ Conference on National Integration*

New Delhi, Jyaistha 11, 1883,
June 1, 1961.

Advantage was taken of the presence of Chief Ministers and other Ministers from States to hold a conference on May 31, to consider the question of national integration. To this conference the Chief Ministers and other States Ministers were invited as well as members of the National Integration Committee and the Congress President. The Prime Minister presided over this conference.

The Prime Minister placed the report of the National Integration Committee before this meeting. This Committee had been appointed at the Bhavnagar Session of the Congress with Shrimati Indira Gandhi as its Chairman. This report had been considered fully recently by the Congress Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee, which had endorsed it with some minor changes.

The Prime Minister in his opening remarks referred to a resolution passed, as far back as April, 1948, by the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative). This resolution ran as follows:

"Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that communalism should be eliminated from Indian life, this Assembly is of opinion that no communal organisation which by its constitution or by the exercise of discretionary power vested in any of its officer or organs, admits to or excludes from its membership persons on grounds of religion, race and caste, or any of them should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the bona fide religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities should be taken."

The Prime Minister pointed out the significance of this resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly, soon after the attainment of

Independence. This represented the strong reaction of the Indian people at that time to communal organisations and communal activities in the political field.

The Government of India carefully examined this resolution soon after and decided that its implementation in the legislative field should be held over till the coming into force of the new Constitution. Certain instructions and executive orders were, however, issued by the Government in furtherance of this resolution so as to discourage communal organisations functioning in the political field.

On the passage of the Constitution of India, the question of implementation of the resolution was further examined. In view of certain provisions of this Constitution, it was felt that some of the legislative actions suggested in the resolution of the Constituent Assembly could not be given effect to in view of Article 19 (i) of the Constitution.

Separatist Tendencies

The matter was further considered in 1955 but it was then decided not to introduce any legislative measures on this subject. Recently in 1961 there were lengthy discussions in the Congress Party in Parliament and elsewhere on the subject of communal and other separatist tendencies and the action to be taken in order to check them. The legal advisers of the Government were consulted on the subject and certain proposals were made by them which were embodied in draft bills. These bills sought to amend the Indian Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure, and the Representation of the People Act, 1951, also to widen the scope of Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code and Section 123 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951. The views of the Chief Election Commissioner on the proposals made by the Ministry of Law were obtained.

The Prime Minister invited the attention of the meeting to the report of the National Integration Committee which had recently been considered and endorsed at the Durgapur Session of the All-India Congress Committee, more especially to those parts of this report which required administrative action by the Union and State Governments. This report was accepted and endorsed as a whole. It was pointed out that, as far as may be practical, in making selections, particularly to positions of high responsibility, care should be taken to ensure that officials with the right outlook were chosen, so that they may inspire confidence among all sections of the people. This outlook should be nationalist and should represent the basic provi-
sions of our secular Constitution. Wherever possible training should be given to officials so as to develop a balanced secular approach and right judgment.

While appointments should be based on merit, care should be taken, more especially in the lower grades of Government service where recruitment was not by open competition, that minority communities should be adequately represented. The meeting endorsed these proposals of the National Integration Committee and after full discussion for over two hours, dispersed.

Second Meeting

Another meeting confined to Chief Ministers of States and other States Ministers present in Delhi took place on the afternoon of June 1. Some Central Ministers were also present. At this meeting further consideration was given to the report of the National Integration Committee and, in particular, to the proposals made at the previous day's meeting. These proposals were endorsed and all the Ministers present expressed their opinion that every effort should be made to check the separatist tendencies, whether based on religion, State, caste or language and a nationalist, all-India and secular outlook should be encouraged in every feasible way. Further that particular attention should be paid to provide full opportunities for minorities in the economic field and in regard to the public services.

It was agreed that steps taken suitably to amend Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code so as to make the disturbance of communal harmony by promoting enmity between different classes of citizens on grounds of religion, caste, race, community or language a specific offence; and to amend the Representation of the People Act, 1951, so as to widen the definition of corrupt practices during elections and to provide for a new electoral offence so as to make it a punishable offence for any person to promote or attempt to promote feelings of disaffection between different sections of the public on grounds of religion, race, caste or language. Conviction for this offence would entail disqualification from membership and for voting by making further consequential amendments in the Representation of the People Act, 1951.

It was also agreed that economic backwardness rather than community or caste would provide a more appropriate criterion for giving aid to individuals in matters of education including professional and technical training. In fact, some States have already done so. The Chief Ministers agreed that though no rigid proportions
could be fixed for religious or linguistic minorities for representation in the services, steps should be taken to expand opportunities for employment of the minorities generally.

**Recommendations Accepted**

In the course of the discussions certain minor difficulties of implementation in certain spheres were mentioned, but it was agreed that it was essential to create the right atmosphere in the administration and the services and that all the recommendations of the Committee should be accepted and appropriate action should be taken to implement them. The Chief Ministers agreed to send reports to the Prime Minister on certain specific points in regard to implementation and the situation in their States in the light of the report of the Committee.

The State Ministers and the Central Ministers present were unanimous in their decisions to check disruptionist tendencies which were opposed to the very basis of the Indian Constitution, and to provide equally for the growth of all minority communities in India, whether religious or linguistic, and thus give a solid basis for national integration. Such steps as were agreed upon by the meeting were to be undertaken in their respective spheres by the Central and State Governments. The meeting dispersed after the Prime Minister thanked the Ministers of States who were present.

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**Statement**

*Issued by the meeting of Chief Ministers of States and Central Ministers held on August 10, 11, and 12, 1961.*

The meeting of Chief Ministers of the States, convened to consider the question of national integration, began on August 10, 1961. The Prime Minister presided and Cabinet Ministers and some other Ministers of the Central Government and from the States also participated in the meeting.

All the Chief Ministers were present from the 10th August onwards, except Dr. B.C.Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, who

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joined the meeting on the 11th and 12th August on his return from abroad; the Chief Minister of Rajasthan was also not present as he had unfortunately met with an accident on August 10th while coming in car from Jaipur to Delhi to attend the meeting.

August 10th

1. In his opening address, the Prime Minister referred to the various aspects of national integration—cultural, educational, linguistic and administrative. He dealt with the problems of communalism and linguism and indicated the proper all-India approach to these questions.

2. The Union Home Minister referred to the discussions at the last conference of Chief Ministers held on the 31st May and 1st June, 1961, and to the steps taken by the Central Government to deal with the question of communalism. He explained the provisions of the two Bills to amend Section 153A of the Indian Penal Code, which had been already introduced in Parliament, and the proposal to amend the Representation of the People Act.

3. The meeting agreed that it should be made a penal offence for any individual or group to advocate secession of any part of the country from the Indian Union. This matter would be considered further later.

4. The Prime Minister referred to the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission that more All-India Services be constituted. The principle of having All-India Services in the Engineering, Medical and Forestry departments was accepted, subject to schemes being drawn up and circulated to State Governments for consideration.

5. The meeting was of opinion that the rule of rotation of officers in the existing All-India Services between the Centre and the States should be more rigorously followed.

6. The meeting also accepted the desirability of having in every High Court some judges drawn from outside the State.

August 11th and 12th.

1. The meeting of the Chief Ministers and Central Ministers continued its deliberations on August 11th and 12th, with
the Prime Minister in the chair. It met both in the morning and afternoon of August 11th and in the morning of August 12th.

2. The main subject for discussion was the question of language in its various aspects. The Prime Minister opened the discussion by inviting attention to the provisions in the Constitution on the subject. He referred, in particular, to Articles 29, 30, 350A and 350B. He also referred to the Government of India's memorandum of 4th September, 1956, which had been prepared after considering the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission in regard to safeguards for linguistic minorities. This had been issued after consultation with the Chief Ministers of the States. This memorandum was in the nature of an all-India code indicating the agreed minimum safeguards to be provided to the linguistic minorities in all the States.

3. While the general principles of this memorandum were reaffirmed, certain variations were agreed to, as stated below:

(a) Primary Education

The right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother tongue at the primary stage of education was reaffirmed. This has indeed received constitutional recognition from Article 350A and the President is empowered to issue directions where necessary.

*The decisions of the States in the Southern Zone in regard to primary education were accepted in principle. As these decisions had been taken in view of certain recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, they dealt with a particular situation then existing and are not wholly applicable to other States. But the principle was accepted and necessary adaptations can be made. The main objective is that reduced and, wherever possible, further facilities should be given.
(b) Secondary Education

*Here also, the general provisions of the 1956 memorandum were reaffirmed and the meeting accepted in principle the decisions of the States of the Southern Zone. These principles should be considered by State Education Departments with a view to adaptation to the present conditions prevailing in their States. The mother tongue formula could not be fully applied for use as the medium of instruction in the secondary stage of education. This stage gives a more advanced education to enable students to follow a vocation after school-leaving age and also prepares them for higher education in Universities. The languages used should be modern Indian languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, as well as English. An exception might be made, however, in the case of hill districts of Assam and the district of Darjeeling in West Bengal, where special arrangements may be made.

4. The importance of providing suitable text-books in schools, both in the primary and the secondary stage, was emphasised. Normally these text books should be produced by the State Governments and not be left to private enterprise. The text books should be so designed as to inculcate in the minds of pupils an integrated outlook and a sense of the unity of India as well as of the basic cultural background of India. Also, they should provide an introduction to modern conditions in India and elsewhere. The preparation of such text-books should be entrusted to persons of high quality. The Central Government should prepare model text-books both for the primary and secondary stage.

5. The growth of the regional languages of India and their progressive use in education makes it essential to develop rapidly an all-India language for inter-State communication, a purpose which has thus far been served by English. Although English will continue as such medium for some time to come, it is clear that urgent steps should be taken to promote Hindi so as to fulfil that purpose as early as

possible. Otherwise there is danger of no adequate connecting links, insofar as language is concerned, between the different States.

6. It is important, both from the point of view of international communication and the growth of modern knowledge, more specially, science, industry and technology, in India, that there should be widespread knowledge of an international language. While this language may be any one of the important European languages in effect, English will serve this purpose more easily as it is fairly well known in India. The study of English, therefore, is important.

7. It must be remembered that languages, if they are to be known at all well, must be learnt at an early age when it is easy for the child to pick them up. Therefore, both Hindi and English should be taught at an early stage.

8. The meeting was of opinion that a common script for all Indian languages was not only desirable, but would be a powerful link between the different languages of India and, therefore, of great help in bringing about integration. Such a common script in India in existing circumstances can only be Devanagari. While it may be difficult to adopt a common script in the near future, this objective should be kept in mind and worked for.

9. A three-language formula had been evolved by the Government of India, in consultation with the State Governments, for adoption at the secondary stage of education for teaching language subjects. It was agreed that the formula should be simplified and the language subjects for teaching at the secondary stages of education should be as follows:

(a) the regional language and mother tongue when the latter is different from the regional language;

(b) Hindi or, Hindi-speaking areas, another Indian language; and

(c) English or any other modern European language.

10. The question of affiliation of schools and colleges using minority languages to Universities and other authorities situated outside the State was considered. It was agreed that in most cases it should be possible to arrange for the affiliation of such institutions to Universities or Boards within the State. But where there were insuperable difficulties in making arrangements for such affiliation
within the State they might be affiliated to Universities or Boards outside the State.

11. While a State may have one or more languages for its official purposes, it must be recognised, that no State is completely unilingual. It is because of this that arrangements are suggested for minority languages of education, etc. An official language is meant largely for official purposes. For communication with the public, however, the objective should be that the great majority of the people should be in a position to understand what they are told. Therefore, wherever publicity is required, other languages in use in the area should be employed, even apart from official language.

12. Where at least sixty per cent of the population of a district speaks or uses a language other than the official language of the State, this language of the minority group should be recognised as an official language in that district, in addition to the State official language. Recognition for this purpose may, however, be given ordinarily only to the major languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Exceptions may be made in regard to the hill district of Assam and the district of Darjeeling in West Bengal where languages other than those mentioned in the Eighth Schedule may be used.

13. Whenever in a district or a smaller area like Municipality or Tehsil, a linguistic minority constitutes 15 to 20 per cent of the population, it would be desirable to get important Government notices and rules published in the language of the minority in addition to any other language or languages in which such documents may otherwise be published in the usual course.

14. The internal work of the Administration that is, noting on files, correspondence between different Government offices, should be normally and conveniently carried on in the official language of the State or the Union official language. But for dealings of the Administration with the public, petitions and representations in other languages should also be received from the public, and arrangements should be made for replies to be sent, wherever possible, in such other languages to letters received in them from the public. Arrangements should also be made for the publication of translations of the substance of important laws, rules, regulations, etc. in minority languages in States
or districts or wherever a linguistic minority constitutes 15 to 20 per cent of the population. For this purpose, it was agreed that it would be desirable for the States to set up a Translation Bureau at State headquarters. Where a circular or other order of a State Government or notification is to be issued for the information of the local public, the District authorities may be authorised to get it translated in the local language of the district or municipal area as the case may be.

15. Correspondence between the State headquarters and the district falls in the sphere of internal administration. Ordinarily, therefore, it would be appropriate to use the official language of the State for correspondence between the State and District headquarters and vice versa. The use of the Union official language should also be permitted for this purpose in place of the official language of the State. This Union official language will thus be either English or Hindi.

16. In recruitment to State services under the State Government, language should not be a bar. Therefore, besides the official language of the State, option should be given of using English or Hindi as the medium of examination. A test of proficiency in the State official language should be held after selection and before the end of probation.

17. For purposes of recruitment to services in a State, where eligibility requires the possession of a University degree or a diploma, degrees or diplomas granted by all Universities or institutions as recognised by the Central University Grants Commission should be recognised.

18. The question of the medium for University education was discussed at length. The tendency of regional languages to become the media for University education, through the isolation of such Universities from the rest of India unless there is a link in the shape of an all-India language. Teachers and students will not be able to migrate easily from one University to another, and the cause of education will suffer for lack of a common link between Universities in different linguistic areas. The importance of such a common linguistic link between Universities was emphasised. Such a common link can only be English or Hindi. Ultimately it will have to be Hindi, and it is necessary, therefore, that every attempt should be made to make Hindi suitable for this purpose. The change over to
Hindi and generally to a regional language as a medium of education will only be effective when such language has adequately developed for the purpose of modern education, and more especially for scientific and technical subjects. Every effort should be made to develop Hindi and the other languages for this purpose. Till such time as this happens, English may be continued. It may also be possible and desirable for the change-over from English to Hindi or a regional language to be phased or divided up into subjects. Thus scientific and technical subjects may be taught for as long as necessary in English while other subjects may be taught with Hindi or the regional language as the medium. In any event, the standard of teaching both in Hindi and English should be improved and maintained at a high level in schools and colleges.

19. As already decided by the Central Government, all technical and scientific terminology should be based on international usage and should be common to all the Indian languages.

20. The meeting welcomed the declaration made on behalf of the Central Government that English should continue to be used as an associate language for all-India official purposes even after Hindi becomes the all-India official language. This has been further confirmed in the Presidential Order issued in regard to the Union Official language.

21. It was agreed that the implementation of the policy herein laid down for the safeguarding of the interests of linguistic minorities and the promotion of national integration were matters of very great importance. The functions of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities are described in Article 350B of the Constitution. Though he cannot obviously be entrusted with executive functions for the implementation of the safeguards, it was reiterated that full co-operation should be given to him by all the States. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities should not only prepare the annual reports, but make more frequent reports on important subjects which he should send to the Chief Ministry who will circulate it to all the Chief Ministers.

22. The Zonal Councils should pay particular attention to the implementation of this policy in their zonal areas. A committee consisting of the Vice-Chairmen of the Zonal
Councils should be set up under the chairmanship of the Union Home Minister. If considered necessary, the Union Home Minister may invite other Chief Ministers or other Ministers to meeting of the Committee. This Committee would keep in touch with the working of the various safeguards for linguistic minorities and the promotion of national integration.

23. In view of the great importance of promoting national integration, more frequent meetings of the Chief Ministers and Central Ministers should take place to review the action being taken and to suggest further steps whenever necessary. Success in realising this objective depended on continual vigilance and the co-operation of all the States and the Union Government.

24. The meeting agreed that it was desirable to promote better and more widespread publicity for promoting national and emotional integration. The Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting would prepare a paper dealing with this subject and circulate it to the Chief Ministers for consideration at a subsequent meeting.

25. In view of the vital importance of national integration it was agreed that this should be dealt with on a national plane. For this purpose, a larger conference should be convened consisting of, besides Chief Ministers and Central Ministers, leading members of different parties in Parliament and other eminent personalities including educationists, scientists and professional men.

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The Emotional Integration Need*

It is none too early that we have begun to take an interest in the emotional aspect of our national life. The British had no particular reason to pay any special attention to the emotional life of their subjects except to the extent that it might be potentially dangerous in the political sphere.

After the attainment of Swaraj, we seem to have proceeded both in the administrative and educational fields more or less on the assumption that mental activity is confined to cognition and conation.

*Speech delivered by Dr. Sampurnanand, Chairman of the Committee on Emotional Integration at the first meeting at New Delhi on July 10th, 1961.*
only. We failed completely to profit from the experience of other people. The Soviet Union, for instance, took up educational reform while the Revolution was still fighting for its existence and the reform it undertook was not limited merely to revised syllabi and curricula but gave a permanent place to procedures calculated to harness the emotions of young men and women along lines considered desirable for the stability of the State and the achievement of the ideals for which the Communist party stands.

We, on the other hand, failed to recognise the fact that emotions cannot be bottled up for ever and not giving them their due importance may lead to an explosion which may shake society to its very foundation.

Approach to Problem

The problem of emotional integration can be approached from two sides. There is, in the first place, a study of it from the point of view of the individual. It is generally recognised in educational theory—and practice emphasises this—that proper utilisation of knowledge requires intellectual integration.

The empirical knowledge of facts has to be organised and the achievements of investigation in one branch of study have to be co-ordinated with similar study in other branches. Then only can the functioning of the intellect be systematic and yield maximum results.

This is equally true of the emotions. We are heirs to a vast store, mostly unconscious and sub-conscious, of hereditary and racial experience and a large body of instincts and possess a growing volume of complexes. Besides this, there is that inscrutable and largely inexplicable quality which constitutes an individual's personality, something exclusively and distinctively his own, the result, perhaps, of the Sanskaras of previous lives. It is in this field, which after all permeates and guides our activities at every step, that the emotions have their play. As Dr. Bhagavan Das has shown in his Science of the Emotions, this multiplicity of emotions stems from likes and dislikes. Unless these are co-ordinated, life would become chaotic.

Co-ordination at Two Stages

Such co-ordination has to be carried out at two stages. There has to be a co-ordination and integration inter se and, further, co-ordination and integration with the kind of life, which on the basis of intellectual and other considerations, we visualise for ourselves as members of society. Every one has seen examples of
unintegrated personalities—brilliant men who are misfits in the
genera llife of society. They seem very often to work against their
own best interests, because to use two homely words, their heads and
hearts do not go together.

There is also the other approach to the problem of emotional
integration where we consider the life of society as a whole. At the
present moment, particularly for purpose of the study in which we
are at present engaged, this is by far the more important aspect of
the matter. Swaraj was achieved as the result of the sacrifice and
suffering willingly undergone by a large number of men who aspired
to make the country free of foreign domination. The country had a
leader of the calibre of Mahatma Gandhi and our efforts succeeded.

During the struggle for independence, barriers of caste and
class, religion, language and province, seemed to have broken down.
India became something real, substantial and tangible, instead of a
mere geographical expression and every one worked and functioned
as an Indian. But it seems now that this was almost a passing
phase. Fissiparous tendencies, the existence of some of which was
not even previously suspected, have raised their head and it seems
that the sentiment which animated us in those days was not so
much pro-Indian as anti-British. It is this state of affairs which
has led to a great searching of hearts and is the genesis of the
present Committee.

It is not that the term "Fundamental Unity of India" carries
no real meaning. There has been a cultural unity based to a large
extent on the Hindu religion for several centuries. Sacred rivers,
mountains and places of pilgrimage are spread all over
the country and are objects of reverence and affection to vast
number of men who have had the opportunity to visit a few of
them. There are great names of scholars, saints and heroes which
enjoy universal respect. There is the idea, not very definite perhaps
but none-the-less real, that we all belong to the country named
Bharat which in some ways occupies a unique position in the world.

There is the tradition embodied in the famous shloka:—

रघुनाथ देवः किंत पीतकानि, वन्यास्तु ये भारतभूमिं भगे,
रघुराजवंसवंदमांसुः, भविन्त सुयः पुरवत要说。 सूरज्यायत्।

The gods say that those among them who will be re-born as
men in Bharat which is the gateway to heaven and moksha will be
fortunate indeed). There was also a common bond supplied by the
Sanskrit language which was the Rastrabhasha of the country for
several centuries. It was not the language of the common people and
did not seek to destroy regional prakrits. Many of these had great
literatures of their own but it was the language of the intelligentsia
and official intercourse that enabled men, educated men, from one part of the country freely to mix with people elsewhere. Its place was taken later by Persian, particularly during the time of the Mughals. A common Indian culture was gradually growing up as the result of social intercourse between various classes of Indians, Hindus and Muslims, and the free flow of talent from one part of the country to the other that was characteristic of great Indian empires from the Maurya right up to the Mughal.

**Indian Nationalism**

But with all this, it must be admitted that there was no sense of Indian nationalism, as the term nation as interpreted today. As a matter of fact, national sentiment of the modern type is not very old even in the West. It is idle to speculate what form of Indian policy might have taken itself. It is possible that a great and powerful Indian Nation State might have grown up: on the other hand, it is equally possible that the country might have broken up into a number of independent states, cultural unity not withstanding.

The arrival of the British on the political stage rudely disturbed the natural development of our history. They came at a time when India was in a singularly disadvantageous position to meet any attack from outside. It was in the throes of the kind of commotion and disintegration which always follows the break-up of powerful cementing forces like the Mughal empire. The British became rulers of India without ever having conquered the country.

The subjugation to a common foreign domination induced in the people of India a sense of cohesion. This was no doubt fostered by our old traditions. Had this not been so, Burma would also have come into the Indian fold. The feeling that we are members of the common Indian nation is obviously of recent growth and a product of British rule. It is a precious acquisition and we cannot allow it to weaken. It would be disastrous for India if it were to break up again into more or less independent units, jealous and suspicious of one another, and buttressing up their isolationism by more or less artificial barriers of creed and culture. There are elements in our religion and in our culture that work strongly towards unifying one part of the country to another, these have to be conserved, but a more positive effort has to be made to bring about dynamic nationalism as distinct from that chauvinism—which is one of the worst enemies of democracy.

At the same time we have to take note of the important fact
that, during British rule, fissiparous tendencies were also allowed full opportunity for growth. It seems ungenerous to say so but it would also appear that some of them were deliberately encouraged. The country was divided into a number of provinces with a rigidity unknown to our previous history, naturally leading to isolationism and provincialism of an unhealthy mind.

Indian history as taught in our schools was divided into three periods—the Hindu, the Muslim and the British, generating in the minds of the students the feeling that Hindus and Muslims are as distinct from one another as they obviously are from the British. The poison of communal difference was thus sown in the child's mind at a very early stage of life.

The growth of industrialisation has brought a number of social phenomena in its wake. The joint family system has almost completely broken down creating a sense of insecurity to which young men and women were strangers a decade or two ago. Members of the younger and older generations seldom live together long enough, with the result that family traditions and the good manners inseparable from sound family life have received a bad jolt. Religion has gone out of fashion and the social and other sanctions that held men together have lost their hold on the mind of the younger generation.

Then there are the important economic factors that have to be considered. Education is spreading and our population is going up by leaps and bounds. The young man in school and college begins to understand the hard facts of life at a very early age. He knows the hardship to which his parents put themselves to give him education. He understands the problem of marriageable daughters that is worrying them and he is is not at all sure that he will get worthwhile employment after finishing his education. He goes up from one class to another not because he is particularly interested in his studies but because he and his parents do not know what else to do with him.

Quite naturally, he seeks relief from his mental tensions in some kind of activity, the wilder the better. Acts which we condemn as indiscipline are not the results of an over dose of original sin. They are simply expressions of endeavour to drown one's troubles with mental and muscular hashish. And we have also to take note of the fact that there is a growing disparity between the economic and the physiological age of marriage, giving rise to a number of neuroses, both in men and women.
Neglect of Emotions

Then there is the fact to which I drew attention earlier, our unfortunate neglect of the emotions. We have placed no ideals before our youth. Material prosperity is desirable itself but it does not lift a man above himself. It is only the atonement with something higher than one's own petty self of likes and dislikes, ambitions and desires that can canalise emotions, that can enable a man to control them, to sublimate them and to rise to his fullheight as a man, a whole man.

The problem of integration has been attacked from various directions. The University Grants Commission took it up some time ago and as we know made some useful suggestions to this end. The Education Ministers' Conference at its last session also examined the problem. As a matter of fact this Committee has been set up in pursuance of the recommendations made by the Conference. Recently, the recommendations made by the Committee presided over by one of our distinguished members, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, were adopted by All-India Congress Committee at its last meeting. The points of view of those bodies may have been different from one another, with the natural consequence that the recommendations which they made meet our problem more or less at different levels so to say, but I have no doubt that they develop into one another.

Committee's Functions

Our Committee directly will not deal with its administrative and political aspects but life is one and any categorisation of it is only a matter of convenience and, therefore, artificial. We shall confine ourselves mainly to what may be broadly called the educational aspect, the role of education in integrating the emotional aspect, the role of education in integrating the emotions with one another on the one hand, and with the currents of national life on the other.

Of course it would be an idle effort entirely to ignore the political and administrative background of the milieu in which we live and function. I also hope that we shall be able to invite the attention of our national leadership to the necessity of evolving a philosophy of life which alone can provide an ideal worth living and dying for, an ideal which can call out the best that is in us. The youth of the country is heir to a great tradition of service and sacrifice but we have to make the proper appeal to it.

I trust that in its endeavour to perform the task allotted to it, the Committee will have the fullest co-operation and help from
every one—educationists, political leaders, administrators and members of the general public. It is not possible for me to anticipate the recommendations of the Committee but it is my earnest hope that we shall be able to make some valuable contribution to the solution of this important problem.

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National Unity

National Unity was the theme of the Prime Minister's Independence Day speech. Obviously disunity in the country had been worrying him more than usual. Two days earlier he had participated in the meeting of the A.I.C.C.'s National Integration Committee to which Communist and PSP leaders and some prominent independent politicians and educationists like Acharya Kripalani, Frank Anthony, Prof. Siddhanta and Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao had also been invited. The Prime Minister told the meeting that it would require national effort to combat the forces of disruption. Administrative measures by themselves were not enough and it was necessary to meet the challenge to secularism and national unity at the political level. On his suggestion it was decided to expand the Committee and change its character by including in it the invitees to the meeting and other political leaders and eminent public men.

It was also decided to hold meetings of the expanded National Integration Committee at regular intervals not merely for purposes of reviewing the situation in the country generally but to discuss specific issues and make suggestions to the Government and political parties regarding the concrete steps to be taken to curb fissiparous tendencies. To make these meetings business like, new and old members were asked to submit notes and proposals beforehand. The first meeting of the Committee will be held on September 9. By then the Prime Minister hopes to return from his Belgrade Moscow trip. He also told the meeting that he was thinking of convening a wide conference of representatives of secular parties and democratic public opinion towards the end of September to discuss problems of national unity. He wanted the Committee to meet again to plan the work of the convention.

The feeling that the problem of national unity was too big to be tackled by one party alone was also expressed by Shri K.D.
Malviya and Shri Mahavir Tyagi. The latter, in fact, pleaded for evolving an all-parties platform against disruptive trends in national life. Shri K.D. Malviya felt that communalism would decline as the country got industrialised but linguism and provincial loyalties constituted a more serious threat. In this connection he referred to the lopsided development of Hindi and uneven economic growth in different parts of the country. These views were shared by the Communist speakers Prof. Hiren Mukerji who laid emphasis on cultural integration and Dr. Z.A. Ahmad who tried to put the problem in its historical perspective.

One of the Chief Ministers present at the meeting, however, thought that there was no reason for any minority, linguistic or religious, to nurse the feeling of being discriminated against. Shri H.N. Kunzru too felt that there was no discrimination though he conceded that in U.P. Urdu was being denied its rightful place. But the Chief Minister of another State cited some cases which suggested discrimination against certain minorities. Referring to disturbances he declared that if in his State a single member of a minority community was hurt he would hold the district authorities responsible.

**Non-Conformist**

Dr. Rao of Delhi University is said to have referred to reports about an alliance between the PSP and the Muslim League on an all-India basis. He also said that there was no scope for building another Pakistan. When he was asked who wanted another Pakistan, Dr. Rao is reported to have said that it was disruptive to talk of “national minorities”. There was a “national majority” also and it too could assert itself; in fact, in a democracy the will of the majority should prevail. In his opinion it was disastrous if in the matter of administration, services and education weightage was given to minorities. Backwardness should not be given precedence over merit.

**Kripalani’s Note**

Acharya Kripalani also spoke in a similar vein. He had submitted a note to the Committee in which he had conceded that national integration was the “supreme need of the hour” and had urged that the problem should be tackled “with determination.” But, he maintained, the “old remedies of special advantages and privileges to minorities and backward castes and tribes” would “instead of
solving the problem perpetuate it.” He asserted that the protection extended to backward classes had already created “interests in backwardness or the pretense of it.”

Since all citizens were equal before law “there can be and should be no special minority or majority rights.” Reservation for backward classes was a “retrograde” measure which had “no place in a democratic society.” Backwardness should not be attributed to any class or community. Even in so-called backward classes there were rich and advanced people while in the upper classes and communities there were extremely backward and poor people. Backwardness was an individual matter and the meritorious and deserving should be given facilities and preference in the services and in the field of education.

Facilities for so-called backward groups amounted to conferring “privilege by birth in reverse” and in due course would convert the backward into the advanced and the advanced into the backward, the minorities into majority and the majority into a minority.

**Linguistic Problem**

Acharya Kripalani had a simple solution for the problem. He said that if the rights and guarantees contained in the Constitution were “meticulously and vigorously enforced” much of the “trouble” would disappear. For ten years the Constitution has been in force; yet the Chief Ministers who met for three days to discuss the problem before the meeting of the National Integration Committee, found it necessary to appoint a sub-committee under the Home Minister’s Chairmanship to meet periodically to review the situation in this regard. The suggestion for the appointment of the Committee came from the Prime Minister of Kashmir.

The fact that most of the decisions taken at the Chief Ministers’ meeting were a reiteration of the Home Ministry’s suggestions to the States contained in its 1956 memorandum, may indicate that it is merely a problem of enforcing decisions already taken or rights embodied in the Constitution. But in several respects earlier decisions had to be modified by the Conference.

The Chief Ministers’ meeting was mainly concerned with the problem of linguistic minorities, and the emphasis laid on English was indicative of a new attitude towards the problem. It was felt that continuance of English would slow down the change-over to Hindi but it had to be so because the adaptation and development of Hindi for administrative purpose had not kept pace with the requirements of change-over. The attention of the Chief Ministers
had been drawn to this problem recently by the Prime Minister in the course of one of his periodical letters.

The emphasis on the need to develop a common script, though not immediately, was another new feature of the decisions of the Conference. This too was done on the suggestion of the Prime Minister. A similar suggestion was contained in the President's note on the subject which was circulated to the Chief Ministers. Other variations from the 1956 memorandum were based on the Home Minister's note placed before the meeting.

**The Integration Need**

The Recent Elections in some places have disclosed the great power which communalism, casteism, linguism, have on our people. The danger to our country is not from outside but it is from within. Our enemies are not somewhere distant from us but they are within ourselves and within our country. These are the things that we have to fight if our country is to grow into a modern civilised nation.

Sahitya Akademi is doing its best so far as the linguistic controversies are concerned. It is bringing the writers together, bringing the people together by its translations. Industrial development also is bringing about some kind of consolidation. Many of our chief cities are multi-lingual in character—Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi. You find here people speaking different languages. Universities, scientific laboratories, these are also bringing peoples of different provinces into close and intimate touch with one another but these are all small things.

There must be a large purpose binding the peoples together, making them feel that they belong to one great whole. The difficulties of linguism are gradually being overcome but communalism, sectarianism, the emphasis we lay on religious affiliations, they are more difficult. We call ourselves a Secular State! That does not mean that we don't profess any religion or that we are indifferent to religion. It only means that we don't identify the State with any particular religion and we respect all religions and give them full freedom to express themselves and grow.

* Inaugural address delivered by Dr. Sarvepalli S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, at an Informal Meet of Writers organised by Sahitya Akademi at New Delhi on April 1, 1962.
Everyone, whatever may be his religion, is at liberty to profess, practise and propagate what he believes so long as he does it within the limits of decency and decorum. That has been the tradition of this country. The secular concept is not something which is an innovation after Independence. That has been the tradition of the country.

Here religion has meant a state of mind, a relationship with reality, a way of life. Any one is said to be religious not because he indulges in metaphysical speculations or observes certain ceremonies or goes to a temple or a church. He is truly religious if he is re-made, if there is a transformation in his own nature, a man who is able to say that he has felt the reality in the pulse of his being.

We started saying that Buddha says; Bodh or Enlightenment is an element which is in every human being. Jesus tells us; I and My Father are One, I am the Truth, the way and the Life. Many people in Islam have suffered martyrdom because they expressed themselves in the same way, saying “I am the Truth”. The saying is attributed to the Prophet: If you know the Self, you know the Lord.

You find therefore, this idea of religion as a state of illumination, as a displacement of ignorance by wisdom, as a state of enlightenment, is common to almost all the religions. When we try to express this contact with the Real, this communion with Reality, we have adopted a very catholic attitude; the absolute of experience cannot be embodied in any absolute of logic or language. You cannot have any linguistic expression on a logical proposition which brings together all these things.

Then you find that relationship to Reality is capable of varied expressions and religion also is a way of life, the hospitality which we extend to all this. A truly religious man will not discriminate between man and man. सर्वपालं सर्वनामं सर्वकारं. That Brahman is faultless, it is same, it is equal, it does not try to make any distinctions between man and man. So long as we subject people to varied kinds of humiliation, disabilities, etc., we may profess to be theists or believers but we are actually unbelievers. We deny in our practice what we profess in our theory.

So it is that religion has to be interpreted in a broad sense, in a sense which is consistent with our past tradition, a tradition which has allowed the Jews, the Christians, the Parsees and others to come here and settle down and make India their home and go on according to their own rights. We never tried to impose our beliefs, our dogmas or our ways of life on people who have entered this
country. Even if there had been lapses from that ideal, these lapses illustrate the validity of the fundamental principle that we should be hospitable to every way of belief.

Intolerance, hatred, oppression of religious minorities, these things are not in our proper tradition. Not that we have not indulged in them but if we indulged in them, we were departing, so to say, from our own professions and ideals.

Caste is another thing which has come here. Whatever may have been its justification once upon a time when people of different tribes and communities came together; when we tried to introduce a system by which we don’t exterminate them, eliminate them or don’t make slaves of them but give them some kind niche in the body-politic, but today it has no justification at all.

Many people of all communities, of all religions, have protested against that from the early times. The theists, Nanak, Kabir, you find Ramanuja, Ramananda, etc., those who have been influenced by the Oneness of the Supreme Spirit, they will all tell us that we are doing something which is not right. Times without number we were told we are all born unregenerate, we become by our own effort regenerate.

This world “ek varna’ was one caste at the beginning. By means of Karma and Kriya you had the differentiation of castes. We have to get back therefore to the original thing that we are all born unregenerate, we have to become regenerate by our own exertions and efforts.

The first reference you have to pātīṭah or the fallen being in the Chhandogya tells you “they are the fallen beings who are guilty of murder, theft, adultery and drunkenness.” Fallen, that is the word which is used in the Chhandogya Upanishad. Ethical standards are the only basis for distinction among men. We have to get back to that fundamental criterion which we have had and that is the only way in which caste can be reformed altogether.

Unfortunately, as I have said on the previous occasion inaugurating the National Integration Conference, caste has ceased to be a social evil. It has become a political evil and an administrative evil. We want to get our votes and we set up candidates suited to the people who have to vote. If it is a Nadar constituency, we set up a Nadar. If it is a Harijan constituency, we set up a Harijan. If it is a Kamma constituency, we set up a Kamma. That is what we have been doing. It is, therefore, essential that politics should as far as possible be lifted out of this kind of morass.

As I started by saying, our troubles are within. The sources
of integration, conflict, are located within ourselves and until we are able to change our nature, change our things, these things cannot be removed. I want to say that human nature is not anything static. It is infinitely malleable. We have had progress from the Stone Age down to our own day. We have changed and changed. The moment we cease to change, we die. Therefore it is we who should take into account modern pressures and try to transform ourselves to suit our modern conditions.

Writers through their publications can give a proper perspective to their readers. You establish a communion between yourself and your audience, and if the ideas which you introduce are noble, are good report, truthful, etc. you will spread enlightenment among the people themselves. When we are, therefore, face to face with this particular problem the responsibility of the writers should also be regarded as enormous and I hope they will do their best to spread right ideas, sane thinking and proper feeling. If you are able to do it, you would have done your share in the building up of our country and the building up of a new world.”

* Problems of National Integration*

Throughout Indian history, we find on the one hand a tendency towards unification on the basis of religion and culture and on the other of fragmentation due to differences in language and customs and economic and political interests. Diversity is inescapable in a country so large in area and with such differences in landscape and climate. The fact that different peoples came into India at different times has added to the complexity. Even the Aryans did not migrate to India as unified body of people but came in dribbles over many centuries. The same story has been repeated in later times and small-scale migration into India was almost continuous till the beginnings of the contemporary age.

It has been a paradox of Indian history that in spite of a basic identity of culture, the country has been divided into kingdoms which have often developed sub-nationalities sharply distinguished from one another. In the past, the lack of communication encourag-

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ed local variations and often prevented clashes between different areas. Improvements in methods of transport and communication have brought different regions nearer to one another in physical terms but also provoked conflicts based on their diversity. Increase in population without corresponding increase in national wealth has made these local conflicts sharper. Many people are worried today by discords which arise from differences of language, religion, caste or community but these differences can be overcome and national integration achieved if we recognise four basic facts.

It is the social and economic backwardness of the country which is responsible for many of the fissiparous tendencies that are revealed from time to time. When all citizens can be assured of a human standard of life, many of the present conflicts will disappear. It is the uncertainty of securing the means of livelihood that often leads individuals or groups to emphasise their caste, communal, religious or linguistic affinities in order to strengthen their claims on the national resources.

The fact that in spite of considerable industrial development since independence, employment under government or in public or private firms seems to many the best guarantee of economic and social security further emphasises this tendency to rely on sectional claims and loyalties. Even in admission to educational institutions, caste, communal or linguistic considerations are brought up because many aspirants feel that they may not get their dues without such additional support.

**Total Heritage**

Very few Indians are willing to accept the total heritage of India and a large majority are content to draw upon and take pride in only certain sections or aspects of Indian history and culture. The fact that there were in the past many kingdoms and the pre-eminence of one meant the subordination of others is an example of the way in which territorial loyalties are attached to a part rather than the whole of India. Differences in religion and language have further encouraged this tendency. It is an unfortunate fact that heroes of one area, religion, language or community are often unacceptable to men of other areas, religious, languages or communities. The extreme example is the failure of large sections of Muslims to accept the heroes of ancient India as part of their cultural heritage and of many Hindus to accept the contribution of non-Hindus, specially Muslims, to the evolution of Indian culture. This fragmentation of consciousness is one of the basic reasons why fissiparous
forces can so easily arouse the passions of one section of the Indian people against another.

Recognition of Diversities

The long history of India seems to prove conclusively that on the one hand, the diversities of India can never be fully suppressed, and on the other that India has prospered whenever the diversities have been recognised and accommodated in a large setting. Thus in the ancient period, when Buddhism and Brahmanism flourished side by side, India reached great heights of achievement and glory. When the rise of neo-Brahmanism led to disregard or suppression of Buddhism, the decline of India began. Similarly, in the middle ages, Akbar’s policy of equal treatment for all religious communities led to splendid success while the attempt to reverse that policy was mainly responsible for the breakup of the Mughal Empire. Today, in a democratic setting, the recognition of and regard for diversity is even more important and can supply the basis for India’s greatest contribution to the world.

There must be not only acceptance of and regard for the diverse elements of India’s life, but what is equally important, each of these elements must be able to feel that it is contributing to the development of the whole of India. The majority must from the nature of the case make the largest contribution to India’s advancement, but unless the minorities feel that they are equal partners in this common national endeavour, they cannot be fully integrated into the nation while retaining their distinctive character.

Against this background of what appear to be basic facts, the achievement of national integration requires both long and short term measures.

Reorientation of School Courses

Among the long-term measures, the first and foremost must be education. The growing generations must be trained up to be Indians who accept their total heritage. With this end in view, school courses, and especially the teaching of history, will have to be reoriented. While school histories must give the truth and nothing but the truth, it is not necessary that elementary histories should try to give the whole truth. Elementary history must from the nature of the case be short and simple and therefore highly selective. It is desirable that in such selection, some of the facts of clash and friction among territories, communities or religions should be slurred.
over and greater attention paid to the elements of co-operation in Indian life and culture.

National interest demands that school histories should be so prepared that children do not develop sectional loyalties early in life. They should feel the unity of the country in its history, but this does not demand any distortion of facts. As they grow up and go to higher stages of education, all the differences can be gradually revealed to them in an objective and dispassionate way. What has been said of the teaching of history applies with equal force to the teaching of literature. In selecting literacy textbooks for school children, we have to be careful to ensure that attitudes of hatred or contempt are not fostered in any section of children for any other section.

**Scandinavian Example**

Very successful results have been obtained in the Scandinavian countries in dealing with past conflicts. Joint Commissions supervise the selection of textbooks in elementary schools in order to eliminate factors which may implant in the minds of small children hatred against another Scandinavian people. Norwegians, Swedes, Finns or Danes have often fought in the past but reorientation of the teaching of history in their countries has created a large Scandinavian rather than a narrowly national outlook. In India, a similar approach must be adopted to prevent the development of prejudices in the minds of children against any community, religion or linguistic or territorial group within or outside India.

There is no denying that apart from the struggle for economic and political benefits, one other major cause of friction among Indian peoples today is linguistic rivalry. The adoption of democracy naturally led to a demand that the affairs of the State must be managed in the language of the people and as such the demand for linguistic states was perhaps natural and indeed almost inevitable. It is an unfortunate fact that an impetus to this demand was given by the adoption of Hindi as the official language of India. This adoption was also natural as Hindi is the language of the largest single group in the country, but all the same, it created among large sections of other language groups a certain apprehension that they might be less well placed in economic and political matters than their fellow countrymen whose mother-tongue is Hindi. It cannot be denied that the insistence of some of the Hindi-speaking people for pushing ahead the programme of adopting Hindi and the resistance of some of the non-Hindi-speaking peoples against that move
are due to the hopes of the one group and the fears of the other that adoption of Hindi will give certain advantages to the Hindi-speaking people over other language groups.

**Development of Modern Indian Languages**

This makes it the more necessary to phase the adoption of Hindi in a way which will allay the fears, legitimate or otherwise, of non-Hindi speaking Indians. One way of doing so is for the Union Government to accept the responsibility of helping in the development of all modern Indian languages. If the Union funds allocated for the development of Indian languages are distributed among all the language groups on the basis of population, Hindi will still get the largest support, but peoples speaking other languages will have no cause or sense for grievance. In the last three years, the Government of India have increasingly helped in the development of Indian languages other than Hindi and this has generally aroused a very favourable response among non-Hindi speaking peoples of the country.

One aspect of this assistance to all Indian languages should be the translation of classics from one Indian language to all other Indian languages so that a corpus of common Indian literature can be created. This in itself would help in the development of an all-India approach and outlook which it must be the aim of education to develop among the growing generations. Few things are so conducive to national unity as a common literary heritage. People who share the same legends and myths and respond to the same associations develop a common outlook in spite of differences in religion, custom or language.

**Inter-State Cultural Exchange**

Among long-term measures, two others may be briefly mentioned. In spite of the over-riding unity of Indian culture, there are local variations which cannot be ignored. Very often the special features of one area are unknown or imperfectly known even in neighbouring areas. Strangeness at times leads to a sense of distance and even hostility. We have, therefore, to take measures for ensuring that the variety of Indian culture, at least in its broader aspects, is brought within the reach of all Indian citizens. It is with this end in view that for the last two years inter-State cultural exchanges in music, dance and drama have been organised and they have proved popular and instructive. Such programmes should be
further expanded, so that people of one area or cultural tradition in India may become familiar with the culture of other areas or traditions and recognise elements of similarity which will strengthen the sense of national solidarity. This is an extension in the visual field of the attempt to create a common Indian literature through translations into every Indian language of the classics of each Indian language.

One example would indicate how necessary are such exchanges in music, dance and drama. The Tamil and Telugu people live in contiguous areas and for a long time they have lived in the same State and yet when last year the Kuchipudi dance of Andhra Pradesh was shown, perhaps for the first time in the city of Madras, there was wide acclamation for their performance. Drama and music are equally strong bonds for binding together people of different areas and we must expand programmes for exhibiting in one State the special art forms of other States.

Role of Museums

Museums can also play an important role in national integration by making people of one area conscious of the contribution of other areas to the development of a common Indian culture. This is the main justification for the establishment of national museums in different parts of the country. In addition, every State Museum as well as local museums at the district level should be so organised that the special contribution of a particular area is seen in the background of the totality of Indian culture.

All these long-term measures are basic but they will not show results for at least twenty or twenty-five years, the period required for the growth of a new generation. Short-term measures are therefore, inescapable and in the immediate present even more necessary. All measures, whether short or long term, must, however, aim at satisfying the four conditions mentioned earlier, namely the acceptance of diversity of India as a fact, the adoption of the total Indian heritage by every citizen, the growth of sense that every minority however small has a creative contribution to make to the totality of Indian culture and the expansion of economic social and political opportunities for all.

Expansion of Educational Facilities

In the expansion of opportunities the greatest emphasis should perhaps be paid to the provision of educational facilities, especially
professional and technical training to the less fortunate sections of the Indian people. Education has been recognised to be the greatest instrument of social mobility. Today, when all functions of society are becoming increasingly dependent on science and technology, education has become the essential condition for the progress and prosperity of individuals as well as groups. Some special measures are, therefore, necessary to ensure that such concessions are not excessive or permanent, as both individuals and communities suffer when they are given undue protection or favour.

The pattern adopted by the All India Council for Technical Education to ensure adequate opportunities for less developed groups may be mentioned in this connection. The Council has unanimously agreed that up to 25 per cent of seats in Engineering and Technical Institutions may be reserved for pupils of comparatively backward communities who may be given a weightage up to 10 per cent of marks but this protection will continue in full only for ten years, after which the weightage in marks will be reduced by 1 per cent every year, so that at the end of 20 years there will be neither reservation nor weightage.

There is also a feeling of frustration among some sections of the Indian people, especially belonging to the minorities, because of their failure to secure an adequate share in services or industry and business. It has been mentioned earlier that in the peculiar circumstances of India, services specially under Government, have an undue attraction for most people. That attraction has been further enhanced by centralised planning in the recent years. Today, even industry and commerce largely depend upon allocation of resources or facilities by a centralised authority in which officials must from the very nature of the case play an important role. It is for this reason that representatives of minority groups, whether linguistic, religious, caste or communal, often ask for an adequate share for members of their own group.

The matter requires careful consideration to ensure that justice is done both to individuals and groups while maintaining the standard of public service. In any measures that may be adopted, the aim should be the removal of disabilities rather than actual preference or favour for any group.

It is true that many of the higher posts, specially under Government, are filled on a competitive basis through examinations. At first sight this seems to ensure completely fair treatment for all, but those who have experience of examinations know that it is not
always possible to equate different subjects and different examiners. Especially in the interview, an element of personal likes and dislikes cannot be ruled out. Also, certain groups have for historical reasons greater linguistic ability and generally do better in written examination. It has been found from actual experience that of two persons who have entered through a competitive test, the one with the highest marks in the examination has not always been the better officer in his subsequent career. There is, therefore, room for flexibility in such recruitment by ensuring that no one below a certain standard need be considered, but among those who have qualified there is room for some freedom of choice to see that different sections of the people are adequately represented in all the key services.

All these problems of competition, and selection, whether in educational institutions or in entry into services or industry or business, arise out of inadequacy of opportunities. Where there is an expanding economy—and today under the impact of our Plans, the Indian economy is an expanding economy—these problems should not become acute. If there are enough openings for every man, none will bolster up his claims by bringing up linguistic, caste, religious or provincial consideration.

We must, therefore, examine carefully why there should be these complaints about frustration or lack of opportunity when so many new avenues are being opened up through the establishment or expansion of new types of industry and services. One reason may be that the new opportunities that are being created are not being equitably distributed throughout the entire community and perhaps certain sections are utilising their positions of vantage or privilege to reserve for their own groups a disproportionate share. If enquiry reveals that this is so, measures should be taken to remove disparities and offer equal opportunities to all. Once we can harness the energy and enthusiasm of all sections of the people in this expansion of the economy, we will release an additional and almost irresistible force for national integration, since nothing unites a people more than fellowship in a common endeavour for a noble cause.

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The National Integration Conference held in 1961 decided that a pledge should be taken by every adult Indian to affirm his faith in the universal principle of civilised society to resolve civil disputes by peaceful means and to abstain from resort to violence.

A campaign for such a pledge to be taken by all the people of our country will be inaugurated on the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi on October 2, 1962. The campaign will be continuous and will be carried on during all the months of the year, but the week from October 2 to 9 will be particularly devoted to it.

No person should be asked to sign the pledge unless its meaning and significance have been fully explained to and understood by him.

Emotional integration is the essence of national integration. Even with all the outward attributes of nationhood, a people would still be lacking in real national cohesion in the absence of complete emotional integration. India has always had a basic unity and a peculiar and distinctive identity and this should provide a basis for the task of national integration.

A serious obstacle to the emotional integration of our people is the resort to violence in the course of disputes arising out of regional, linguistic, religious and other similar matters. In a large country like India with its many diversities, it is but natural that differences between sections or groups of people should arise from time to time. But it is not so much the existence of such differences and disputes which endangers the integrity of the nation as the manner in which we conduct them. When brothers quarrel and settle their differences peacefully, the spirit of fraternal accord remains unbroken. Should they, however, in their quarrel become violent and strike each other, the feeling of brotherhood may come to an end. Similarly, when Indians assault or kill Indians and burn and loot in the name of caste, sect, religion, language or religion, the resulting hatred, bitterness and spirit of vengeance create a psychological estrangement which makes it difficult for people to

*This handbill along with the PLEDGE was distributed among the people of India on 2nd October, 1962. The PLEDGE was signed by different National leaders and the citizens of India, in various public meetings held on 2nd October in different parts of the country.*
feel that they all belong to one another as citizens of the same nation.

It was in pursuance of this line of thought that the National Integration Conference decided to launch this campaign. It is to be hoped that a countrywide campaign of this nature will create a powerful psychological climate which will help in every way in promoting national integration.


Call To The Nation*

Comrades, friends and fellow-countrymen, I am speaking to you on the radio after a long interval. I feel, however, that I must speak to you about the grave situation that has arisen on our frontiers because of continuing and unabashed aggression by the Chinese forces. A situation has arisen which calls upon all of us to meet it effectively. We are men and women of peace in this country, conditioned to the ways of peace. We are unused to the necessities of war. Because of this, we endeavoured to follow a policy of peace even when aggression took place on our territory in Ladakh five years ago. We explored avenues for an honourable settlement by peaceful methods. That was our policy all over the world, and we tried to apply it even in our own country. We know the horrors of war in this age today, and we have done our utmost to prevent war from engulfing the world.

But all our efforts have been in vain in so far as our own frontier is concerned, where a powerful and unscrupulous opponent, not caring for peace or peaceful methods, has continuously threatened us and even carried these threats into action. The time has, therefore, come for us to realise fully this menace that threatens the freedom of our people and the independence of our country. I say so even though I realise that no power can ultimately imperil the freedom we have won at so much sacrifice and cost to our people after long ages of foreign domination. But, to conserve that freedom and integrity of our territory we must gird up our loins and face this greatest menace that has come to us since we became independent. I have no doubt in my mind that we shall succeed. Everything

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else is secondary to the freedom of our people and of our Motherland and if necessary everything else has to be sacrificed in this great crisis.

I do not propose to give you the long history of continuous aggression by the Chinese during the last five years and how they have tried to justify it by speeches, arguments and the repeated assertion of untruths and a campaign of calumny and vituperation against our country. Perhaps, there are not many instances in history where one country, that is India, has gone out of her way to be friendly and cooperative with the Chinese Government and people and to plead their cause in the Councils of the world, and then for the Chinese Government to return evil for good and even go to the extent of committing aggression and invade our sacred land. No self-respecting country, and certainly not India with her love of freedom, can submit to this, whatever the consequences may be.

There have been five years of continuous aggression on the Ladakh frontier. Our other frontier at NEFA remained largely free from this aggression. Just when we were discussing ways and means of reducing tension, and there was even some chance of the representatives of the two countries meeting to consider this matter, a new and fresh aggression took place on the NEFA border. This began on the 8th of September last. This was a curious way of lessening tension. It is typical of the way the Chinese Government have treated us.

Our border with China in the NEFA region is well known and well established from ages past. It is sometimes called the McMahon Line. But this Line which separates India from Tibet was the high ridges which divide the watersheds. This has been acknowledged as the border by history, tradition and treaties long before it was called the McMahon Line. The Chinese have in many ways acknowledged it as the border, even though they have called the MacMohan Line illegal. The Chinese laid claim, in their maps, to a large part of the NEFA which has been under our administration for a long time. The present Chinese regime was established about 12 years ago. Before that, the Tibetans did not challenge it. Even the maps that the Chinese produced were acknowledged by them repeatedly to be old and out-of-date maps which had little relevance today.

Yet, on this peaceful border where no trouble or fighting had occurred for a long time, they committed aggression and this also in very large numbers and after vast preparations for a major attack.
Tribute To Troops

I am grieved at the setbacks to our troops that have occurred on this frontier and the reverses we have had. They were overwhelmed by vast numbers and by big artillery, mountain guns and heavy mortars which the Chinese forces have brought with them. I should like to pay a tribute to our officers and men who faced these overwhelming numbers with courage. There may be some more reverses in that area. But one thing is certain—that the final result of this conflict will be in our favour. It cannot be otherwise when a nation like India fights for her freedom and the integrity of the country. We have to meet a powerful and unscrupulous opponent. We have, therefore, to build up our strength and power to face this situation adequately and with confidence. The conflict may continue for long. We must prepare ourselves for it mentally and otherwise. We must have faith in ourselves, and I am certain that that faith and our preparations will triumph. No other result is conceivable. Let there be this faith and fixed determination to free our country from the aggressor.

What then, are we to do about it? We must steel our wills and direct the nation’s energy and resources to this one end. We must change our procedures from slow-moving methods of peace time to those that produce results quickly. We must build up our military strength by all means at our disposal.

Increase Production

But, military strength is not by itself enough. It has to be supported fully by the industry of the nation, and by increasing our production in every way that is necessary for us. I would appeal to all our workers not to indulge in strikes or any other way which comes in the way of increasing production. That production has to be not only in the factory, but in the field. No anti-national or anti-social activities can be tolerated when the nation is in peril.

We shall have to carry a heavy burden, all of us, whatever our vocations may be. The price of freedom will have to be paid in full measure, and no price is too great for the freedom of our people and of our Motherland.

I earnestly trust and I believe that all Parties and groups in the country will unite in this great enterprise and put aside their controversies and arguments which have no place today, and present a solid united front before all those who seek to endanger our freedom and integrity.
The burden on us is going to be great. We must add greatly to our savings by the purchase of bonds to help to finance production and meet the increasing cost of national defence. We must prevent any rise in prices, and we must realise that those who seek to profit at a time of national difficulty are anti-national and injure the nation.

We are in the middle of our Third Five-Year Plan. There can be no question of our giving up this Plan or reducing any important element of it. We may adapt it to the new requirements here and there. But, essentially, the major projects of the Plan must be pursued and implemented, because it is in that way that we shall strengthen our country not only in the present crisis, but in the years to come.

There are many other things that our people can do, and I hope to indicate some of them at a later stage. But the principal thing is for us to devote ourselves to forge the national will to freedom and to work hard to that end. There is no time-limit to this. We shall carry the struggle as long as we do not win, because we cannot submit to the aggression or to the domination of others.

Avoid Panic

We must avoid any panic because that is bad at any time, and there is no reason for it. We have behind us the strength of a united nation. Let us rejoice because of this and apply it to the major task of today, that is preserving our complete freedom and integrity and the removal of all those who commit aggression on India's sacred territory. Let us face this crisis not light-heartedly, but with seriousness and with a stout heart and with firm faith in the rightness of our struggle and confidence in its outcome. Do not believe in rumours. Do not listen to those who have faint hearts. This is a time of trial and testing for all of us, and we have to steel ourselves to the task. Perhaps, we were growing too soft and taking things for granted. But freedom can never be taken for granted. It requires always awareness, strength and austerity.

I invite all of you, to whatever religion or Party or group you may belong, to be comrades in this great struggle that has been forced upon us. I have full faith in our people and in the cause and in the future of our country. Perhaps, that future requires some such testing and stiffening for us.

We have followed a policy of non-alignment and sought friendship of all nations. I believe in that policy fully and we shall
continue to follow it. we are not going to give up our basic principles because of the present difficulty. Even this difficulty will be more effectively met by our continuing that policy.

I wish you well, and whatever may befall us in the future, I want you to hold your heads high and have faith and full confidence in the great future that we envisage for our country.

JAI HIND.

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CHAPTER XVII

PAKISTAN AND PARTITION

Note:—Pakistan which was carved out of the Muslim dominated areas of India, came into existence on 14-15th August, 1947.

Historians differ with regard to the origin of the idea of Pakistan but it is generally believed that in 1930 Sir Mohammed Iqbal mentioned about it for the first time in his Presidential Address which he delivered at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League-Later on it was supported by some prominent Muslims and the All-India Muslim League.

In 1940 the All-India Muslim League, headed by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, officially demanded the establishment of Pakistan as a separate state. Between 1940 and 1946 many proposals were put through by the British Government, the Muslim League, Indian National Congress, other political parties and prominent leaders. Ultimately on 15th August, 1947, the British Government formally created the two Independent States of Pakistan and India and set up a Commission to decide the boundaries of the two countries.

A few basic documents which are given below chronologically trace the origin, development of the Two-Nation theory and the creation of Pakistan:

Documents :

*Dr Sir Mohammed Iqbal’s Concept of Pakistan*

What is the problem and its implications? Is religion a private affair? Would you like to see Islam, as a moral and political ideal, meeting the same fate in the world of Islam as Christianity has already met in Europe? Is it possible to retain Islam as an ethical ideal and to reject it as a polity in favour of national polities, in which religious attitude is not permitted to play any part? This question becomes of special importance in India where the Muslims happen to be in a minority. The proposition that religion is a

*Quoted in Durani, F.K. Khan, The Meaning of Pakistan, Lahore, S. Muhammed Ashraf, 1944, pp. 201-207,
private individual experience is not surprising on the lips of a European. In Europe the conception of Christianity as a monastic order, renouncing the world of matter and fixing its gaze entirely on the world of spirit, led, by a logical process of thought, to the view embodied in this proposition. The nature of the Prophet’s religious experience, as disclosed in the Quran, however, is wholly different. It is not mere experience in the sense of a purely biological event, happening inside the experiment and necessitating no reactions on his social environment. It is individual experience creative of a social order. Its immediate outcome is the fundamentals of a polity with implicit legal concepts whose civic significance cannot be belittled merely because their origin is revelational. The religious ideal of Islam, therefore, is organically related to the social order which it has created. The rejection of the one will eventually involve the rejection of the other. Therefore, the construction of a polity on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim. This is a matter which at the present moment directly concerns the Muslims of India, ‘Man’, says Renan, ‘is enslaved neither by his race, nor by his religion, nor by the course of rivers, nor by the direction of mountain ranges. A great aggregation of men, sane of mind and warm of heart, creates a moral consciousness which is called a nation.’ Such a formation is quite possible, though it involves the long and arduous process of practically remaking men and furnishing them with a fresh emotional equipment. It might have been a fact in India if the teaching of Kabir and the Divine Faith of Akbar had seized the imagination of the masses of this country. Experience, however, shows that the various caste-units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the kind of moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan’s sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many. True statesmanship cannot ignore facts, however unpleasant they may be. The only practical course is not to assume the existence of a state of things which does not exist, but to recognize facts as they are, and to exploit them to our greatest advantage. And it is on the discovery of Indian unity in this direction that the fate of India as well as of Asia really depends. India is Asia in miniature. Part of her
people have cultural affinities with nations in the east and part with nations in the middle and west of Asia. If an effective principle of co-operation is discovered in India, it will bring peace and mutual goodwill to this ancient land which has suffered so long, more because of her situation in historic space than because of any inherent incapacity of her people. And it will at the same time solve the entire political problem of Asia.

It is, however, painful to observe that our attempts to discover such a principle of internal harmony have so far failed. Why have they failed? Perhaps, we suspect each other's intentions and inwardly aim at dominating each other. Perhaps, in the higher interests of mutual co-operation, we cannot afford to part with the monopolies which circumstances have placed in our hands, and conceal our egoism under the cloak of a nationalism, outwardly simulating a large-hearted patriotism, but inwardly as narrow-minded as a caste or a tribe. Perhaps, we are unwilling to recognize that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the cause of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. And as far as I have been able to read the Muslim mind, I have no hesitation in declaring that, if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognized as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism. A community which is inspired by feelings of illwill towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religious and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty, according to the teaching of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of my life and behaviour; and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture, and thereby re-creating its whole past, as a living operative factor, in my present consciousness. Even the authors of the Nehru Report recognize the value of this higher aspect of communalism. While discussing the separation of Sind they say: "To say from the larger viewpoint of nationalism that no communal Provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international viewpoint that there should be no separate nations. Both these statements have a measure of truth in them.
But the staunchest internationalist recognizes that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also, without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation.

Communalism, in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions. Their behaviour is not at all determined by a common race-consciousness. Even the Hindus do not form a homogeneous group. The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognizing the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified. The resolution of the All Parties Muslim Conference at Delhi is to my mind, wholly inspired by this noble ideal of a harmonious whole which, instead of stifling the respective individualities of its component wholes, affords them chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them. And I have no doubt that this house will emphatically endorse the Muslim demands embodied in this resolution. Personally I would go further than the demands embodied in it. I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India. The proposal was put forward before the Nehru Committee. They rejected it on the ground that, if carried into effect, it would give a very unwieldy state. This is true in so far as the area is concerned; in point of population the state contemplated by the proposal would be much less than some of the present Indian Provinces. The exclusion of Ambala Division and perhaps of some Districts where non-Muslims predominate, will make it less extensive and more Muslim in population—so that the exclusion suggested will enable this consolidated state to give a more effective protection to non-Muslim Minorities within its area. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralization in a specified territory. This centralization of the most living portion of the Muslims of India, whose military and police service has, notwithstanding gunfair treat-
ment from the British made the British rule possible in this country, will eventually solve the problem of India as well as of Asia. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus, possessing full opportunity of development within the body politic of India, the North-West India Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be that invasion one of ideas or of bayonets.

* * *

It is clear that in view of India's infinite variety in climates, races, languages, creeds and social systems, the creation of autonomous states, based on the unity of language, race, history, religion and identity of economic interests, is the only possible way to secure a stable constitutional structure in India. The conception of federation underlying the Simon Report necessitates the abolition of the Central Legislative Assembly as a popular assembly, and makes it an assembly of the representatives of federal states. It further demands a redistribution of territory on the lines which I have indicated. And the Report does recommend both. I give my wholehearted support to this view of the matter, and venture to suggest that the redistribution recommended in the Simon Report must fulfil two conditions. It must precede the introduction of the new Constitution, and must be so devised as to finally solve the communal problem. Proper redistribution will make the question of joint and separare electorate automatically disappear from the constitutional controversy of India. It is the present structure of the Provinces that is largely responsible for this controversy. The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word nation to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. Nor is it desirable that it should exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the Provinces as at present constituted, and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates. In such a country and in such circumstances territorial electorates cannot secure adequate representation of all interests, and must inevitably lead to the creation of an oligarchy. The Muslims of India can have no objection to purely territorial electorates if Provinces are demarcated so as to secure comparatively homogeneous communities possessing linguistic, racial, cultural and religious unity.

* * *
To my mind a unitary form of government is simply unthinkably in a self-governing India. What is called 'residuary powers' must be left entirely to self-governing states, the Central Federal State exercising only those powers which are expressly vested in it by the free consent of federal states. I would never advise the Muslims of India to agree to a system, whether of British or of Indian origin, which virtually negates the principle of true federation, or fails to recognize them as a distinct political entity.

The other difficult problem which confronts the successful working of federal system in India is the problem of India's defence. In federated India, as I understand federation, the problem will have only one aspect, i.e. external defence. Apart from Provincial armies necessary for maintaining internal peace, the Indian Federal Congress can maintain, on the North-West Frontier, a strong Indian Frontier Army, composed of units recruited from all Provinces and officered by efficient and experienced military men taken from all communities.

I have no doubt that if a Federal Government is established, Muslim federal states will willingly agree, for purposes of India's defence, to the creation of neutral Indian military and naval forces. Such a neutral military force for the defence of India was a reality in the days of Mughal rule. Indeed in the time of Akbar the Indian frontier was, on the whole, defended by armies officered by Hindu generals. I am perfectly sure that the scheme of a neutral Indian army, based on a federated India, will intensify Muslim patriotic feeling, and finally set at rest the suspicion, if any, of Indian Muslims joining Muslims from beyond the frontier in the event of an invasion.

I have thus tried briefly to indicate the way in which the Muslims of India ought in my opinion to look at the two most important constitutional problems of India. A redistribution of British India, calculated to secure a permanent solution of the communal problem, is the main demand of the Muslims of India. If, however, the Muslim demand of a territorial solution of the communal problem is ignored, then I support, as emphatically as possible, the Muslim demands repeatedly urged by the All-India Muslim League and the All-India Muslim Conference. The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates, in the
Punjab and Bengal, or fail to guarantee them 33 per cent representation in any central Legislature.

* * *

No Muslim politician should be sensitive to the taunt embodied in that propaganda word—communalism—expressly devised to exploit what the Prime Minister calls British democratic sentiments, and to mislead England into assuming a state of things which does not really exist in India. Great interests are at stake. We are seventy millions and far more homogeneous than any other people in India. Indeed the Muslims of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word. The Hindus, though ahead of us in almost all respects, have not yet been able to achieve the kind of homogeneity which is necessary for a nation, and which Islam has given you as a free gift. No doubt they are anxious to become a nation, but the process of becoming a nation is a kind of travail, and, in the case of Hindu India, involves a complete overhauling of her social structure. Nor should the Muslim leaders and politicians allow themselves to be carried away by the subtle but fallacious argument that Turkey and Persia and other Muslim countries are progressing on national, i.e., territorial, lines. The Muslims of India are differently situated. The countries of Islam outside India are practically wholly Muslim in population. The minorities there belong, in the language of the Quran, to the ‘people of the Book’. There are no social barriers between Muslims and the ‘People of the Book’. A Jew or a Christian or a Zoroastrian does not pollute the food of Muslim by touching it’ and the Law of Islam allows inter-marriage with the ‘People of the Book’. Indeed the first practical step that Islam took towards the realization of a final combination of humanity was to call upon peoples possessing practically the same ethical ideal to come forward and combine. The Quran declares, ‘O People of the Book! Come, let us join together on the “word” (Unity of God), that is common to us all’. The wars of Islam and Christianity, and, later, European aggression in its various forms, could not allow the infinite meaning of this verse to work itself out in the world of Islam. Today it is being gradually realized in the countries of Islam in the shape of what is called Muslim Nationalism.

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As things stand, India may be divided into four cultural zones for Muslims where homogeneity may be introduced and at least even for the Hindus. The Indian States interspersed all over the country may be distributed between the different zones in accordance with their natural affinities. Each such zone will form a homogeneous State with a highly decentralized form of government within, wherever more than a unit should compose the zone, but fitting along with similar States into an all-India Federation.

**Muslim Cultural Zones**

1. **North-West Block**

Taking the case of the Muslims first, there is at present a great Muslim block in the North-West consisting of Sind, Baluchistan, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and the Indian States of Khairpur and Bahawalpur. This area may be converted into a single autonomous State formed on the basis of federal relationship between the six units thereby allowing over 25 millions of Muslims a free home of their own.

2. **North-East Block**

Right on the other side of India, the North-East, there is a solid block of Muslims in Eastern Bengal and Assam of over 30 millions, who may be assigned a free political existence.

3. **Delhi-Lucknow Block**

In between the two above-mentioned blocks the Muslims are unevenly distributed. Those of this area living close to each of the two blocks should be attracted for naturalization to the one nearer to them. The rest, the great bulk, belonging at present to the United Province and Bihar numbering about 12 millions, may be concentrated in a block extending in a line from the Eastern border of Patiala to Lucknow and rounding up Rampur on the way.

This block is carved out to allow the Hindu nationality, to keep within its zone all its great religious centres like Benares, Hardwar, Allahabad and Muttra. To shift it on to any other part in that part of the North will defeat that purpose.

4. The Deccan Block

The case of the Muslims below the Vindhyas and Satpuras calls for a special consideration. They are scattered all over the South in colonies of varying size and exceed 12 millions in number. For them a zone is to be carved. Such a zone the Dominions of Hyderabad may provide with a strip of territory restored to them in the South, running through the districts of Kurnool, Cuddapah, Chittore, North Arcot and Chinglepet down to the City of Madras. Such a strip with an opening to the sea will be found absolutely necessary to settle the large Muslim mercantile and marine community living for ages on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts.

The formation of this block will be advantageous to everyone concerned and allow the fullest autonomous existence to five distinct Hindu nationalities with exclusive boundaries of their own—the Mahratta, the Kanarese, the Malayali, the Tamilian and the Andhra. The present territory of Hyderabad is linguistically not a unit. Mahratti is the language of the North-Western districts, Kanaresie of the South-Western and Telugu of the Eastern districts. The Hindus speaking these languages will be joined to their respective nationalities to the West and South-West in British India. The Muslims of the Peninsula who will concentrate in this Deccan block will in their turn have restored to them the historic consciousness that they are the common inheritors of the Muslim culture that developed and flourished here for centuries consummating in the time of the Moghuls when the whole of this area formed part of a single Suba.

The area assigned to this block may appear to be rather too large for the number of Muslims to accommodate. But there are special factors which are to be taken into consideration. Large portions of the Dominions of Hyderabad are still undeveloped or rather covered by either forests or barren rocky tracts. The Muslims from a vast peninsula are to be gathered here—from Central Provinces, the whole of Bombay and the Madras Presidencies, Mysore, Cochin, and Travancore. Most of the Muslims of the areas concerned have shown phenomenal increase in population during the last few decades, and their future expansion is to be kept in view. Moreover, the Muslims of the North-East,
and Delhi-Lucknow blocks will be confined to narrow zones. The Deccan block will provide a settlement for surplus population from these blocks. There is this also not to be lost sight of. The minor communities such as the Christians, the jungle tribes and a vast section of the Harijans inured to the climate may most likely stay on where they are as privileged communities adding thus to the total quota of population that may legitimately be allotted to the area.

In respect of this block, it may be suggested that since the Hindus form the majority of population in Hyderabad, the Muslim minority may as well shift to somewhere. If the idea is to be given effect to, a zone is to be carved out for them somewhere in the peninsula. It may be kept in view that as many as five cultural zones have to be allotted to the Hindus under the scheme in this peninsula—the Mahrattas, the Andhras, the Tamilians, the Kanarase and the Malayalis each with an exclusive boundary of its own. If the Muslim zone is to be shifted from the central place in the Deccan, it will have to be pushed into one of the five Hindu zones. That will be bifurcating the Hindu zone concerned and destroying its linguistic or cultural homogeneity. That is the reason why a neutral ground is chosen to serve as a zone for the Muslims south of the Vindhyas, and such a neutral zone is what is known as the Dominions of Hyderabad where three different Hindu nationalities, the Mahrattas, the Andhras and the Kanarase have overspread themselves from their natural homelands on either side. The members of the three nationalities may now join their respective main stocks and live a compact homogeneous life with their own kind, leaving the neutral area to concentrate within it the entire Muslim population from all over the peninsula. It is only a matter of coincidence that this neutral land happens to be the domain of a Muslim ruler; but the thought of making it a homeland for Muslims is not chosen on that ground although the coincidence may offer considerable facility in the final settlement.

Minor Muslim Centre: In suggesting the formation of the above four blocks for the Muslims, the case of those living in Rajputana, Gujrat, Malwa and Western India States, has not been forgotten. They will need to be concentrated in the territories of the Muslim States of Bhopal, Tonk, Junagadh, Jaora and others, and in a newly constituted Free City of Ajmer on the same basis of the exchange of population.
Hindu Cultural Zones

The rest of India will now be in a position to resolve itself into not less than eleven Hindu cultural zones guaranteeing permanence to every Hindu cultural interest in the country. To begin from the East, a part of Bengal (1) with probably a little extension into the present Bihar, which may have cultural affinities with it, may form a zone exclusively for the Bengali Hindus. The Oriya-speaking people may be grouped together now in a greater Orissa (2). West Bihar and the territory lying between it and the proposed Muslim block of Delhi and Lucknow and extending from the Himalayas down to the Vindhyanas including some of the Central Indian States which fall within this orbit may together form another zone. The Hindu sacred centres of Hardwar, Allahabad, Benares, Muttra and others will all fall within this area. This will be the ‘Hindustan’ proper (3) where the basic Aryan culture may enjoy the fullest freedom for further growth and influence with a rejuvenated Hindi probably supplying a fresh inspiration. The Rajput States of Rajputana (4) may form together another zone reminiscent of their epic life. Gujrat (5) with the Hindu Kathiawar principalities may be grouped into a separate zone where the Gujrati culture may pursue a life of its own. The Maharattas (6) with their strong national characteristics and a culture of their own should be assigned a territory for themselves. In like manner of Dravidian group of cultures, the Canarese (7), the Andhra (8), the Tamilian (9), and the Malayali (10) will need recognition for a separate existence on their own individual lines.

A similar zone (11) will have to be provided to the Hindus and Sikhs of the Muslim block in the North-West. In respect of them it may be suggested that the Hindus of Sind may be assigned to the adjoining Hindu zones of Gujrat and Rajputana. As for the Hindus and Sikhs in the Punjab or the rest of the Muslim block, a zone may be formed composed of all the non-Muslim States at present under the Punjab States Agency to be occupied entirely by the Hindus and the Sikhs, who materially do not differ from each other in culture. The Hindu State of Kashmir will need to be included in this Hindu-Sikh zone. There is a predominant Muslim population in the State. The districts occupied by them may by mutual agreement be transferred to the Punjab proper and in return, a portion of the North-East of the present Punjab comprising the Kangra Valley be added to the jurisdiction of the
Maharaja. This zone will be large enough to accommodate all the Hindus and Sikhs living in this part of the country.

Royal Commission

The creation of the above Hindu and Muslim zones should fulfil the aspirations of every cultural unit and provide for each a free homeland in proportional extent of the habitable area to its strength in the total population of India. The demarcation indicated here of the different zones is merely suggestive in character and may be properly determined by a Royal Commission appointed for the purpose.

Exchange of Population

The exchange of population involved in the proposed scheme, may no doubt at first create a wrench in the heart of many a person, Hindu or Muslim, attached to a particular soil. But the advantages which may ensue should far outweigh this consideration. With economic status quo assured in this new home to every individual through a system of reciprocity a new sentiment immeasurably higher and nobler than that of earthrootedness will be his inevitable reward. As the exchange proposed is not merely to promote the cause of India’s unity but permanently to assure to the Hindus and the Muslims perfect freedom to live their own cultural lives in homelands of their own, every incidental inconvenience will have cheerfully to be borne by everyone concerned. Indeed in the transitional stage exchange may, as an experimental measure, take the form of a voluntary movement.

The idea of exchange of population, after all, should not be so strange to the twentieth century with its multiple means of easy transit; and with goodwill on either side and the process spread over a conveniently long period, incidental inconvenience may be minimized. The inconvenience may be the greater in the case of the Muslims who, barring the two blocks at either end of the North, are dispersed all over the country in detached colonies. The question of their concentration into the Delhi-Lucknow block or the Deccan will involve evident sacrifices. But it is better that the present generation of them face the ordeal manfully rather than leave the task to their children who may not probably have a chance of a peaceful exchange which at this time may be possible for us to effect. Indeed such migration or exchange is not new to the Muslim races. In the case of the Hindus
the shifting will be comparatively over a short distance and into the same climatic conditions. Indeed the exchange of population in respect of the Muslim block of Hyderabad will be all to their advantage; for here inhabit three different Hindu races speaking three different languages of their own, viz, Telugu, Canarese and Mahratti. They will now be gathered to their respective main stocks in the adjoining zones and enjoy a homogeneous life with their own kind. The exchange ultimately is a question of compensation for property in all forms left behind by the migrants; and that should not be difficult to settle between the Governments of the federal units concerned. The preparation of registers of those who will be involved in the exchange and the determination of the reciprocal financial obligations of the federal units concerned may take time; but it can be done, if the two parties are in earnest to promote a country-wide unity on the basis of individual security.

Under the proposed order the following provisions will need to be embodied in the Constitution:

Public Law of Indian Nations. (1) Individuals belonging to one or other of the several nationalities may for special purposes, live in zones to which they do not culturally belong. Such individuals will be afforded security of person and right of citizenship under a 'Public Law of Indian Nations' to be adopted by the Central Government.

Religious Shrines, etc. (2) All religious shrines, monuments and graveyards belonging to the Hindus or the Muslims and left behind by either will be preserved and looked after by each federal state under the supervision of the Central Government.

Christians, Parsis, Buddhists, etc. (3) The smaller nationalities such as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Parsis and Buddhists will be afforded by each state, Muslim or Hindu, all the necessary religious or cultural safeguards which they might need to preserve their individuality. They will at the same time have the right to ask for a cantonal life for themselves, if they should desire it at any time.

Harijans. (4) The various Depressed Classes and Untouchables, styled Harijans, dispersed as they are all over the country and forming countless racial varieties and possessing no common culture between them, and being mostly landless, will be given perfect liberty to choose the Hindu or Muslim zones to form their permanent homelands where they will enjoy the fullest right of citizenship, even as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Buddhists and Parsis.

Such is the federal order which the Muslim is anxious to see ultimately established in the country. There is nothing in the
conception which should not be agreeable even to the creed of the Congress who too look forward to refashioning India on a cultural basis. ‘The Indian National Congress’, states a joint statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Narendra Deo and Professor K. T. Shah, ‘has accepted and acted upon the principle of linguistic division of Provinces. That division usually coincides with cultural groupings and local sentiment and should be made the basis of a future reconstruction.’ In the same strain, only recently, did Dr. Pattabhi Seetharamayya, a prominent member of the Congress High Command, came out with a scheme for the distribution of the country into cultural zones. So, there should be no difficulty in the two communities putting their heads together and reaching some settlement. The present scheme is indeed more thorough-going and scientific, because according to the Congress ideal, cultural distribution is to follow linguistic lines, whereas under this, the cultural lines are fuller, comprehending the linguistic as well. The Congress proposal gives no cultural autonomy to the Muslims, while under this scheme every cultural unit, be it Hindu or Muslim, is given a homeland of its own, where it may develop on its own lines in a spirit of goodwill towards every other unit. Not merely this, it offers to the smaller minorities—the Christians, the Parsis, the Buddhists, the Anglo-Indians and others—cantonal lives if they choose to have. And then it leaves the Indian States intact, even as they are today, to enjoy wherever necessary a common regional and cultural life with contiguous territory possessing common affinities. The scheme, above all, does not in the least disturb India’s connexion with Great Britain as may be settled between them from time to time.

Such being its peaceful outlook, it deserves the earnest consideration of every well-wisher of India anxious to remove permanently from the life of the country the chronic differences which have kept the two great people of India, the Hindus and the Muslims, on terms of estrangement at the present day. The scheme is a scheme for unity and not for disruption.

Alternative Constitution

Section 1

In the closing pages, I have outlined a Constitution for India which may mark the first step towards the realization of the Zonal ideal described in the preceding chapter. That outline may as well
be considered on its own merits without reference to any such ideal, and as an immediate solution to the problem before us.

In the first place, the proposed Constitution gives to every Provincial Federal Unit as full an autonomy as is possible under the circumstances and adequately safeguards the rights of the Indian States and their rulers by reducing the Federal List of subjects to a bare minimum. As a corollary to this, it provides for Zonal or Regional Boards for contiguous federal units possessing common affinities to evolve common policies in respect of subjects of cultural and economic importance common to them, leaving the individual units to legislate in the light of the policies so evolved. In the second place, the proposed Constitution gives to every Provincial Unit and the Centre a composite stable executive with an agreed policy instead of a parliamentary executive in the English sense as provided for in the Act of 1935. Lastly, it provides a machinery whereby cultural and economic security may be afforded to the Muslim and other Minorities at the Centre as well as in the federal units.

These features may be considered *Seriatim*.

*Provincial Autonomy*

We know that there is a body of opinion which supports the theory that in a federation the Centre should retain as much of residuary power as possible. In other words, the Centre should be quite strong. Such a theory could not hold good in a sub-continent like India. In fact, the idea of a federation composed of units of diversified character and following diversified systems of government ranging from autocracy to democratic autonomy would not be a federation in the strict sense of the term. It would at best become an arrangement to keep together units which owe allegiance in some manner to an Imperial centre. The truth is that India is vast and varied enough to be quite capable of forming itself into several natural federations on different cultural lines. But at this stage, it is necessary in the highest interests of the country as a whole that the divergent units should not all be yoked together except in matters which are absolutely common to all, such as Defence, Foreign Affairs, Commerce, Communications and the like. To attempt to bring them all under a single administration for other purposes also would be tantamount to a sort of forcible usurpation of the power which should vest with the Federal Units. The following are the chief directions in which this interference will make itself felt adversely:
I. India is a land where several cultures subsist side by side. There are broadly speaking two great cultures, the Muslim and the Hindu, each of which very often requires separate treatment by legislation and otherwise. The Hindu culture is in reality a loose federation of several cultures marked by differences in languages and customs, social habits and laws. For instance a Nambudri Brahmin of Malabar has nothing in common with a Machwa Brahmin of Bengal or a half-Muslim Brahmin Pandit of Kashmir. Each in his own individual jurisdiction supplies a background to the social life of the Hindus peculiar to the part of the country where he lives. Such examples can be easily multiplied to demonstrate the vertical as well as the oblique fissures cutting and separating the Hindu society throughout the country. If, suppose a subject of cultural bearing should be adopted by legislation at the Centre, it will mean forcing on the whole country a culture which would be, to say the least, quite inconsistent with the cultures of several Units prevailing at the same time in numerous places. And when the fact is taken into consideration that a great community like the Mussulmans will come under the purview of such a legislation, it is bound to result in a conflict and its accompanying stress and strain. The object and aim of the proposed scheme is to avoid such unpleasant contingencies and social disturbances. The provision holds good as much in the economic field as in other fields.

2. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Indian States are afraid to join the federation chiefly because they apprehend that the federal interference would operate adversely on their internal independence. As no federation would succeed unless and until the Indian States willingly and cheerfully join to work it, it would be the height of statesmanship to allay fears of the States in every respect. Under the proposed scheme they will have the necessary sense of security such as would make them willing and contented units of the federation.

3. From the standpoint of Muslims as of other Minorities, it is necessary that the residuary powers should vest only in the Provincial Units and in the proposed Regional Boards to the necessary extent. As Minorities in most Federal Units, the position of the Muslims would be one of comparative dependence on the Hindu majority. If the Centre also should exercise its jurisdiction in matters which might as well be dealt with by the constituent units, the position of the Muslims and other Minorities will become more difficult, because under the Constitution of the Act of 1935, the majority community of India would not fail to dominate at the Centre, as well as in the Provinces, subjecting the Minorities to
the treatment, as it were, of a double-edged sword. Such autonomy as the Muslims might have under the Act in a few Provinces would become useless to them by reason of the domination of the great Hindu majority in the important subjects of the Concurrent List. Should 'the Federal List' be confined to a bare minimum of items, it would certainly be a great relief, as it would give a sense of security to minority communities, as well as to hundreds of Indian States both large and small. After all, in a country where a single homogeneous nation is impossible to evolve, any attempt on the part of a majority Community to seize power at the Centre in the name of nationalism would be undiluted highhandedness which the Mussulmans who had long ruled that community could not brook under any circumstances whatever.

Zonal Boards

With full autonomy conceded to Federal Units by reducing the Federal List of subjects to a bare minimum, and by eliminating in consequence the Concurrent List altogether, the need will be felt for co-ordinating the activities of such contiguous units as enjoy common affinities in respect of subjects of cultural and economic importance common to them. To meet this need zonal or regional boards are suggested to enable such groups to evolve common policies on common problems, leaving the individual federal units, whether Indian States or Provinces, to legislate in the light of the common policies so evolved. The formation of such regional boards will dispense with the need of resolving such groups into sub-federations which will simply multiply administrative and legislative paraphernalia in the country.

The Executive

It has already been explained how a parliamentary executive in India would in practice generate into a permanent communal executive responsible only to a single majority community on whose sufferance all Minorities would have to live. To safeguard against the possible tyranny of communal majority, the proposed alternative Constitution provides for a stable though composite Executive suited to the peculiar new conditions demonstrated above. Such an Executive following an agreed policy would assure peace and order to the country in general and a complete sense of security to the minority communities in particular. The Executive must needs be not only strong but also quite stable; otherwise it would reflect the
changing attitude of the Legislature from time to time—the Legislature which under the existing system of franchise is bound to be dominated by one or other community in the Provinces, and wholly and permanently by a single community at the Centre. Since such a stable Executive could not be composed of members belonging to the majority party alone but should necessarily be drawn from all parties or groups, its policy would not be other than the result of a compromise or of an attempt to reconcile different points of view. The general lines of such an agreed policy would have to be laid down by mutual agreement in a conference of representatives of political organizations of the different communities and that on an all-India basis.

The Executive called 'Composite Government' of the character adumbrated above is different from the Executive called 'Coalition Government.' The latter comes into existence where there is a plurality of parties or groups, none of which, nor two or more of which, can command an absolute majority. Such a contingency is not possible under circumstances that can be envisaged at present. In most Provincial Legislatures we have but a big party which represents only the majority community. It is only when there is a split in the big party that coalition comes in as in Bengal, where the Muslims are divided and where consequently the Government is very weak. The Executive of a Coalition Government therefore is always an unstable Government, and even when it is reshuffled, it would still be a Coalition Government. In order therefore that peace and order—the two primary objects of every Government—should be maintained effectively, more particularly when there is conflict of interests and cultures between the two leading communities neither of whom is willing to accept the political domination of the other, a composite stable Government, such as exists in America and follows an agreed policy, is the only form of government that is likely to arrest the disintegration that has already set in as a result of the Act of 1935. The form of such a composite stable Government can be settled between the communities concerned, although as a basis of discussion we have suggested that the Prime Minister in each Province should be elected by the entire Legislature to function during the lifetime of the Legislature itself. He should be free to select his own colleagues on the Executive in terms of the ratio to be fixed on an all-India basis by agreement between the communities concerned. The Executive selected by the elected Premier will not be removable by any adverse vote of the Legislature and will devote itself exclusively to the welfare of the
people by following a policy agreed by the members composing the Government.

Safeguards

Under the section dealing with safeguards, the proposed transitional Constitution has suggested ways and means whereby the interests of the Muslims, as well as of other Minorities, may adequately be safeguarded both in legislation and administration; and they are so self-explanatory that they need not be discussed here at any length.

The scheme which follows is given in the form in which it was prepared for the consideration of the All-India Muslim League.

Section II

Outline of Alternative Constitution

The transitional Constitution for India will have to fit into the conception of the ultimate federation outlined in the preceding chapter, and must lead to it. This will necessitate the creation of certain new Provinces on cultural or linguistic lines without involving immediate exchange of population. The new Provinces may be constituted even piecemeal, but one of them at any rate, should be carved immediately out of the present United Provinces. It should be formed with a view to resolving it eventually into a Muslim zone, and a permanent home for all Muslims living at present in the United Provinces and Bihar.

Transitional Federation

It is for the ‘Constitutional’ lawyers to work out the details of the transitional Constitution, but any such Constitution should embody the following provisions:

1. In the Preamble, it must be clearly brought out that the aim of the transitional federal Constitution laid down is to lead India to a federation of culturally homogeneous states.

2. Legislation:

(a) The Federal Legislative List should be reduced to a minimum number of items and be confined only to subjects which concern the common political and economic interests of India as a whole.
All other subjects should form the Provincial List subject to the following proviso:

**Regional Boards**

There may be subjects of cultural and economic importance common to contiguous federal units and it will be found useful to have for them regional or zonal Boards to evolve common policies, leaving the individual federal units to legislate in the light of the common policies so evolved.

Three of the zones may be constituted as follows:

2. North-East Zone composed of Bengal and Assam.
3. The Dominions of Hyderabad.

The rest of India may be resolved into linguistic zones even as the Congress may wish.

The above arrangement has two advantages:

(i) It will remove cultural legislation from federal control.

(ii) It will develop a zonal or regional sense necessary to evolve culturally autonomous states, which the transitional Constitution is to lead to.

**Safeguards for Muslims**

Whatever be the nature of the transitional federal Constitution whether consisting of newly formed units as suggested above or of units in their existing form, the Muslims will need the undermentioned safeguards to be incorporated in the Constitution.

**A. Representation on Legislature**

1. The system of separate electorates for Muslims should be maintained, as well as the existing proportion of Muslims in the several Legislatures.

2. The inclusion of the Indian States in an all-India federation should be made dependent upon their returning to the Central Legislature a sufficient quota of Muslims so as to allow to their community, in view of their political importance, and particularly of their predominant share in the defence of the country, at least a third of the seats at the Centre.

3. If the proposed zonal or regional boards are established the Muslims should be allowed adequate and effective representa-
tion commensurate with their total strength in the Legislatures of the several units composing each zone.

B. Legislation

All subjects touching their religion, personal law and culture will be the exclusive concern of the Muslim members of the Legislature concerned, constituted into a special committee for the purpose. The strength of the committee should be augmented by a third by co-opting representative Muslims learned in Muslim law and religion. The decisions of such a committee should be accepted by the whole legislature. Such decisions, should they seem to affect the interests of other communities, might on reference made by the head of the administration be reviewed by the Legislature as a whole, but no amendments shall be permissible which should affect the basis of the legislative enactment.

C. Executive

1. The Executive Government of the Ministers in each Province or at the Centre should not be drawn from the majority party alone as is the vogue in homogeneous democratic countries like England. Here in India, it is the majority community which permanently returns the majority of members to the Legislature and, inasmuch as the majority community, namely, the Hindus, unfortunately differ from the Muslims, the next largest community in the country, in almost every detail of domestic and social life, the governance of the country by a permanent majority of the Legislature resolves itself into governance of the country by the majority community only, and cannot be expected to be a Government of the whole people.

The Executive that needs to be chosen for every province and the Centre should, in the present stage, be a composite executive representing Hindus and Muslims with an agreed policy acceptable to both, and not liable to be turned out by the Legislature. That should be the arrangement, at any rate, until India resolves itself into a federation of culturally autonomous states, when alone true democracy may take its birth in the country, and responsible government justified.

Under the transitional Constitution, therefore, the Executive should be not a 'parliamentary Executive' in the English sense, but a 'stable Executive' independent of the Legislature as in the great democracy of the United States of America, but the Prime Minister
instead of being elected directly by the people as the President in U.S.A. should be elected by the entire Legislature, and should remain in office during the life of the Legislature, and will not be removable by it. He will choose his colleagues or Ministers in the interests of good government from the members of all groups in the Legislature, an equitable number of whom should be Muslims enjoying the confidence of the Muslim members of the Legislature concerned and should be selected from a panel suggested by them.

2. Of the two Provinces into which the United Provinces will be divided, the Prime Minister for the Muslim Province should be a Muslim, as this area will have in the transitional period to prepare itself to resolve into a Muslim zone, and will have its policy to be directed by a Muslim.

3. In the case of the portfolios affecting Law and Order and Education which have to deal with problems over which cultural differences arise, provision should be made to have a Minister and an Assistant Minister and to appoint a Muslim to either of the two posts, in order that the Government may have the benefit of his steadying influence.

D. Public Service Commission

It should be provided in the Constitution that in all Provinces where the Muslims are in a minority and at the Centre, one at least of the members of the Public Service Commission should be Muslim, part of whose duty shall be to see that the ratio fixed for the Muslims in Public Services is properly adhered to in practice by the Government concerned.

E. Judiciary

The personal law of the Muslims should be administered by Muslim Judges.

F. Muslim Board of Education and Economic Uplift

It should be provided in the Constitution that in each provincial unit a Muslim Board should be established to control and supervise the cultural side of the education of Muslims, their technical and industrial training, and to devise measures for their economic and social uplift. For this purpose a proper budgetary provision shall be made.
G. Special Taxation

If for any special object, the Muslims are willing to tax themselves, the necessary legislation should be passed.

Machinery to effect Exchange of Population

One of the objects of the transitional Constitution is to facilitate and prepare the ground for the migration of Muslims and the Hindus into the zones specified for them so as to develop them into culturally homogeneous states. During the transitional period migration should be on a voluntary basis. For this the necessary legislation will have to be passed for each region, and a machinery set up to organize and regulate this voluntary migration. The proposed Constitution will, therefore, have to provide for the appointment of a Royal Commission to lay down a suitable programme of gradual exchange of population.

The result of voluntary migration may be reviewed from time to time and if it should be found that it has eliminated the cultural clashes between the Muslims and the Hindus to an appreciable extent and given them a sense of security wherever they need it or has brought about a change of heart in either camp, the question of compulsory migration may be put off indefinitely, and the voluntary method adhered to for a further term.

Sir Sikander Hyat-Khan's Scheme, 1939*

It is hardly necessary for our present purpose to recapitulate the widely divergent reasons which have actuated the various political parties and interests in British India, as also the Indian States, to enter a covenant against the Federal Scheme embodied in the Constitution Act of 1935. The grounds of criticism are well known and have been repeatedly ventilated by the leading spokesmen of the parties concerned. We need only take cognizance of the fact that the federal proposals embodied in the Government of India Act are unacceptable to a vast majority of the people in this country. At the same time, it is admitted by all concerned, and even those who are opposed to the present scheme, that a Federation of some kind is not only desirable but indispensable for

*Originally the scheme was published in the Indian Newspapers on 30th July, 1939. Later it was included in Dr. Khan's book entitled: Outlines of a Scheme of Indian Federation. Lahore, Mufid-i-Am Press, 1940.
the ordered and peaceful progress of the country as a whole. In a sentence the problem resolves itself into this—"whether it is possible to devise a Federal Scheme to replace the one envisaged by the framers of the Government of India Act, which would satisfy and compose the conflicting interests of the various communities and classes, or at least command a larger measure of support than the present scheme". Any alternative scheme to be generally acceptable must, therefore, be so devised as to allay the reasonable doubts and apprehensions of the Minorities and the Indian States, and at the same time meet the criticism levelled on the score of inadequacy of political power which it is proposed to transfer to the representatives of the people under the present scheme.

The problem is undoubtedly difficult and complex; but it should not be beyond the ingenuity of British statesmen to plan a revised Federal Scheme which, if not universally acceptable, would at least command a much larger measure of support and be free from some of the more serious defects which have been prominently brought into relief as a result of the working of the new Constitution in the provincial sphere. It is my fixed conviction that any scheme which does not rigidly and specifically circumscribe the authority of the Centre to matters of all India concern (which are enumerated later in this note) is not likely to work. One of the main criticisms, on the part of the Minorities and the Indian States, against the present scheme is that it does not afford adequate protection to the British Indian Provinces and Indian States from interference by the Centre in the internal administration of the units. It is apprehended that a domineering Central Government might be tempted gradually to undermine the authority and the independence of the units and thus reduce Provincial Autonomy to a farce. It is further contended that the safeguards provided in the present scheme to curb such a tendency are likely to prove ineffective. The ineffectiveness of the safeguards in the provincial sphere is cogently cited in support of this contention. In my opinion, any scheme of federation which seeks to cater for the peculiar conditions of this vast sub-continent and which can reasonably be expected to work smoothly must take into account the legitimate desire of the Minorities to safeguard their religious, political, cultural and economic rights and interests, as also secure, to the satisfaction of the Princes, complete immunity to the Indian States from undue interference by the Centre or British Indian Provinces in their internal affairs. Without these guarantees it would be unreasonable to expect willing cooperation which is essential for the successful working of the Federal machine.
I venture to give below the outlines of an alternative federal scheme for consideration......

Some of the salient features of the scheme are:

1. Instead of bringing British Indian Provinces and Indian States into the Federation as two distinct components, it will provide for their entering it together on a regional basis which will be conducive to the solidarity of the country and the stability of the Central Government.

2. It will encourage collaboration between contiguous units, i.e., both between British Indian Provinces and Indian States whose geographical proximity, common language and affinity of economic and other interests form natural ties to bind them together. For instance:

   (a) In administrative matters, and particularly in matters pertaining to law and order, this scheme will encourage the various units in a 'zone' to make reciprocal arrangements and, when necessary, to devise a common line of action.

   (b) In the economic field it will enable the units to share in common arrangements for the establishment of institutes for industrial and agricultural research, for experimental and demonstration farms and other similar matters.

3. By thus encouraging collaboration between British Indian Provinces and Indian States it will tend to reduce causes and occasions for friction, which would otherwise be constantly present if British Indian and Indian States units are kept in two watertight compartments.

   By confining the jurisdiction of the Federal Executive and Legislature to a few specified subjects of common concern, it will enable both the British Indian Units and the Indian States to enter the Federation on a uniform basis. At the same time it will allay the doubts and misgivings of the units by eliminating the possibility of undue interference by the Centre in their internal affairs.

5. It will ensure the willing and loyal co-operation of the Units with the Federal Centre and thus avoid the growth of any fissional tendency among the Units.

6. It will effectively safeguard the integrity and autonomy of British Indian and Indian States Units; and

7. Will give to the Minorities a greater sense of security.

* * *
The Scheme In General Outline

(1) For the purpose of establishing an All-India Federation on a regional basis the country shall be demarcated into seven ‘zones’ as under:

**Zone 1.** Assam + Bengal (minus one or two western Districts in order to reduce the size of the ‘zone’ with a view to approximate it to other ‘zones’) + Bengal States and Sikkim.

**Zone 2.** Bihar + Orissa (plus the area transferred from Bengal to Orissa). This would benefit Orissa which is at present handicapped to some extent on account of its limited resources and area.

**Zone 3.** United Provinces and U.P. States.

**Zone 4.** Madras + Travancore + Madras States and Coorg.

**Zone 5.** Bombay + Hyderabad + Western India States + Bombay States + Mysore and C.P. States.

**Zone 6.** Rajputana States (minus Bikaner and Jaisalmer) + Gwalior + Central India States + Bihar and Orissa States + C.P. and Berar.

**Zone 7.** Punjab + Sind + N. W. F. Province + Kashmir + Punjab States + Baluchistan + Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

(2) There shall be a regional Legislature for each zone consisting of representatives of both British Indian and Indian States Units included in that zone. For the purposes of representation in the regional Legislature every Unit will be entitled to send representatives in accordance with the share allotted to it in the scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, for representation in the Federal Assembly.

(3) The representatives in the various regional Legislatures shall collectively constitute the Central Federal Assembly which will consist of 375 members (250 from British India and 125 from the Indian States).

(4) One-third of the total number of representatives in the Federal Assembly shall be Muslims.

(5) The other Minorities also shall be allotted the share apportioned to them in the Federal Assembly by the Government of India Act, 1935.

(6) The regional Legislature shall deal only with subjects which are included in the regional List under this scheme, but may at the request of two or more units included in the zone, legislate with regard to subjects falling in the Provincial List in order to secure uniformity and facility of administration within the zone. Such enactments would for application in any unit within the region require
confirmation by the Government of the unit concerned and shall thereafter supersede any provincial (or State) legislation on the subject.

(7) In the regional Legislature no Bill or other measure having the force of law, relating to a subject included in the Regional List shall be considered to have been passed unless two-thirds of the representatives vote in the favour of the measure. (This limitation is suggested in order to give additional security to the smaller Units).

(8) The regional Legislatures may by a resolution authorise the Federal Legislature to undertake legislation with regard to subjects included in the Regional and Provincial Lists. But such authorization shall not be effective unless at least 4 out of the 7 zones ask for such action. And unless such authorization is endorsed by all the 7 regional Legislatures the enactments so passed shall have force only in those zones which ask for such legislation.

(9) Any law enacted by the Federal Legislature at the request of the zones and by the regional Legislatures at the request of the units shall be repealed if in the case of the Federal Legislatures at least 3 zones and in the case of the regional Legislatures at least half the number of units in that zone ask for its repeal.

(10) The Federal Executive shall consist of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General as representing His Majesty the King and a Council of Ministers, as far as possible, not less than 7 and not more than 11 in number, including the Federal Prime Minister.

(11) The Federal Prime Minister shall be appointed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General from among the members of the Federal Legislature and the remaining Ministers also from among the members of the Legislature in consultation with the Federal Prime Minister, but subject to the following conditions and exceptions:

(i) That each zone shall have at least one representative in the Cabinet;

(ii) That at least one-third of the Ministers so appointed shall be Muslims;

(iii) That at least 2, if the number of Ministers does not exceed 9, and at least 3, if the number is in excess of 9, shall be chosen from amongst the representatives of Indian States.

(iv) That during the first 20 (or 15) years from the date of the inauguration of the Federal Scheme His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General may nominate 2 of his
Ministers either from among the members of the Federal Legislature or from outside and entrust to them the portfolios of Defence and External Affairs. Thereafter all the Ministers shall be selected from among the members of the Legislature.

(12) (a) The normal term of office of the Ministers shall be the same as the life of the Federal Legislature (i.e. 5 years).

(b) The Ministers will retain office at the pleasure of His Majesty’s representative, i.e., the Viceroy and Governor-General.

(c) A Minister representing a particular zone shall be removed if he loses the confidence of the majority of the representatives of his regional Legislature.

(d) The Ministry as a whole except the Ministers referred to in paragraph 11 (c) above shall resign if a vote of no-confidence against the Ministry is carried in the Federal Legislature.

(13) The representatives for the regional Legislatures shall be chosen in the following manner:

(i) In the case of British Indian units by the Provincial Legislature in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Government of India Act, 1935, for the election of representatives to the Federal Assembly.

(ii) In the case of Indian States, as nearly as may be possible in accordance with the procedure outlined hereunder:

(a) during the first 10 years from the date of the inauguration of the regional and Federal Legislatures three-fourths to be nominated by the Ruler and one-fourth to be selected by the Ruler out of a panel to be elected by the State Assembly or other similar institution which shall be set up for this purpose;

(b) during the next 5 years two-thirds to be nominated by the Rulers and one-third to be elected as in (a) above;

(c) after 15 years one-half to be nominated and one-half to be elected, as in (a) above;

(d) after 20 years and thereafter one-third to be nominated and two-thirds to be elected as in (a) above.

(14) There shall be a Committee of Defence to advise on matters relating to defence. The Committee shall consist of:

(i) H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General—President;
(ii) The Federal Prime Minister;
(iii) The Minister for Defence;
(iv) The Minister for External Affairs;
(v) The Federal Finance Minister;
(vi) The Minister for Communications;
(vii) H.E. the Commander-in-Chief;
(viii) The Chief of the General Staff;
(ix) A Senior Naval Officer;
(x) A Senior Air Force Officer;
(xi) Seven Regional representatives, one from each zone;
(xii) 5 Official experts to be nominated by the President;
(xiii) 2 non-officials to be nominated by H.E. the Viceroy;
(xiv) The Secretary to the Defence Department.

(15) A committee shall also be constituted to advise on matters connected with External Affairs with:

(i) H.E. the Viceroy as President; and
(ii) the Federal Prime Minister;
(iii) the Minister for External Affairs;
(iv) 7 regional representatives (one from each zone) to be selected by the President from among the members of Regional Legislatures.
(v) 4 other members (2 officials and 2 non-officials) to be nominated by H.E. the Viceroy, and
(vi) the Secretary for External Affairs, as members.

(16) The Federal Railway Authority shall be so constituted as to include at least one representative from each of the 7 regional zones.

(17) Effective safeguards shall be provided in the revised constitution:

(i) for the protection of the legitimate interests of the Minorities;
(ii) to prevent racial discrimination against British-born subjects;
(iii) against violation of treaty and other contractual rights of the Indian States;
(iv) to preserve the integrity and autonomy of both British Indian and Indian States Units against interference by the Federal Executive or Federal or regional Legislature;
(v) to ensure the safety of India against foreign aggression, and the peace and tranquillity of the Units as also of the country as a whole;
(vi) to prevent subversive activities by the citizens of a Unit or a zone against another Unit or zone;

(vii) to protect the culture and religious rights of the Minorities.

(18) The composition of the Indian Army (as on the 1st day of January, 1937) shall not be altered. In the event of a reduction or an increase in the peace-time strength of the Indian Army the proportion of the various communities as on the 1st of January, 1937 shall not be disturbed. This condition may be relaxed in the event of a war or other grave emergency which may arise on account of a threat to the safety of the country.

(19) Only those subjects, the retention of which is essential in the interests of the country as a whole and for its proper administration, shall be allocated to the Centre, e.g., Defence, External Affairs, Communications, Customs, Coinage and Currency, etc. The remaining subjects, at present included in the Federal List, shall be transferred to the Units or zones. Residuary powers in regard to subjects which are not specifically included in the Federal List shall vest in the Units, and, in the case of subjects allocated to zones, in the regional Legislatures. The Concurrent List in the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be revised and limited to legislation only subject to the following conditions:

(a) that the Federal Legislature shall not undertake legislation on any matter within the concurrent List unless at least four zones have applied for it; and

(b) that any legislation so enacted shall apply only to the zones which have applied for it.

(20) In the event of a doubt or difference of opinion as to whether a subject is Federal, Concurrent, Regional or Pro vincial (or State), the decision of H.E. the Viceroy and Governor-General in his discretion shall be final.

(21) The Federal Legislature shall be unicameral.

(22) Adequate and effective machinery shall be set up both at the Centre and in the Provinces to look after and protect the interests of the Minorities.
With a clear conception of the reality of our social and political problems and with unshakable faith and confidence in the future of Islam in India, we beg to offer in the following a scheme for the consideration of the Muslims of India and the rest of the world. But before coming to it we must state the principles on which it is based. We are convinced that we, the Muslims of India, must insist persistently and strenuously on them, namely:

1. That the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves... they have a distinct national entity wholly different from the Hindus and other non-Muslim groups; indeed they are more different from the Hindus than the Sudeten-Germans were from the Czechs;

2. That the Muslims of India have got a separate national future and their own contribution to make to the betterment of the world;

3. That the future of the Muslims of India lies in complete freedom from the domination of the Hindus, the British, or for the matter of that, any other people;

4. That the Muslim majority Provinces cannot be permitted to be enslaved into a single all-India Federation with an overwhelming Hindu majority in the Centre; and

5. That the Muslims in the minority Provinces shall not be allowed to be deprived of their separate religious, cultural and political identity, and that they shall be given full and effective support by the Muslim majority Provinces.

Now, in order to save the Muslim nation in India we have to demand repartition of India on the only fundamental and valid principle of division, viz., nationality and to get India divided into Muslim India and Hindu India; further, we must do all we can to safeguard the interests of our nationals living in Hindu India. On this principle British India must be divided into three wholly independent and sovereign states:

1. North-West India, including the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan;

2. Bengal, including the adjacent district of Purnea (Bihar) and the Sylhet Division (Assam), but excluding the South-
Western districts of Howrah and Midnapore (Burdwan) and the north-western district of Darjeeling; and
3. Hindustan, comprising the rest of British India. Inside Hindustan there must be formed two new autonomous Provinces:
   (a) Delhi Province, including Delhi, Meerut Division, Rohilkhand Division and the District of Aligarh (Agra Division), and
   (b) Malabar Province, consisting of Malabar and adjoining areas on the Malabar coast.

Further, all the towns of India with a population of 50,000 or more shall have the status of a borough or free city.

Also, in Hindustan Muslims in villages shall have to live together in considerable numbers.

The Indian States: The Indian or Native States inside the boundaries of any of the above three proposed States or exclusively on the frontier of one of them, ought to be attached to that State.

Those bordering on more than one of the three States should have the option of joining any of the adjoining States. Hyderabad with its old dominions Berar and Karnatik (Carnatic) to be a sovereign state.

North-western India will include several Native States, e.g. Qalat, Jammu and Kashmir, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Kapurthala, Malerkotla, Faridkot, and the Simla Hill States. With the inclusion of Kashmir it may well be called ‘Pakistan’ as it has been for some years past.

The Pakistan Federation will be a Muslim State. It will include about 25 millions of Muslims, i.e., more than 60 per cent of the total population. It is a self-sufficient unit on the basis of geographical, economical and political considerations. The realization of this federation will open a new and living future for the Muslims of India and will have a far-reaching effect on the whole of the Islamic world. Pakistan will form the north-western wing of Muslim India.

The Hindus and Sikhs are the two non-Muslim minorities in Pakistan. They will have the same cultural, religious and political safeguards granted to them as the Muslims will have in Hindustan. It will be of greater advantage for the Sikhs to be in this state than in an all-India Federation as envisaged by the Government of India Act of 1935, for they will be relatively in much larger proportion in their Province and in the Centre.

The new Bengal will again be a Muslim State. It will contain more than 30 million Muslims, i.e., 57 per cent of the whole popula.
tion. New Bengal can be entirely self-sufficient on account of its natural wealth and agricultural richness. It will be equal to France in area as well as in population. Because of having no component Provinces, it will be no Federation. However, it will be a sovereign state, having a status analogous to Burma, and will be the eastern wing of Muslim India.

Hindustan will be a Hindu State. It will have a population of 245 millions. It will include about 23 million Muslims, forming a minority of 10 per cent. It is our duty to safeguard their interests politically as far as it is at present possible. We must consequently insist on the formation of two new Provinces inside Hindustan, one in the North and the other in the South, viz., Delhi and Malabar respectively.

In the newly constituted Province of Delhi there will be more than 3.5 millions of Muslims, forming about 28 per cent of the total population. Indeed they will still be a minority. However, they will be such an important minority as cannot easily be swept aside by the Hindu majority. Being highly cultured and educated as the Muslims of these parts are, and having their boundaries close to the Muslim Federation of Pakistan, they will be in a much stronger position to guard their interests than otherwise. Aligarh, the centre of Muslim education, must be included in this Province, for we cannot afford to leave it unprotected inside the remaining portion of the United Provinces which will be overwhelmingly Hindu.

The Malabar Province will comprise the southern part of Madras Presidency especially that lying adjacent to Malabar coast. This part is well populated by Muslims. There are about 1.4 million Muslims in it, forming 27 per cent of the total population. They have large trading interests in this Province and possess an eminent cultural position. Moreover, they are a virile race and being such an important minority can look after their interests far better than they can at present.

In Hindustan the Muslims largely live in cities and in considerable numbers. We cannot afford to leave them entirely at the mercy of the Hindu Government. Therefore, it is necessary to protect their interests. Left to themselves they can fight their own battle in those towns. All that can be done for them at present is to eliminate the undue interference of the Provincial and Central Hindu Governments. This can well be done by giving the status of free cities or boroughs to large towns of a population of 50,000 and more. They shall have their own police and magistracy, and they may have powers to legislate and execute on local matters to a large
extent. In this way the interests of about 1.25 millions of Muslims of Hindustan can be protected.

The Muslims in the rural area of Hindustan must be persuaded not to remain scattered in negligible minorities, as they do at present, in villages. They must be induced to aggregate in villages with a preponderant Muslim population. In this way alone can their cultural as well as economic interests be protected. A number of useful and constructive programmes for social, educational and economic improvement may at once be launched in rural areas of Hindustan for the sake of this object as well as for the immediate amelioration of the conditions of Muslims residing therein.

The afore-mentioned three states Pakistan, Bengal and Hindustan should enter into a defensive and offensive alliance on the following bases:

1. Mutual recognition and reciprocity.
2. That Pakistan and Bengal be recognized as the homeland of Muslims and Hindustan as the homeland of Hindus, to which they can migrate respectively, if and when they want to do so.
3. In Hindustan the Muslims are to be recognized as a nation in minority and part of a larger nation inhabiting Pakistan and Bengal.
4. The Muslim minority in Hindustan and non-Muslim minority in Pakistan and Bengal will have (i) representation according to population, and (ii) separate electorates and representations at every stage, together with effective religious, cultural and political safeguards guaranteed by all the three States.
5. An accredited Muslim political organization will be the sole official representative body of the Muslims in Hindustan.

Each of these three independent states, Pakistan, Hindustan and Bengal, will have separate treaties of alliance with the Great Britain and separate Crown Representatives, if any. They will have a Joint Court of Arbitration to settle any dispute that may arise between themselves or between them and the Crown.

Hyderabad commands a position which is exclusively its own amongst Indian States. It is even now recognized as an ally by the British Government, and its Ruler addressed by the distinctive title of His Exalted Highness. In truth it is a sovereign state by treaties. Berar and Karnatic (Carnatic) were taken from it by the British for administrative reasons. Now when the British are giving the control of India to its rightful owners, they must return to
Hyderabad its territories, and recognize Hyderabad expressly as a sovereign state, at least as sovereign as Nepal. Karnatik will restore a sea coast to Hyderabad and Hyderabad will naturally become the southern wing of Muslim India.

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Resolution of the Muslim League,
Lahore Session, March 23, 1940.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional scheme would be workable in this country or acceptable to Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority, as in the north-western and eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituent unit shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them; and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

* * *

Mr. Jinnah's Demand for a Separate Homeland for Muslims, 22 March, 1940

As far as our internal position is concerned we have also been examining it and, you know, there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionallists and others who take interest in the problem of India’s future constitution, and we have also appointed a sub-committee to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that
the Mussulmans are a Minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Mussulmans are not a Minority. The Mussulmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, 'Well, you are a Minority after all, what do you want?' 'What else do the Minorities want?' Just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Mussulmans are not a Minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country, where the Mussulmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan.

* * *

Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India’s future, based on developments in their own country which have built up the British Constitution, functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of Cabinet, their concept of party government functioning on political planes has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country, and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder, in producing the Constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonize the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the London Times, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote, 'Undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that may be said, indeed, to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilizations. However, in the course of time, the superstition will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation.' So, according to the London Times, the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political have been euphemized as mere 'superstitions.' But surely
it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the Sub-continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society vis-a-vis that of Hinduism to characterize them as mere 'superstitions'. Notwithstanding a thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary Statutes. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realized by the imposition of a central Federal Government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a Government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed force behind it.

The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realized, any Constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Mussulmans but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into 'autonomous national states'. There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill by international pacts between them, and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to Minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other Minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders, and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of your troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus
and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither inter-marry nor inter-dine together and, indeed, they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their concepts on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Mussulmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country, but which have been divided into as many states as there are nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as 7 or 8 sovereign states. Likewise, the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation, which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one Central Government when we know that the history of the last 12 hundred years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during the ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the declaration of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any Constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority Government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the Minorities can only mean Hindu raja. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the Provincial Constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of
such a Government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi to Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not, they must emigrate.

Mussulmans are not a Minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even today, according to the British map of India, 4 out of 11 Provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress High Command to non-cooperate and prepare for civil disobedience. Mussulmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our people. Honesty demands and the vital interests of millions of our people impose a sacred duty upon us to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

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Muslim League's Vital Resolution 1940*.

Resolution No. 1.

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October 1939, and 3rd of February 1940 on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of

* Also called the Pakistan Resolution, it was passed by the All India Muslim League at its session held at Lahore from 22nd-24th March, 1940. This resolution is quoted from "The All-India Muslim League, Resolutions, December, 1938—March, 1940."
federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is
totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of
this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration
dated the 18th of October 1939 made by the Viceroy on behalf of
His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares
that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act,
1935, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various
parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not
be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered de
novo and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims
unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the
All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be
workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is
designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically
contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so
constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary,
that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority
as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be
grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent
units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be
specifically provided in the Constitution for Minorities in these units
and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural,
administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with
them and in other parts of India where the Mussulmans are in a
minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be
specifically provided in the Constitution for them and other
Minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic,
political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation
with them.

This Session further authorizes the Working Committee to
frame a scheme of Constitution in accordance with these basic
principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective
regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communica-
tions, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

Mr. Jinnah on the Lahore Resolution, 1940

In the first place, a wrong idea and false propaganda appear to
be set in motion in order to frighten the Muslim minorities that
they would have to migrate en bloc and wholesale. I wish to assure
my Muslim brethren that there is no justification for this insidious misrepresentation. Exchange of population, however, on the physical division of India as far as practicable will have to be considered. Secondly, the Muslim minorities are wrongly made to believe that they would be worse off and be left in the lurch in any scheme of partition of India. I may explain that the Mussalmans, wherever they are in a minority, cannot improve their position under a united India or under one Central Government. Whatever happens, they would remain a minority. They can rightly demand all the safeguards that are known to any civilized Government to the utmost extent. But by coming in the way of the division of India they do not and cannot improve their own position. On the other hand they can, by their attitude of obstruction, bring the Muslim homeland and 60,000,000 of the Mussalmans under one Government, where they would remain no more than a minority in perpetuity.

It was because of the realisation of this fact that the Mussalman minorities in Hindu India readily supported the Lahore resolution. The question for the Muslim minorities in Hindu India is whether the entire Muslim India of 90,000,000 should be subjected to a Hindu majority Raj or whether at least the 60,000,000 of Mussalmans residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own homeland and thereby have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in accordance with their own genius and shape their own future destiny, at the same time allowing Hindus and others to do likewise. Similar will be the position of the Hindu and other minorities in the Muslim homelands.

In my opinion, after the present tension created by the ambition of one community dominating over the other and establishing supremacy over all the rest is eased, we shall find better understanding and good will created all around. The division of India will throw a great responsibility upon the majority in its respective zones to create a real sense of security amongst the minorities and win their complete trust and confidence.

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Dr. B. R. Ambedkar’s Proposals*

The question of Pakistan is not an academic question which one may refuse to discuss. It does not belong to that class of

*Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, also put forward his proposals on the issue of Pakistan.

The text is quoted from his book entitled: Pakistan or partition of India, Bombay, Thacker and Company Ltd., 1940, pp. 412-414.
questions about which people can agree to differ. It is a question for which solution will have to be found. How? It must be by agreement or by arbitration. If it is to be by agreement, it must be the result of negotiations—of give and take and not of surrender by one side to the other. That is not agreement. It is dictation. Good sense may in the end prevail and parties may come to an agreement. But agreement may turn out to be a very dilatory way. It may take long before good sense prevails. How long one cannot say. The political freedom of India is a most urgent necessity. It cannot be postponed and yet without a solution of the communal problem it cannot be hastened. To make it dependent on agreement is to postpone its solution indefinitely. Another expeditious method must be found. It seems to me that arbitration by an International Board is the best way out. The disputed points in the Minorities problem including that of Pakistan should be remitted to such a Board. The Board should be constituted of persons drawn from countries outside the British Empire. Each statutory Minority in India—Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Sikhs, Indian Christians—should be asked to select its nominee to this Board of Arbitration. These minorities as also the Hindus should appear before the Board in support of their demands and should agree to abide by the decision given by the Board. The British should give the following undertakings:

(1) That they will have nothing to do with the communal settlement. It will be left to agreement or to a Board of Arbitration.

(2) They will implement the decision of the Board of Arbitration on the communal question by embodying it in the Government of India Act.

(3) That the award of the International Board of Arbitration would be regarded by them as a sufficient discharge of their obligations to the Minorities in India and would agree to give India Dominion Status.

The procedure has many advantages. It eliminates the fear of British interference in the communal settlement which has been offered by the Congress as an excuse for its not being able to settle the communal problem. It is alleged that as there is always the possibility of the Minorities getting from the British something more than what the Congress thinks it proper to give them the Minorities do not wish to come to terms with the Congress, the proposal has a second advantage. It removes the objection of the Congress that by making the Constitution subject to the consent of
the Minorities, the British Government has placed a veto in the hands of the Minorities over the constitutional progress of India. It is complained that the Minorities can unreasonably withhold their consent or they can be prevailed upon by the British Government to withhold their consent as the Minorities are suspected by the Congress to be mere tools in the hands of the British Government. International arbitration removes completely every ground of complaint on this account. There should be no objection on the part of the Minorities. If their demands are fair and just no Minority need have any fear from a Board of International Arbitration. There is nothing unfair in the requirement of a submission to arbitration. It follows the well known rule of law, namely, that no man should be allowed to be a judge in his own case. There is no reason to make any exception in the case of a Minority. Like an individual it cannot claim to sit in judgment over its own case. What about the British Government? I cannot see any reason why the British Government should object to any part of this scheme. The Communal Award has brought great odium on the British. It has been a thankless task and it should be glad to be relieved of it. On the question of the discharge of their responsibilities for making adequate provision for the safety and security of certain communities in respect of which they have regarded themselves as trustees before they relinquish their sovereignty what more can such communities ask than the implantation in the Constitution of safeguards in terms of the award of an International Board of Arbitration? There is only one contingency which may appear to create some difficulty for the British Government in the matter of enforcing the award of the Board of Arbitration. Such a contingency can arise if any one of the parties to the dispute is not prepared to submit its case to arbitration. In that case the question will be: will the British Government be justified in enforcing the award against such a party? I see no difficulty in saying that the British Government be justified in enforcing the award against such a party. I see no difficulty in saying that the British Government can with perfect justice proceed to enforce the award against such a party. After all what is the status of a party which refuses to submit its case of arbitration? The answer is that such a party is an aggressor. How is an aggressor dealt with? By subjecting him to sanctions. Implementing the award of the Board of Arbitration in a Constitution against a party which refuses to go to arbitration is simply another name for the process of applying sanctions against an aggressor. The British Government need not feel embarrassed in following this process if the contingency should arise. For it is a well organized process of
dealing with such cases and has the imprimatur of the League of Nations which evolved this formula when Mussolini refused to submit to arbitration his dispute with Abyssinia. What I have proposed may not be the answer to the question. What next? I don't know what else can be. All I know is that there will be no freedom for India without an answer. It must be decisive, it must be prompt and it must be satisfactory to the parties concerned.

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Reginald Coupland's Scheme, 1944*

The task of drafting a new Indian Constitution cannot be begun until the territorial field in which it is to operate has been determined. Is it to provide a framework of government maintaining in some form and in some degree the political unity of India or is it to deal with two or more separate sovereign States? Mr. Jinnah maintains that it is needless to ask that question that the Moslems have already answered it, that the problem of India's future can only be solved by its partition into predominantly Moslem and Hindu States as completely severed from each other as China from Japan. He may prove right. What has happened in Ireland, in different circumstances and on a very much smaller scale, may happen in India. Nor is it inconceivable that such a settlement might be a settlement by consent. Mr. Gandhi has discussed it. Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru have declared that the Moslems in Moslem-majority areas cannot be dragged into an all-India union against their will. And, though the main forces of Hindu nationalism are still fiercely opposed to it, they might feel obliged to concede it if in the end it should seem to be the only way out of the impasse, the only path to freedom. But such a consent would not be willing: it would be a surrender to the force of circumstances; and the bitter resentment it would leave in Hindu minds would augur ill for the future peace of India. All serious students of the Indian problem are bound, therefore, to consider the possibilities of dealing with it otherwise.

Plainly, to begin with, it would be futile to try to maintain the high degree of unity imposed on British India by the British Raj. In principle, no doubt, the more united India is, the better it

*Professor Coupland also made an attempt to suggest a solution of the issue of the demand for Pakistan. The full text of his proposals appears in his book entitled 'India'—A Re-statement. Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1945; pp. 267-275.
will be for her, but the same might be said of Europe or indeed of the world as a whole; and India, like other countries, must perform content herself with what is practicable.

Is a Federation on the lines of the Act of 1935 practicable? Evidently not. It has been unreservedly repudiated by Mr. Jinnah and the League, because it clashes with both sides of the Moslem case. The Federation projected in 1935 purported to do what all existing Federations do to combine the principle of local variety and autonomy with the principle of a single nationhood. While, therefore, it allotted a wide field of power to the Provinces, it constructed a Centre which was to embody the sense of national unity in all India and to secure and stimulate its further growth. Like all other Federations, it extended the scope of Central authority well beyond what might be regarded as the irreducible minimum required for any Centre; and, as in all other Federations, the Legislature was so composed as broadly to reflect the character of the Indian people as a whole. It was thus inevitable that, while minority claims were to be recognized by communal representation and 'weightage', the Hindus should possess a majority in the Legislature. Of the representatives of British India in the Lower House, forty-two percent were to be Caste Hindus, and thirty-three per cent Moslems. It was intended that the Executive should be responsible to the Legislature and that its communal composition should be roughly the same.

If the Moslems are to be induced to acquiesce in any sort of federation, it is clearly necessary to contemplate a very different kind of Centre—different in its powers, its composition and its purpose.

As regards the scope of the Centre's authority, the Hindu unitary doctrine, a natural doctrine though it is for a community which contains three-fifths of the Indian people, must be abandoned. A Centre acceptable to present-day Moslem opinion must be 'minimal'. Those moderate-minded Moslems, who have not echoed Mr. Jinnah's 'No Centre at all', have still insisted that the powers of any Centre must be confined to the smallest practicable field. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan proposed that it should deal in the first instance with defence, customs, currency, and foreign affairs. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan has submitted the same list. It is certainly a minimal list—it cuts to the bone—and Hindu opinion is evidently unwilling, as yet at any rate, to go so far. It has begun to move from its old unitarian standpoint. The Conciliation Committee, for example, made two notable advances: It recommended first that the old dispute about the 'residuary' powers should be settled in
favour of the Provinces, following on this point the lead given by
the Congress in 1942, and secondly that the Central field should be
as small as possible. But it added to the 'subjects' listed by the
Moslems, communications, commerce, the settlement of disputes
between units of the Union, and such other matters of action as may
be required for ensuring the safety and tranquillity of India or any
part thereof and for the maintenance of the political integrity and
economic unity of India or for dealing with any emergencies. What
of those extra subjects? The case for the Central control of com-
munications, especially under modern conditions of transport, is so
strong that the Moslems might be disposed to accept it. The case
for maintaining the economic unity of India is no less strong.
Central control of industrial development, in particular, would
greatly facilitate the drafting and execution of those long-term plans
mentioned in the preceding chapter. But, as has been pointed out,
economics, much more than communications, are a matter of commu-
nal controversy; and on this point as on others it must be remember-
ed that Partition is always a possibility—some would say a proba-
bility, Mr. Jinnah a certainty—and that it is therefore not a ques-
tion of imposing an ideal Constitution on an India whose unity may
be taken for granted, but of devising something by means of which
the unity may be preserved. Nor would the assignment, say, of
industrial development to Provincial authority necessarily result in
economic anarchy. In their own interests the Provincial Govern-
ments might be expected to establish permanent inter-Provincial
committees to discuss and recommend measures of economic co-
operation and co-ordination.

There is a point about a minimal Centre which is apt to be
overlooked. It would not only temper Moslem anxiety as to the
possibility of Central interference in the Moslem-majority Provinces,
it would also confine Central business to a field in which domestic
communal division would necessarily be neutralized to some extent
by external factors. The foreign policy and the defence of India
will have to be co-ordinated with a collective international system
of some kind. Undertakings will be made by the Centre about
which Hindus and Moslems will not be free to quarrel. To a lesser
extent the same will be true of tariffs and currency. India will have
to adjust her policy to the requirements of international economic
col-peration. These are substantial obstacles to the use of a
minimal Centre as an arena of Hindu-Moslem conflict.

More difficult is the problem of the Centre’s composition. It
cannot be on the model of 1935. The Moslems, it seems certain,
would prefer no Centre, whatever the material results might be, to
one which constitutes in any shape or degree a Hindu raj. On this issue moderate Moslem opinion may again be represented by Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan. The Moslems claim, he pointed out, to be a separate nation and, as such, entitled, if asked to share in an all-India Centre, to fifty per cent of all its organs, legislative, executive and judicial. ‘If, however’, he wrote, ‘the shape of the Constitution is such as to reassure them that there would be no room for the domination of one community by another, they might be willing to abate, to some extent, their claim to a fifty per cent share.

It was on this question that the Conciliation Committee made its most striking recommendation for the permanent Constitution. Having ruled out Partition somewhat peremptorily at the outset—the division of India into two or more sovereign States is unjustified and dangerous—it went on to propose that ten per cent of the seats in the Central Assembly should be allotted to representatives of certain special interests, such as commerce and industry, labour and women; that other seats should be assigned to the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Anglo-Indians; and that the residue (which may be roughly estimated at eighty per cent) should be shared between the Moslems and the Caste Hindus. ‘In the interests of promoting national unity, the Hindu community should agree... that the Muslim representation from British India shall be on a par with the representation given to Hindus (other than Scheduled Castes) in spite of the great disparity in their respective population strength.’ It was also recommended that the Central Executive should be a composite or coalition Cabinet reflecting the strength of the communities in the Legislature. These proposals constituted on the face of it a remarkable concession. The idea of a communal settlement at the Centre on the basis of 40-40-20 was, it is true, already in the air. But Mr. Bhulabhai Desai’s proposals dealt only with an interim arrangement, whereas the Committee was here concerned with the permanent constitution. Nor did its recommendations merely ‘lie on the table’, an expression of opinion by Liberals who had small responsibility and commanded virtually no votes. They were at once accepted and applauded by the Congress Press. ‘The Committee’ said the Hindustan Times, ‘has evolved an alternative to the demand for Pakistan which should be acceptable to all reasonable Muslims.’

This issue was, as has been seen, discussed at Simla; and it would be evident again that the deadlock was not quite so stiff as it had been if Mr. Jinnah was willing at least to consider the construction of a Council in which the Moslem quota would be less than fifty per cent. But that is uncertain, and in any case it was only
with regard to a temporary arrangement. For the future Mr. Jinnah stood firm for Pakistan.

If must be remembered that, at Simla and on other occasions, Hindu-Moslem parity has been discussed with reference to a Centre for British India only. If all India is to form one Union, what about the representation of the Indian States? Since the great majority of their Rulers are Hindus and since the Hindu quota of their aggregate population is nearly sixty per cent as against a Moslem quota of about thirteen per cent, would not their junction with British India at the Centre upset the communal balance? This difficulty, however, might not prove to be insuperable. If the Princes are bent on preserving the unity of India, would they not be willing to defy the logic of arithmetic and adjust their representation at the Centre to that of British India if this should prove to be essential in order to avoid a Hindu raj and so prevent Partition?

It would seem, then, that in the Central field also, though the problem is far knottier there than in the Provinces, the deadlock has perceptibly begun to loosen. It may be worth considering whether it might not be further loosened, whether indeed it might not be resolved in a final settlement, if the measure of agreement, which seems not altogether out of reach with regard to the powers and composition of the Centre, might be extended to the basic question of its purpose or function.

To judge from the Committee’s recommendations and their reception by the Congress press, most Hindus continue to regard the Centre as the reflection and instrument of a single Indian nationhood. That attitude is betrayed by the recommendation on the test question of the method of election to the Central Assembly. It should be direct and on an all-India basis, says the Committee, and it proposes that roughly one member should be elected for each million of the population. That is the natural, traditional view. It accords with the practice of all existing Federations: the Lower Chamber is always directly elected by Federal constituencies to represent the federated nation as a whole. It accords, too, with the orthodox theory of federalism which treats the federal Centre and the federated units as deriving their authority from different bodies of public opinion—from the whole combined people of the country in the one case, from the separate peoples of the Provinces in the other. But that, as has been pointed out, runs counter to Moslem sentiment. It affirms the uni-national principle which they deny. It suggests to them a Centre which, however restricted in its powers and balanced in its composition, will somehow some day be used to override Moslem nationalism and impose one nationhood in India.
The only Centre therefore, which moderate Moslems are prepared to contemplate—and it must not be forgotten that the League's official policy is to abolish the Centre altogether—is one which derives its authority not from the people of all India but from the peoples of its component units. It other words, the process of devolving power from the old, strong, unitary British Centre to autonomous Provinces must be reversed. The Provinces must be regarded, like the States, as quasi-sovereign entities which have been liberated from all Central control and proceed of their own free choice to entrust to a Central authority the management, on their behalf, of those of their common affairs for which in their opinion Central Management is desirable. It follows first, that the British Indian members of the Central Assembly would be elected on a Provincial basis, preferably indirectly by the Provincial Legislatures—just as the States' members would be appointed on a State basis—and, secondly, that, when they came to the Centre, they would regard themselves not as representatives of India but as the agents of their Provinces. That was the conception of the Centre held by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, no academic doctrinaire but a practical statesman. He described it as an 'agency'—and Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan used the same word in submitting the same conception—a body set up by the Units to control and supervise the Central administrative machinery and to see that the work entrusted to it by the Provinces is carried on efficiently, amicably and justly'. Such a Centre, Sir Sikander declared, could not be 'a domineering Centre which may undermine their (the Moslems') power and authority in the Moslem-majority Provinces'. And, as if to stress provincial independence and to blunt the edge of separatist sentiment, he suggested that a group of Provinces might be entitled after ten or fifteen or twenty-five years, to 'reconsider their position' in the light of experience and, if they chose, secede.

This idea of an 'Agony Centre' is a constitutional novelty. It envisages a new kind of Federalism, so new, indeed, as to deserve a different name. It contemplates something between a normal Federation and a mere Confederacy or League. On the one hand, it does not attempt to fit the different entities concerned into the framework of a single nationhood, but only the less ambitious task of securing their combination for essential common purposes. On the other hand, the Centre it postulates is more than a consultative and cooperative Council: it is a Government, executive and legislative, with its own constitutional status, its own powers, its own administrative services. The proposal, in fact is a true via media; and it seems conceivable that the Hindus, having already begun to move
towards a settlement, might at least consider the possibility of setting foot on this middle path and that the Moslems for their part might at least be willing to weigh its merits against those of the path to Partition.

One point in the Moslem case remains—the desire to consolidate the Moslem-majority areas, the 'national homelands', into 'Moslem States'. This is not, as has been seen, a new desire. It prompted Sir Muhammad Iqbal's appeal in 1930 for the recognition of the Moslems as 'a distinct political entity' and for the creation to that end of 'autonomous States based on unity of language, race, history, religion, and identity of economic interests', linked together by a Centre exercising only the powers vested in it by their free consent. The same objective inspired Sir Sikander Hyat Khan when in 1939 he embodied Iqbal's idea in his scheme for grouping the Provinces in seven regions one of which would correspond with 'Pakistan' and another with 'North-east India'. And, at the time of the Simla Conference, the Aga Khan, whose standing in the Moslem community has always lent weight to his opinions, cabled to Mr. Gandhi and Maulana Azad, inviting them to consider the creation of a federated Indian Commonwealth of Nations, based on the same regional principle. He envisaged, as the first step, 'the constitution of the Moslem-majority Provinces in the West into one bloc and of a united Bengal and Assam in the East'.

The disadvantages of such a plan are obvious. Since the Provinces would never agree to merge their identity in a unitary region, it implies the establishment of regional Governments in between the Central and Provincial Governments. Such a triple system, it may be said, would be cumbersome and costly; and, since the Provinces would be loath to surrender to the region any substantial number of their Provincial 'subjects' of administration, would the regional Government, it may be asked, have much to do except to gratify Moslem sentiment by its mere existence? It may be argued in reply that a triple system only seems cumbersome for so vast a territory as India because of the false impression of unity and simplicity created by the British raj. Would such a system seem cumbersome in Europe if the whole continent were to be united under some form of Central Government? Against the cost may be set the saving which a 'minimal' Centre would effect through the reduction in the number of its departments and personnel and in the size of its Legislature. Nor would a regional Government be functionless. It might act as the guarantor of internal security. Its constituent Provinces might conceivably endow it with power to co-ordinate and control their police forces in the event of an out-
break of disorder so serious as to strain, as such outbreaks in the past have often strained, the resources of a single Province. Next in importance to security comes economic progress, and it seems probable that, if a regional Government did come into being, the Provinces would give it charge of economic planning and industrial development for the region as a whole—an arrangement which would considerably modify the disintegrating effect of transferring such powers from the Centre to the separate Provinces.

Whatever its prospective merits and drawbacks may be, regionalism need not, of course, be applied as its authors applied it, to the whole of India. Symmetry is not a necessary feature of the Indian Constitution. It would not matter if only the Moslem-majority Provinces wanted regions and the Hindu-majority Provinces preferred to stay as they are: the operation of the Centre would be unaffected if some Provinces were represented there through regions and others separately. Nor would it matter if the Indian States chose to be grouped as States for association with British India at the Centre, though, if regions were in fact established, States which they encircled or adjoined would doubtless find it in their economic interest to be linked up with them. It seems probable, on the whole, that if the experiment were tried at all, it would be tried, at least to begin with, only by the Moslem-majority Provinces. It was for their sake first and foremost that the notion of it was conceived. And it rests with the Moslems in the first instance to decide whether it shall be tried or not. With the possible exception of the Sikhs, the other communities would have no right or reason to contest the issue. If regionalism were indeed a factor in a Hindu-Moslem settlement, it would be the only factor which would not require a prior Hindu-Moslem agreement.

It may be that the Moslems would be content if their claims were met as regards those three aspects of the Centre. If the Hindus could bring themselves to concede an Agency Centre with minimal powers and an evenly balanced system of representation, it may be that the Moslems would no longer be over much concerned with that other question of territorial consolidation. But if, as seems more likely at the moment, the idea of Moslem statehood continues to appeal to them, they might go back to Iqbal and reconsider the regional plan. The value of it lies, of course, in its moderation. It is another via media. It aims at satisfying Moslem nationalism, without disrupting India. It accepts half the 'Pakistan Resolution' and rejects the other half: it demarcates the Moslem 'homelands' within their own political frontiers, but it does not make
them 'independent State'. It provides, in fact, a kind of Pakistan, but not the full-blooded kind which the League is now demanding. Only the Moslems can determine what the difference means to them.

* * *

Desai-Liaquat Pacts

"The General Secretary placed before the Committee the letter he had addressed to Mr. Bhulabhai Desai in regard to the statement which Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had issued to the press in connection with Desai-Liaquat Pact. The Working Committee concurred in the view expressed in the letter that Nawabzada's statement was at variance, in material particulars, with the facts as placed before the Committee by Shri Bhulabhai about the Pact. Shri Bhulabhai told the Committee that he would issue a statement setting forth the correct facts."


Acharya Kripalani on Pakistan

In course of his Presidential speech Acharya Kripalani referred to 'the unorganized hysterical violence of the mob' and observed:

"If no Hindu's life, property and honour are safe in a Muslim-majority area and no Muslim's in a Hindu-majority area, then civilised life becomes an impossibility. Even Mr. Jinnah's dream of Pakistan though it has made the problem what it is, holds out no prospects of its solution, for it leaves the minorities where they are.

* * *

Even if the Muslims must have a theocratic state of their own, they cannot be allowed to impose it on Hindus, Sikhs and other minorities in their territory. These minorities have at least as much right of self-determination as the Muslims claim for themselves in India as a whole. Nor can the rest of India be reasonably expected to harbour large sections of population in its midst who openly repudiate their citizenship in that State. If the Muslim League claims Pakistan on religious and communal grounds, let it face all its implications and not try to eat the cake and yet have it......
In no case must we allow ourselves to be bullied and blackmailed by a section of the population into sacrificing the just rights of the others.'

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Calcutta Tragedy*

"The Working Committee have read with deep sorrow reports about the recent happenings in Calcutta in connection with the observance by the Muslim League of the District Action Day on the 16th August and subsequent days. They deplore the serious loss of life and property and condemn in particular the acts of brutality committed against defenceless persons, especially women and children. The Committee offer their sympathy to the innocent sufferers of whatever community and party and call upon them to meet the situation with courage, forbearance and fortitude.

On the 29th July the Council of the All India Muslim League passed a resolution deciding upon Direct Action. In support of the resolution, inflammatory speeches were made, and subsequently speeches and statements and pamphlets by responsible members of the League and Ministers, and articles in some League newspapers have served to inflame a large section of the Muslim masses.

The Government of Bengal declared the 16th August as a public holiday in spite of protest, and thereby gave an impression that the observance of the 16th August was enjoined by the Government and persons not joining in the observance could claim or get no protection from the Government.

It appears that processionists carried big bamboo sticks, swords, spears, daggers, axes which they brandished when ordering people to shut their shops from the early morning of the 16th and mercilessly assaulted anybody who declined or hesitated to close his shop. Stabbing and looting started early in the day and guns are said to have been used by hooligans in many places. Murders in most brutal circumstances, looting and burning of houses on a large scale followed and lasted for three or four days resulting in the death of several thousand persons and looting and burning of property worth crores of rupees.

*The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress passed the resolution in the Committee meeting which was held in Calcutta from 27th August to 30th August, 1946.*
There was practically no police, nor even traffic police, to be seen on the 16th and even the precaution of sending foot and mounted police to accompany processions, as is done with the Moharram and other processions, was not taken. Even when police were available they rendered no help to peaceful citizens, and frantic appeals for help to officers in charge of police stations were not heeded and the people were told to save themselves as best they could. The curfew order was not enforced even after it was proclaimed, for the first two nights. Although no transport was available to the public hooligans used motor lorries. Petrol was freely used for committing arson. Houses and furniture and other articles were smashed or burnt and what ever could be removed was carried away. Dead bodies littered the streets and many dead and dying persons were thrust into manholes of underground sewers or thrown into the river. The Military were not called till long after the havoc had commenced. In some places even the police participated in the looting. After the initial orgy of murders, loot and arson, the Hindus and others retaliated and indulged in reprisals wherever they could and a large number of Muslims were killed.

It is satisfactory to note however that in the midst of this mutual slaughter and inhuman barbarities there were cases where Hindus gave shelter to Muslims in distress and Muslims gave protection to Hindus in difficulty.

The Committee are concerned to note that communal tension in other places has increased and conflicts resulting in murders have arisen. There is a general apprehension that this may extend and unless checked in time may become very widespread. It is the primary duty of every citizen to prevent this and of every government to maintain peace and ensure protection to its peaceful citizens.

In view of the very serious nature of the riots, the like of which has never before happened in any part of the country, it is essential in the opinion of the Working Committee that a thorough enquiry be held by an impartial tribunal which can command the confidence of the public into the circumstances preceding the 16th and incidents of the 16th and the following days and the steps taken by the Government both before and during the riots to meet the situation.

The Working Committee place on record their opinion that the Government of Bengal utterly failed to maintain peace and give protection of life and property to peaceful citizens.

The Committee realize that the wounds inflicted not only on the bodies but the spirit and self-respect of the people will take long to heal. Nevertheless they appeal to them to forget and forgive and to utilize this terrible experience for reestablishing goodwill and
friendly relations between the different communities which have been so rudely disturbed during recent times. The Working Committee are of opinion that the communal problem cannot be solved by intimidation and violence but by mutual understanding, friendly discussion and, if necessary, by agreed arbitration.”


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Mahatma Gandhi on Pakistan,
January 14, 1947.

Some Muslim young men met Mahatma Gandhi in a village in the district of Noakhali and asked him what was his objection to the setting up of a separate Muslim state “after the events in Bihar”.

Mahatma Gandhi said he had no objection to the setting up of a separate Muslim state. In fact, Bengal was so. Mahatma Gandhi said he would not go to the Governor of Bengal for anything but to Mr. Suhrawardy and Mr. Suhrawardy also would come to him direct for anything. But the question was:—What was going to be the character of such a separate Muslim State? That had not been made clear so far; and if a Muslim state implied freedom to make hostile treaties with foreign powers to the detriment of the country as a whole, then that could not be a matter of agreement.

Mahatma Gandhi thought that no one could be asked to sign an agreement granting liberty to others to launch hostilities against them.

On the young men asking whether Mahatma Gandhi did not think it advisable to concede Pakistan since it was holding back the issue of Indian independence, Mahatma Gandhi said: “Only after independence has been won can there be the question of granting Pakistan. To reverse the process was to invite foreign help.”

“Azadi (freedom)”, Mahatma Gandhi said, “and Pakistan require the exclusion of all foreign powers. Until and unless India is free there cannot be any other question.”

Freedom as envisaged by him, said Mahatma Gandhi, was freedom not merely from British rule but from every foreign rule.

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Resolution of the League Working Committee,

“The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League has given careful consideration to the statement issued by H. M. G.
on December 6, 1946, the resolution passed thereafter by the Congress Working Committee on December 22, 1946, and by the All-India Congress Committee on January 6, 1947, the speeches delivered by responsible leaders of the Congress at the A. I. C. C. session referred to above, and the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly during its two sessions so far held, and record their views as follows:

By their statement of December 6, H. M. G. admitted that the interpretation which the Muslim League had always put on paragraph 19 (V) and 19 (VIII) of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 was the correct one and accorded with the intention of the Cabinet Mission and H. M. G.

By that statement it was also proved that the Congress, on the other hand, had 'put forward a different view' and, therefore, had not accepted what H. M. G. themselves described as 'this fundamental point', namely, that decision in the Sections, including questions relating to the framing of the constitutions of Provinces included in each Group, 'should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections'.

H. M. G., furthermore, added that 'this statement, as so interpreted, must, therefore, be considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which H. M. G. would be prepared to submit to Parliament'. Accordingly, in their statement of Dec. 6 they urged the Congress to accept 'this reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission' or in the alternative to refer the point to the Federal Court at a very early date.

In their statement of Dec. 6 H. M. G. also affirmed that the Congress had agreed that other questions of interpretation of the statement of May 16 which might arise might be referred by either side to the Federal Court whose decisions should be accepted, and on the assumption that the Congress had agreed to this procedure, H. M. G. asked the Muslim League also to agree to it in order to ensure that 'the procedure both in the Union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections may accord with the Cabinet Mission's plan'.

H. M. G. in the last paragraph of their statement of Dec. 6, reiterated the fact that 'there has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of the agreed procedure', and they repeated the assurance; 'Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, H. M. G. would not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress has
stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country'.

The meaning and the application of this assurance were further clarified by Sir Stafford Cripps in his speech in the House of Commons on Dec. 12, 1946, when he said: 'But the Government had also to envisage the possibility in the clause in the final paragraph of the statement. This was, perhaps, a statement of the obvious—that, if the Muslim League could not be persuaded to come into the Constituent Assembly, then parts of the country where they were in a majority could not be held to be bound by the results'.

The situation created by the issue of this statement by H.M.G. is that the onus of taking the next step fell on the Congress and it was called upon:

1. To accept honestly and unequivocally the correct interpretation of paragraphs 19 (V) and 19 (VIII) of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, which interpretation has been already accepted by the Muslim League, or to refer the point to the Federal Court.

2. To reaffirm that it has accepted the procedure for the settling of other questions or interpretations that might arise, so that the decision should accord with the basic and fundamental principles of the scheme of May 16, 1946, namely, that either side could refer such questions to the Federal Court whose decisions would be binding on all concerned; and

3. To postpone the session of the Constituent Assembly which had been called for Dec. 9, 1946, pending settlement of the dispute over the fundamental points of principle and procedure which had been brought to the fore by the statement of Dec. 6 and the correct interpretation of which the Congress has not accepted, as was made clear in that statement, there being no prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly without such agreement, particularly on the part of the Congress.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League regrets to note that the Congress has reacted to the situation created by the statement of December 6 in a manner which shows that it is determined to adhere to its own views and interpretations of the fundamental provisions in the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, which militate against the clearly expressed intentions and interpretations of the authors of that statement as well as of H.M.G. as a whole and which destroy the very basis on which the constitutional plan set forth in that statement has been drawn up.

By its resolution of Dec. 22 the Congress Working Committee rejected the suggestion that the point in dispute should be referred
to the Federal Court if the Congress did not accept "this reaffirmation of the intention of the Cabinet Mission", and the Committee decided to convene a meeting of the A.I.C.C. for the purpose of giving a decision on the issue raised by the statement of Dec. 6.

The Working Committee of the Congress, however, in its resolution indulged in an attack on the British Government for their renewed interpretation and clarification, which had called the Congress bluff, and on the Muslim League for no other fault than that its stand had been at last vindicated.

The A.I.C.C., by its resolution passed on Jan. 6, purported "to agree to advise action in accordance with the interpretation of the British Government in regard to the procedure to be followed in the Sections", about which there never was any doubt in the mind of any sane and honest person, but it immediately added the following qualifying clauses:

"It must be clearly understood, however, that this must not involve any compulsion on a Province and that the rights of the Sikhs in the Punjab should not be jeopardized.

"In the event of any attempt at such compulsion, a Province or part of a Province has the right to take such action as may be deemed necessary in order to give effect to the wishes of the people concerned.

"The future course of action will depend upon the developments that take place and the A.I.C.C., therefore, directs the Working Committee to advise upon it, whenever circumstances so require, keeping in view the basic principle of Provincial autonomy."

These qualifying clauses, in the considered opinion of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, confer the right of veto within the Section on "a Province" and, what is more absurd, on "a part of a Province", as well as on the Sikhs in the Punjab, and, therefore, they completely nullify the advice or so-called 'acceptance' by the Congress of the Dec. 6 statement, and this A.I.C.C. resolution is no more than a dishonest trick and jugglery of words by which the Congress has again attempted to deceive the British Government, the Muslim League, and public opinion in general.

The question at issue was a very simple one. What was required was a straight and honest answer and not these evasions, equivocations, and camouflage from one of the two major contracting parties to the questions whether the Congress honestly and sincerely agreed to the proposals of May 16 as clarified by H.M.G. on Dec. 6, 1946, and whether it was prepared to honourably abide by them and carry out the letter and spirit of the proposals which
were put before the two major parties by the British Government, who were merely acting as mediators as, unfortunately, the two major parties had failed to come to any agreement at Simla and the conference at Simla had broken down.

Of the second point in H.M.G.'s statement of Dec. 6, namely, the procedure whereby either side could refer other questions of interpretation to the Federal Court, the resolution of the A.I.C.C. makes no mention, but the mover of the resolution, Pandit Nehru, on being questioned on the second day of the A.I.C.C.'s deliberations as to whether the Congress had agreed to this procedure, categorically answered in the negative and declared:

'Apart from this, in view of the recent developments and the statement of Dec. 6, which produces a new situation, I am not prepared to admit for an instant that we have agreed to any future procedure about references. Whatever the future brings, we shall have to consider it. I should like to make it perfectly clear that we are giving no assurance about any references in regard to any other matters to the Federal Court.........We are not going to commit ourselves at the present moment to any reference to the Federal Court or to any other authority. We shall decide—or the Constituent Assembly shall decide—as we think best in the circumstances.'

With regard to the third point, namely, that if a constitution comes to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which 'a large section of the Indian population has not been represented,' such a constitution would not be forced upon any 'unwilling parts of the country', the A.I.C.C. resolution, in paragraph 3, completely distorts the meaning and application of this principle and makes this an excuse to instigate a section of the population of Assam, the N.W.F.P., the Sikhs and even Baluchistan, to revolt against decisions that might be taken by the relevant Sections sitting as a whole and by a simple majority vote. In the opinion of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League the subsequent decision of the Assam Provincial Congress not to abide by the procedure laid down for Sections and its reiteration that 'the Constitution for Assam shall be framed by her own representatives only' is a direct result of this instigation and is a step taken by Assam Congressmen in collusion with the All-India leaders of the Congress.

The Constituent Assembly met on Dec. 9 and subsequent dates and thereafter on Jan. 20 and subsequent dates and has already taken decisions of vital character, so far as it is known to the public: and as some of the sittings were held in camera it is very difficult to get correct information as to what other resolutions it has passed or
what decisions it has already taken. It has passed a resolution, known as the independent sovereign republic resolution, laying down the objectives.

It is not only a proclamation of India as an independent sovereign republic but it lays down fundamentals of the Constitution as was admitted by Pandit Nehru, the mover of the resolution. It was a very vital resolution. It lays down the essentials of the next Constitution; several things which are mentioned there are fundamentals of the Constitution. It speaks of a republic or Union, functions and powers vested in the Union or as are inherent or implied in the Union and resulting therefrom, and talks of present boundaries, States and present authorities, the residuary powers, powers being derived from the people, minority rights and fundamental rights.

These are undoubtedly fundamentals of the Constitution and they are beyond the limit of the powers and the terms of the scheme of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16 and the resolution is therefore illegal, ultra vires and not competent to the Constituent Assembly to adopt.

Next, it has appointed several committees and has proceeded to elect an Advisory Committee, referred to in paragraph 20 of the statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, on the rights of citizens, minorities, tribal and excluded areas. Further it has appointed a Steering Committee and various other committees, and as some of the decisions have been taken in camera it is very difficult to say what resolutions it has passed or decisions it has taken. It has also passed the rules of procedure and assumed control of Sections by means of these rules for which there is no warrant or justification, particularly rule 63 which runs as follows:

1. 'The Assembly shall, before finally settling Constitution, give an opportunity to the several provinces and States through their legislatures to formulate, within such time as it may fix, their views upon the resolutions of the Assembly outlining the main features of the Constitution or, if the Assembly so decides, upon the preliminary draft of the Constitution.

2. 'Before the Constitution of any province is finally settled or the decision to set up a Group Constitution for the Section in which the province is included is finally taken, an opportunity shall be given to the province concerned through its legislature to formulate, within such time as may be fixed for the purpose, its views (a) upon the resolution outlining the main features of the Constitution or, if the majority of the representatives of the province in the Assembly so desire, upon the preliminary draft of such Constitution, and (b) upon the preliminary decision of the Section concerned as to whether
a Group Constitution shall be set up for the provinces included in the Section and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal.'

It has also appointed a committee to define the scope of the Union subjects, whereas the position was made quite clear, immediately after the statement of May 16 was issued, by the Secretary of State for India in his broadcast and by Sir Stafford Cripps at his Press conference where he read out an explanatory statement. Both of them stated in the clearest possible terms the time and manner in which the Group Constitutions were to be framed by the Sections concerned before the Union Constitution was taken up.

The Secretary of State said: 'After a preliminary meeting in common, these representatives of the provinces will divide themselves up into three Sections. These Sections will decide upon provincial and Group matters. Subsequently they will reunite to decide upon the Constitution for the Union.'

Sir Stafford Cripps at his Press Conference said: 'So the three Sections will formulate the provincial and Group Constitutions and when that is done they will work together with the States' representatives to make the Union Constitution. That is the final phase, and the Union is strictly confined to three subjects.'

It is clear from the above that the Constituent Assembly, in which only the Congress Party is represented, has taken decisions on principles and procedure, some of which exceed the limitations imposed by the Statement of May 16 on the Constituent Assembly's functions and powers at the preliminary stage and which further impinge upon the powers and functions of the Sections. By taking these decisions in the Constituent Assembly and by appointing a Committee consisting of individuals chosen by the Congress, the Congress has already converted that truncated Assembly into a rump and something totally different from what the Cabinet Mission's statement had provided for.

In view of these facts and circumstances the Working Committee of the Muslim League is definitely of opinion that the Congress, by rejecting this final appeal of H.M.G. to accept the correct interpretation of the fundamental procedure of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, and by having already, by the resolutions and decisions taken in two sessions, converted the Constituent Assembly into a body of its own conception, has destroyed all fundamentals of the statement of May 16 and every possibility of compromise on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's constitutional plan. The Working Committee accordingly calls upon H.M.G. to decide that the constitutional plan formulated by the Cabinet Mission, as announced on May
16, has failed because the Congress after all these months of efforts has not accepted the statement of May 16, nor have the Sikhs, nor the Scheduled Castes.

The proposals of May 16 could only be given effect to and carried out if the two major parties agreed to accept them. The Congress had not, and has not accepted and does not accept them, although the Muslim League had accepted, by its resolution, the statement of May 16 as far back as June 6, 1946. But in view of the fact that the Congress refused to accept the proposals in toto and unequivocally, the Muslim League had to withdraw its acceptance on July 29, 1946.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League is, therefore, emphatically of opinion that the elections to, and the reafter the summoning of the Constituent Assembly, in spite of strong protests and most emphatic objections on the part of the League, were ab initio void, invalid and illegal as not only the major parties had not accepted the statement but even the Sikhs and the Scheduled Castes had also not done so and that the continuation of the Constituent Assembly and its proceedings and decisions are ultra vires, invalid, and illegal and it should be forthwith dissolved.”

* * *

Mr. Jinnah’s Broadcast Speech,
June 3, 1947.

I am glad that I am afforded the opportunity to speak to you directly through this radio from Delhi. This is the first time, I believe, that a non-official has been afforded an opportunity to address the peoples through the medium of this powerful instrument, direct to the peoples on political matters. It augurs well. And I hope in the future I shall have greater facilities to enable me to voice my views and opinion which will reach directly to you life-warm rather than in the cold print of the newspapers.

The statement of His Majesty’s Government embodying the Plan for transfer of power to the peoples of India has already been broadcast and will be released to the press to be published in India and abroad tomorrow morning. With these outlines of the Plan it is for us to give it our most earnest consideration. We have to examine it coolly, calmly and dispassionately. Let us remember that we have to take momentous decisions and handle grave issues facing us in the solution of the complex political problem of this great sub-continent inhabited by 400 millions of people. The world has
no parallel of the most onerous and most difficult task which we have to perform. Great responsibilities lie particularly on the shoulders of Indian leaders. Therefore, we must galvanise and concentrate all our energies to see that transfer of power is effected in peaceful and orderly manner.

I must earnestly appeal to every community and particularly to Muslim India to maintain peace and order.

We must examine the Plan, its letter and spirit and come to our conclusions and take our decisions. I pray to God that at this critical moment He may guide us and enable us to discharge our responsibilities in a wise and statesmanlike manner having regard to the sum total of the Plan as a whole.

It is clear that the Plan does not meet in some important respects our point of view and we cannot say or feel that we are satisfied or agree with some of the matters dealt with by the Plan.

It is for us to consider whether the Plan as presented to us by H. M. G. should be accepted by us as a compromise or a settlement. On this point I do not wish to pre-judge the decisions of the Council of the All-India Muslim League which has been summoned to meet on Monday, June 9.

Final decision can only be taken by that Council according to our constitution, precedents and practice. But so far as I have been able to gather, on the whole I find the reaction in the Muslim League circles in Delhi has been hopeful.

Of course, the Plan has got to be very carefully examined in its pros and cons before a final decision can be taken. But I must say that I feel that the Viceroy has battled against various forces very bravely and the impression that he has left in my mind is that he was actuated by a high sense of fairness and impartiality. It is up to us to make his task less difficult and help him as far as it lies in our power in order that he may fulfil his mission of transferring power to the peoples of India in a peaceful and orderly manner.

Now that the Plan has been broadcast already it makes it clear in paragraph II that referendum will be made to the electorates of the present Legislative Assembly in N. W. F. P. who will choose which of the alternatives in paragraph 4 they wish to adopt. Referendum will be held under the aegis of the Governor-General in consultation with the Provincial Government. Hence it is clear that the verdict and the mandate of the people of the Frontier Province will be obtained as to whether they want to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly or Hindustan Constituent Assembly.

In these circumstances I request the provincial Muslim League of the Frontier to withdraw the movement of peaceful civil disobe-
dience which they had been forced to resort to and I call upon all
the leaders of the Muslim League and Mussalmans generally to
organise our people to face that referendum with hope and courage
and I feel confident that the people of the Frontier will give their
verdict by a solid vote to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

I cannot but express my appreciation of the sufferings and
sacrifices made by all classes of Mussalmans and particularly the
great part that the women of the Frontier played in the fight for
our civil liberties. Without apportioning blame, and this is hardly
the moment to do so, I deeply sympathise with all those who have
suffered, those who died, and whose properties were subjected to
destruction. I fervently hope that the frontier will go through this
referendum in a peaceful manner and it should be the anxiety of
everyone to obtain a fair, free, true verdict of the people. Once
again, I most earnestly appeal to all to maintain peace and order.

* * *

Boundary Commission, 30 June 1947.*

Whereas in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 5 to
8 of the Statement by His Majesty’s Government dated the 3rd June
1947, it has been decided that the Provinces of Bengal and the
Punjab shall be partitioned:

Now, therefore, in pursuance of paragraph 21 of the Statement,
His Excellency the Governor-General is pleased to make the follow-
ing announcement with reference to paragraphs 9 and 13 thereof:

(1) There shall be two Boundary Commissions, one for Bengal
and the other for the Punjab, consisting of the following:

For Bengal:

Chairman To be appointed later.

Members Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherjea
Mr. Justice C.C. Biswas
Mr. Justice Abu Saleh Mohamed Akram
Mr. Justice S.R. Rahman.

* P. N. Murty, and Padmanabhan. The Constitution of the Dominion
of India. Delhi, Metropolitan Book Co., 1947, p. 249.
For the Punjab:

Chairman To be appointed later.

Members Mr. Justice Din Muhammad
Mr. Justice Muhammad Munir
Mr. Justice Mehar Chand Mahajan
Mr. Justice Teja Singh.

(Note: It is intended to appoint the same person as Chairman of both the Boundary Commissions.)

(2) The two Boundary Commissions shall be summoned to meet as early as possible by the Governors of the respective Provinces, and shall submit their reports at the earliest possible date.

(3) The terms of reference for the two Commissions shall be as follows:

For Bengal:

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so, it will also take into account other factors.

In the event of the referendum in the District of Sylhet resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and the contiguous Muslim majority areas of the adjoining districts of Assam.

For the Punjab:

The Boundary Commission is instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims. In doing so it will also take into account other factors.

* * *

The Earl of Listowel’s Speech on the Indian Independence Bill on 16th July, 1947.*

My Lords, I have it in command to acquaint the House that—

His Majesty, having been informed of the contents of this Bill, is prepared to place his prerogatives and interests, so far as concerns the matters dealt with by the Bill at the disposal of Parliament. I beg to move the Second Reading of this Bill, the Indian Independence Bill. His Majesty’s Government have asked Parliament to assure for this great measure a passage so rapid as to be almost unprecedented. It may be that to some of your Lordships it will appear that we are dealing with this Bill, with its vast and unforeseeable consequences, with a degree of haste that is almost unseemly. But this rapid passage is desirable for the following reason. Once a decision in principle has been taken to partition India, the difficulties of carrying on the government of the country by a Cabinet which is still unitary in form, but which is in fact divided by sharp differences of view, are naturally becoming increasingly acute. The sooner, therefore, that the two new Governments can start on their separate tasks the greater the advantages to them both.

* * *

This is a short Bill, for it is mainly an enabling Bill, but it holds the fulfilment of a great purpose. The establishment of self-government has long been the aim of British rule in India, and the goal is now within sight. The Bill which I am submitting for the approval of the House will mark the emergence of the two new Dominions as free and equal partners in the British Commonwealth, and the deliberate conclusion of our long Parliamentary responsibility for the welfare of the Indian peoples and the good government of India. It is a matter of great regret that British India will reach maturity as two nations instead of one, and that the unity from which so many blessings have sprung in times past will soon be broken. But the dilemma with which we were faced made self-government impossible without partition.

When it became clear that the Cabinet Mission Plan for an Indian Union would never be accepted, and that there was no alternative form of common government to which Hindus and Moslems would consent, we had either to agree to implement their separation, or to remain indefinitely in control of India, until such time as the two communities had composed their differences and decided to live together. The deadlock between the parties has, as all will recollect who have attended previous debates in your Lordship’s House, always been a formidable obstacle in the path of constitutional advance. It is surely better that India should be divided by mutual consent, than that she should remain united
against her will, and be thrown ultimately into the convulsion of civil strife, as the only possible means of securing the form of government her people desire. It is greatly to be hoped that, when the disadvantages of separation have become apparent in the light of experience, the two Dominions will freely decide to reunite in a single Indian Dominion, which might achieve that position among the nations of the world to which its territories and resources would entitle.

There is one circumstance that will mitigate considerably, and may counterbalance, the disadvantages of partition. Both Dominions will start their career of full independence as partners in the British family of nations, and will each share with the other members of the Commonwealth the advantages added by this intimate relationship to equal and independent nationhood. Partition will leave the two nations which emerge from British India not foreign countries in relation to each other, but members of a group of like-minded nations that mark their affinity by common citizenship under a common Crown. Their membership of the Commonwealth will impose a moral obligation to remain at peace, to support one another and to co-operate in all matters of external policy and defence, and to organize their trade and production in a complementary instead of a conflicting pattern.

* * *

Let me now turn to the provisions of the Bill. Clause 1 sets up the two Independent Dominions of India and Pakistan with effect from August 15. The word 'independent' emphasizes the absence of any external restraint. Independence in this sense is a universal attribute of Dominion Status, a fact that is often misunderstood by the outside world. It is also in accordance with the famous definition of the British Empire in the Report of the Imperial Conference of 1926:

'They (the self-governing members of the Commonwealth) are autonomous communities, equal in status, and in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs.'

Clause 2 defines the territories of the two new Dominions and makes possible the adjustment of existing boundaries, and the accession of other territories by mutual consent. Clauses 3 and 4 provide for the partition of Bengal, the Punjab and Assam, after the procedure laid down to elicit the wishes of their inhabitants has been carried out, and also for the fixing of the final boundaries of these
Provinces by the awards of boundary commissions appointed for that purpose.

Clause 5 prescribes the appointment of a Governor-General for each Dominion by the King, unless the same person remains the Governor-General of both. The assumption made by this clause is that the King will act on the advice of his Ministers in the Dominion concerned, who will recommend the name of the Governor-General for the Dominion they represent. Your Lordships are aware that on the advice of the Indian leaders Mr. Jinnah and Lord Mountbatten have been recommended for appointment as Governors-General in Pakistan and India respectively, and that His Majesty has let it be known that he will make these appointments in due course.

Clause 6 gives each Dominion Legislature complete authority to legislate for the Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation. Henceforward the legislative power of the new Dominion Parliaments will be just as comprehensive as that possessed by our own, or by any Dominion Parliament under the Statute of Westminster.

Clause 7, sub-section (2), records the assent of this Parliament to the omission from the Royal Style and Titles of the words 'Indiae Imperator' and 'Emperor of India', a necessary corollary of the new constitutional relationship. The alteration of the Royal Title requires the assent of Dominion Parliaments as well as that of the Parliament of the United Kingdom. The Governments of the Dominions have been consulted and have agreed to take the necessary steps to obtain the assent as soon as possible.

Clause 7, sub-section (1) and the proviso to the clause deal with relations with the Indian States. Your Lordships will remember that the Cabinet Mission in their Memorandum of May 12, 1946, informed the States that His Majesty's Government would in no circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. To that pledge we firmly adhere. But the time is fast approaching when the transfer of power to two Dominion Governments will make it quite impossible for us to carry out our obligations towards the States, which depend for their fulfilment on the continuing responsibility of Great Britain for the Government of India. If we cannot in future discharge our obligations, we must clearly release them also from their engagements. We are, therefore, proposing that from the date when the new Dominions are set up the treaties and agreements which gave us suzerainty over the States will become void.

From that moment the appointments and functions of the Crown Representative and his officers will terminate and the
States will be the masters of their own fate. They will then be entirely free to choose whether to associate with one or other of the Dominion Governments or to stand alone and His Majesty's Government will not use the slightest pressure to influence their momentous and voluntary decision. But I think it can hardly be doubted that it would be in the best interests of their own people, and of India as a whole, that in the fullness of time all the States should find their appropriate place within one or the other of the new Dominions. It would be a tragedy for India if the States were not to enrich the Motherland to which they belong with the martial valour for which they are renowned, and which they have displayed so gallantly in two world wars, with the tradition of service that animates their rule, and with the advanced social institutions that some of them possess.

Whatever the future relationship between the new Dominions and the States may be, it will require prolonged consideration and discussion before the final adjustment can be made. We, therefore, welcome the setting up by the Interim Governments of States Departments, to handle negotiations with the Governments of the States. But the success of this negotiating machinery presupposes genuine goodwill and absence of suspicion on both sides. The assurance given by Sardar Patel, the Home Member, that it is not the desire of Congress to meddle in the domestic affairs of the States, is a welcome indication that Congress will not use its political strength to exert unfair pressure on their rulers. Sardar Patel's statement that the federal subjects on which the States are invited to accede are limited to defence, foreign affairs and communications, and the moderation and reasonableness of his whole approach are another sign that the Dominion of India will scrupulously respect the autonomy of the States. Mr. Jinnah has also stated most emphatically that the Government of Pakistan will endorse the free choice of the States.

But apart from the political relationship between States and British India, there have grown up a vast number of economic and financial agreements about matters of common concern—posts and telegraphs, customs, transit, railways—and it would be disastrous to India if these arrangements were suddenly terminated on the transfer of power. The proviso, therefore, in Clause 7 maintains the status quo in such matters as a temporary measure, and for so long as it is desired by the parties, or until replaced by fresh long-term agreements between the States and the Dominion Governments.

His Majesty's Government recognize that on August 15 the negotiations between the States and the representatives of the
successor Governments may not be concluded, and that the subjects of Indian States who may on that date be abroad, under the protection of passports issued to them as British protected persons, may require some reassurance. We do not, of course, contemplate that that form of protection will cease. As has been said in another place, existing passports will continue until the date at which they will expire in the normal course. What will happen about the issue of new passports is one of the matters which we hope will be solved in the negotiations, due to begin in Delhi next week, between the future Dominion authorities and the States. We hope that, pending the final decision as to the States' accession to one or other Dominion, the respective Dominion will assume some of the duties of protection hitherto borne by the United Kingdom. It would, of course, be possible for His Majesty's Government to contribute in some measure, by agreement, to easing the transition, were they to continue on behalf of any State whose position remains undecided some of the protective functions abroad which they have hitherto discharged. We do not, of course, propose to recognize any States as separate international entities. Paragraph (c) of subsection 1 of this clause applies the same principle to the common economic interests between the Dominions and the tribal authorities, without prejudice to re-negotiation of the existing political agreements of the tribes with the appropriate successor authority.

Clause 8 confers on the two Constituent Assemblies—the existing Assembly in the case of the new India, and the Assembly of Pakistan when it is convened—the full Legislative power which by Clause 6 (1) is vested in the Legislature of each Dominion. This power is conferred in that context for the purpose of framing the final Constitution of the new Dominion. While that Constitution making process is proceeding, it is obviously essential for the government and administration of the two Dominions to be carried on. In order to meet this requirement, sub-section (2) of Clause 8 prescribes that the Government of each Dominion will be carried on as closely as possible in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1935, subject to certain important qualifications contained in the provisos. These qualifications make it clear that those features of the present system that would be inconsistent with Dominion status—namely, control by the United Kingdom Government and the means through which it has been exercised under the Act of 1935—do not remain in force. They also sweep away the present Central Legislature for the whole of India.

Sub-section (3) fills the gap which would otherwise be created in the structure of the 1935 Act, by conferring temporarily on the
constituent Assembly in each Dominion the legislative powers previously exercised by the Central Legislature. Thus, the Constituent Assemblies are given a dual role; the making of a Constitution, for which purpose they have complete power to do anything, and the temporary function of acting as a Central Legislature for each Dominion in the exercise of the limited powers in the central field which were given to the Federal Legislature by the Act of 1935. There will, of course, have to be extensive adaptation of the Act of 1935 to fit the new circumstances. This is to be done by Order made by the Governor-General under Clause 9 of the Bill.

Clause 9 gives the Governor-General wide but temporary powers to make orders for effecting partition at the Centre and in the Provinces and for administering the common services and other Central functions pending their division between the two Dominions. It confers similar powers for the purpose of partitioning in the Punjab, Bengal and Assam on the Governors of those Provinces. It is obviously essential that there should be means of giving rapid effect to the agreements or arbitral awards relating to the division of the army, the sterling balance, the public debt, and other property or services at present handled or directed by the Government of India.

These powers are not absolute—the powers I am describing in Clause 9—and their duration is limited by the terms of the Bill. In the case of the Governors, the powers in this clause will expire on August 15, while the Governors-General cannot use them after March 31, 1948. They are also limited by the right of either Dominion Legislature to repeal or amend any Order, and to deprive the Governor-General of the Order-making power itself by passing a law to that effect.

*   *   *

After August 15 Orders affecting both Dominions can only be made by the two Governors-General acting jointly. Noble Lords will observe that sub-section (3) will give Orders of the Governor-General retrospective effect to June 3. The business of partition, being a matter of the utmost urgency, has already begun, and this provision will enable any actions necessitated by these preliminaries, and not in strict accordance with the 1935 Act, to be validated. Emergency powers are clearly needed to meet what is in fact an unprecedented situation. Even the presence of the 1935 Act did not anticipate the partition of India, and we have therefore had to
improvise machinery that can be used immediately and for the purpose of a smooth and orderly transition to the firm establishment of two separate Dominion Governments.

Clause 10 deals with the future of the services. Sub-section (2) of this clause has been included at the express request of the present interim Government of India. It guarantees that Judges and members of the Secretary of State’s Services, European and Indian alike, who continue to serve the Governments of the new Dominions, will enjoy their existing terms of service as regards pay, leave and pension. This fulfils the undertaking given by the leaders of both Parties. The Indian leaders have also promised continuance of their present terms of service to the many civil servants and employees of the Central or Provincial Governments who were not appointed by the Secretary of State, subject, of course, to the right of any Government to revise, in the light of events, the salaries paid to their servants.

His Majesty’s Government recognize a special responsibility to European members of the Secretary of State’s and analogous Services and we intend to ask the new Governments when established to negotiate an agreement to set aside a capital sum in sterling to cover their pension rights. We have also given a public assurance to those concerned that these pensions will, in fact, be paid.

It is the intention of His Majesty’s Government to endeavour to secure the inclusion in the agreements which it is proposed to negotiate with the two Dominion Governments of formal undertakings in respect of European officers of the Central and Provincial Services who were not appointed by the Secretary of State.

Clauses 11 to 13 give effect to policy relating to the Armed Forces in India. Your Lordships will remember that the Partition Council a body consisting of two leaders each from Congress and the Muslim League, with the Viceroy in the Chair, has decided to divide the Indian Army, Navy, and Air Force between the two Indian Dominions. The first stage of this division, a rough and ready separation of units on communal lines, will give each Dominion operational control of its own Armed Forces by August 15. The second stage which will allow each officer and man the choice of which Dominion he intends to serve, will it is hoped, be completed by April 1, 1948. While the intricate process of sorting out is taking place, and until the two Dominion Governments are able to administer their own forces, all the existing Armed Forces in India will remain under the administrative control of the present Commander-in-Chief, who will be termed the Supreme Commander.
He will be responsible to a Joint Defence Council, consisting of himself, the two Defence Ministers, and Lord Mountbatten as Chairman. His function in relation to the Indian forces will be purely administrative, and all operational responsibilities, such as the maintenance of law and order, and external defence, will be discharged by officers subordinate to the Dominion Governments.

Control of the British Army and the Royal Air Force will pass to a chain of command leading from a British G.O.C. and A.O.C. to the Supreme Commander, and from him to the Chiefs of Staff in London. These British Forces will, naturally, lose their operational role, and, while they remain in Indian territory, will assume the position of visiting British Forces in a Dominion. They will start to be withdrawn from India on August 15, and this withdrawal will be carried out as rapidly as shipping permits, and is expected to be completed by about the end of this year. Your Lordships will observe that sub-section (1) of Clause 11 says that the Indian Armed Forces are to be divided by orders made by the Governor-General. Clause 12, Sub-section (1) makes it clear that British Forces in India will be controlled, from August 15, by the U.K. Government, so that they will occupy the position appropriate to the new constitutional relationship directly the new Dominions have been set up.

I should like to direct your Lordships’ attention, in passing, to one other feature of the Bill: the provision in Clause 16, which safeguards the future of Aden by removing authority for its administration from the 1935 Act, where it at present lies, to the British Settlements Acts.

My Lords, that a vast population of non-European origin is about to achieve the independent status of the old Dominions shows that the Commonwealth, with its flexible and dynamic structure which responds so readily to the pressure of events, can still succeed in combining the contrary ideals of freedom and unity in international relations. This achievement is all more remarkable in the case of peoples who differ from ourselves in race, in language, and in history, and may be the opening of a new chapter in the growth of freedom under British rule. For what we are now doing is to carry a step further the progressive enlargement of the Commonwealth within the Empire and the steady replacement of the responsibility of trusteeship by the no less weighty responsibility of partnership.
It will surely transform the Commonwealth into an even more impressive and useful example of international co-operation than it has been hitherto, as a group of countries sprung from Europe and with their roots in the West. For our association of nations will now comprise a union between the ancient culture and civilization of Asia, and the scientific and practical genius of peoples of European origin and descent. The friendly collaboration that this will entail will bring lasting benefit to future relations between the most densely populated of the five continents, where powerful forces of change are vigorously at work, and those parts of the world in which industrial and military power are mainly concentrated. I need not enlarge upon the potentialities of this new association between East and West, as a stabilizing influence, and as a means of maintaining the delicate and often precarious equilibrium that is indispensable for peaceful progress.

The statesmanship revealed by the Indian leaders in arriving at an agreed settlement about the future of India, and the wise tolerance of their attitude to religious and social minorities, are a good omen for the successful discharge of the immense political responsibilities and the complex administrative tasks that will soon be entirely theirs. I know that their fellow citizens throughout the Commonwealth will wish them success in their great venture, and that we can assure them that each of their sister nations will do its utmost to give them any help they may require.

* * *

The Indian Independence (Partition Councils) Order, 12 August, 1947*

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 9 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the Governor-General is pleased to make the following Order:

1. (1) This Order may be cited as the Indian Independence (Partition Councils) Order, 1947.
   (2) It shall come into force at once.
2. The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

3. As from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up in the manner hereinafter provided four bodies to be known respectively as:
(i) the Partition Council for India and Pakistan,
(ii) the Bengal Separation Council,
(iii) the Punjab Partition Committee, and
(iv) the Assam Separation Council.

4. (1) The Partition Council for India and Pakistan shall consist of:
(a) two representatives of India who shall be Ministers of the Government of India, and
(b) two representatives of Pakistan, one of whom shall be a Minister of the Government of Pakistan and the other shall be either another such Minister or the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India.

(2) The meetings of the Partition Council shall be held alternately under the Chairmanship of one of the said representatives of India or one of the said representatives of Pakistan.

(3) The High Commissioner for Pakistan in India shall be entitled to attend as an observer any of the meetings of the Partition Council at which Pakistan is represented by two Ministers.

5. (1) The Bengal Separation Council shall consist of two representatives of East Bengal and two representatives of West Bengal.

(2) The Punjab Partition Committee shall consist of two representatives of West Punjab and two representatives of East Punjab.

(3) The Assam Separation Council shall consist of two representatives of East Bengal and two representatives of Assam.

(4) The said representatives shall be such persons as may be nominated by the Governor of the Province concerned, and different persons may be nominated for different meetings of the Council or Committee, as the case may be.

6. The meetings of each of the bodies mentioned in Article 5 shall be held:
(a) alternately in the capital towns of the two Provinces represented on that body, and
(b) under the chairmanship of the Governor of the Province in which the meeting is so held.
For the purpose of this Article a series of meetings held in one place from day to day shall be deemed to be a single meeting.

7. It shall be the duty of each of the bodies mentioned in Article 3:

(a) to consider all questions relating to such of the matters mentioned in Article 4 of the Arbitral Tribunal Order, 1947, as are the concern of that body, and attempt to reach an agreed decision on all such questions;

(b) in the event of their failure to reach an agreed decision on any such question as aforesaid, to make a reference in accordance with the provisions of the said Order to the Arbitral Tribunal set up by that Order; and

(c) to consider any other question of common concern to the Dominions of India and Pakistan or, as the case may be, to the respective Provinces, arising in connection with the transition to the provisions of the Indian Independence Act, 1947.

* * *

Extracts from the Arbitral Tribunal Order,
12 August, 1947.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 9 of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the Governor-General is pleased to make the following Order:

1. (1) This Order may be cited as the Arbitral Tribunal Order, 1947.
   
   (2) It shall come into force at once.

2. The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply for the interpretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

3. (1) As from the fourteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an Arbitral Tribunal (hereinafter referred to as 'the Tribunal') consisting of a Chairman who shall be nominated by the Governor-General, and two members who shall be so nominated, one to represent the future Dominion of India and the other to represent the future Dominion of Pakistan.

   (2) If the office of the Chairman becomes vacant it shall be filled by such person as the Governors-General of the two Dominions may agree to nominate as Chairman, and if
the office of a member becomes vacant it shall be filled by such person as the Governor-General of the Dominion concerned may nominate as member.

4. (1) The Tribunal shall have power to make awards in respect of references made to it before the first day of December, 1947, or with the permission of the Chairman before the first day of January, 1948, by any of the bodies herein-after mentioned being references relating to any of the following matters namely:

(a) the division between the Dominions of India and Pakistan, of the assets and liabilities of the Governor-General in Council;

(b) the apportionment between the Dominions of India and Pakistan of expenses incurred by or under authority derived from the Joint Defence Council of the Supreme Commander for carrying into effect the purposes of the Joint Defence Council Order, 1947;

(c) the amount of assets and liabilities of the Reserve Bank of India to be transferred to Pakistan when the Reserve Bank of India ceases to be the bank of issue for Pakistan or the Central Bank of Pakistan;

(d) the apportionment between the Dominions of India and Pakistan of the current earnings of foreign exchange including current releases of sterling by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, during the period when the Reserve Bank of India administers common exchange controls on behalf of both the Dominions;

(e) the division between the new Provinces of East Bengal and West Bengal, of the assets and liabilities of the existing Provinces of Bengal;

(f) the allocation to the new Province of East Bengal of any of the assets and liabilities of the Province of Assam;

(g) the division between the new Provinces of West Punjab and East Punjab, of the assets and liabilities of the existing Province of the Punjab; and

(h) any other matter arising directly out of Partition.

(2) The bodies referred to in paragraph (1) of this Article are the bodies which on the date of the commencement of this Order are known as:

(a) the Partition Council,

(b) the Provisional Joint Defence Council,
(c) the Bengal Separation Council,
(d) the Punjab Partition Committee, and
(e) the Assam Separation Council,
and the corresponding bodies which are to be set up as from the date of the establishment of the Dominions of India and Pakistan.

(3) Whenever the appropriate body mentioned in paragraph (2) of this Article is unable to reach an agreed decision in regard to a matter mentioned in sub-paragraphs (a) to (g) the paragraph (1) thereof, that body shall make a reference to the Tribunal, but before the first day of December, 1947, or with the permission of the Chairman before the 1st day of January, 1948, setting out as clearly as may be the matter or matters in difference.

(4) Whenever any of the bodies mentioned in paragraph (2) of this Article is unable to reach an agreed decision in regard to a matter mentioned in sub-paragraph (h) of paragraph (1) thereof, but is agreed that a reference should be made to the Tribunal, that body may make a reference before the first day of December, 1947, or with the permission of the Chairman before the first day of January, 1948, setting out as clearly as may be the matter or matters in difference.

5. (1) Whenever any of the bodies mentioned in paragraph (2) of Article 4 is unable to agree whether or not a matter is one in regard to which that body is required by paragraph (3) of that Article to make a reference in the contingency mentioned therein, that question shall be referred to the Tribunal whose decision thereon shall be final.

(2) Where a question has been referred to the Tribunal under this Article:

(a) if the two members of the Tribunal are agreed as to the decision to be given, such decision shall be the decision of the Tribunal; and

(b) if the two members are not agreed, the Chairman shall decide the question and his decision shall be the decision of the Tribunal.

6. In respect of any reference made to the Tribunal under Article 4:

(a) If the two members of the Tribunal are agreed as to the terms of the award to be made, the Chairman shall make the award in those terms; and
(b) in the event of disagreement between two members with regard to any matter arising out of the reference, the Chairman shall decide such matters and make the award accordingly;

Provided that the body making the reference may, at any time before the award is made, withdraw the reference by notice in writing to the Tribunal.

7. (1) Every award made in accordance with the provisions of Article 6 shall be binding on the two Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof, and on all persons directly or indirectly concerned in or affected by the award.

(2) Every such award shall be communicated forthwith by the Chairman to the body by which the reference was made, the Governments of the two Dominions and the Governments of the Provinces concerned, if any.

8. (1) The Tribunal shall have power:
   (a) to make an award conditional or in the alternative;
   (b) to correct any clerical mistake or error arising from any accidental slip or omissions;
   (c) subject to the provisions of this Order, to determine its own procedure; and
   (d) to appoint such ministerial officers as it may find necessary.

(2) The Tribunal shall have all the powers of a civil court for the purpose of receiving evidence, administering oaths, enforcing the attendance of witnesses and compelling the discovery and production of documents, and shall be deemed to be a civil court within the meaning of sections 480 and 482 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

9. Nothing contained in the Arbitration Act, 1940, shall apply to proceedings before the Tribunal.

*        *        *


An Act to make provision for the setting up in India of two independent Dominions, to substitute other provisions for certain provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, which apply outside those Dominions, and to provide for other matters consequential on or connected with the setting up of those Dominions.
Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. The new Dominions:
   (1) As from the fifteenth day of August, nineteen hundred and forty-seven, two independent Dominions shall be set up in India, to be known respectively as India and Pakistan.
   (2) The said Dominions are hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the new Dominions', and the said fifteenth day of August is hereafter in this Act referred to as 'the appointed day'.

2. Territories of the new Dominions. (1) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of India shall be the territories under the sovereignty of His Majesty which, immediately before the appointed day, were included in British India except the territories which, under sub-section (2) of this section, are to be the territories of Pakistan.
   (2) Subject to the provisions of sub-sections (3) and (4) of this section, the territories of Pakistan shall be
      (a) the territories which, on the appointed day, are included in the Provinces of East Bengal and West Punjab, as constituted under the two following sections;
      (b) the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in the Province of Sind and the Chief Commissioner's Province of British Baluchistan; and
      (c) if, whether before or after the passing of this Act but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the North-West Frontier Province are in favour of representatives of that Province taking part in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, the territories which, at the date of the passing of this Act, are included in that Province.

(3) Nothing in this section shall prevent any area being at any time included in or excluded from either of the new Dominions, so however, that:
   (a) no area not forming part of the territories specified in sub-section (1) or, as the case may be, sub-section (2),
of this section shall be included in either Dominion without the consent of that Dominion; and

(b) no area which forms part of the territories specified in the said sub-section (1) or, as the case may be, the said sub-section (2) or which has after the appointed day been included in either Dominion, shall be excluded from that Dominion without the consent of that Dominion.

(4) Without prejudice to the generality of the provisions of sub-section (3) of this section, nothing in this section shall be construed as preventing the accession of Indian States to either of the new Dominions.

3. Bengal and Assam. (1) As from the appointed day:

(a) the Province of Bengal, as constituted under the Government of India, Act, 1935, shall cease to exist; and

(b) there shall be constituted in lieu thereof two new Provinces, to be known respectively as East Bengal and West Bengal.

(2) If, whether before or after the passing of this Act, but before the appointed day, the Governor-General declares that the majority of the valid votes cast in the referendum which, at the date of the passing of this Act, is being or has recently been held in that behalf under his authority in the District of Sylhet are in favour of that District forming part of the new Province of East Bengal then, as from that day, a part of the Province of Assam shall, in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (3) of this section, form part of the new Province of East Bengal.

(3) The boundaries of the new Provinces aforesaid and, in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the boundaries after the appointed day of the Province of Assam, shall be such as may be determined, whether before or after the appointed day, by the award of a boundary commission appointed or to be appointed by the Governor-General in that behalf, but until the boundaries are so determined:

(a) the Bengal Districts specified in the First Schedule to this Act, together with, in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the Assam District of Sylhet, shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of East Bengal;
(b) the remainder of the territories comprised at the date of the passing of this Act in the Province of Bengal shall be treated as the territories which are to be comprised in the new Province of West Bengal; and
(c) in the event mentioned in sub-section (2) of this section, the District of Sylhet shall be excluded from the Province of Assam.

(4) In this section, the expression 'award' means, in relation to a boundary commission, the decisions of the chairman of that commission contained in his report to the Governor-General at the conclusion of the Commission's proceedings.

* * *

5. The Governors-General of the new Dominions. For each of the new Dominions, there shall be a Governor-General who shall be appointed by His Majesty for the purposes of the Government of the Dominion:

Provided that, unless and until provision to the contrary is made by a law of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions, the same person may be Governor-General of both the new Dominions.


(1) The Legislature of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to make laws for that Dominion, including laws having extra-territorial operation.

(2) No law and no provision of any law made by the Legislature of either of the new Dominions shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the law of England, or to the provisions of this or any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Legislature of each Dominion include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as it is part of the law of the Dominion.

(3) The Governor-General of each of the new Dominions shall have full power to assent in His Majesty's name to any law of the Legislature of that Dominion and so much of any Act as relates to the disallowance of laws by His Majesty or the reservation of laws for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon or the suspension of the operation of laws until the signification of His Majesty's
pleasure thereon shall not apply to laws of the Legislature of either of the new Dominions.

(4) No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed on or after the appointed day shall extend or be deemed to extend, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion unless it is extended thereto by a law of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(5) No Order in Council made on or after the appointed day under any Act passed before the appointed day, and no order, rule or other instrument made on or after the appointed day under any such Act by any United Kingdom Minister or other authority, shall extend, or be deemed to be extended, to either of the new Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion.

(6) The power referred to in sub-section (1) of this section extends to the making of laws limiting for the future the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion.

(7) Consequences of the setting up of the new Dominions. (1) As from the appointed day:

(a) His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no responsibility as respects the government of any of the territories which, immediately before that day, were included in British India;

(b) the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or the rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise; and

(c) there lapse also any treaties or agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and any persons having authority in the tribal areas, any obligations of His Majesty existing at that date to any such persons or with respect to the tribal areas, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable at that date by His Majesty in or in relation to the tribal areas by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise:
Provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph (c) of this sub-section, effect shall, as nearly as may be, continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as is therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are superseded by subsequent agreements.

(2) The assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom is hereby given to the omission from the Royal Style and Titles of the words 'Indiae Imperator' and the words "Emperor of India" and to the issue by His Majesty for that purpose of His Royal proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm.

8. Temporary provision as to government of each of the new Dominions. (1) In the case of each of the new Dominions, the powers of the Legislature of the Dominion shall, for the purpose of making provision as to the constitution of the Dominion, be exercisable in the first instance by the Constituent Assembly of that Dominion, and references in this Act to the Legislature of the Dominion shall be construed accordingly.

(2) Except in so far as other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion under sub-section (1) of this section, each of the new Dominions and all Provinces and other parts thereof shall be governed as nearly as may be in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935; and the provisions of that Act, and of the Orders in Council, rules and other instruments made thereunder, shall, so far as applicable, and subject to any express provisions of this Act, and with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as may be specified in orders of the Governor-General under the next succeeding section, have effect accordingly:

Provided that

(a) the said provisions shall apply separately in relation to each of the new Dominions and nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing on or after the appointed day any Central Government or Legislature common to both the new Dominions;
(b) nothing in this sub-section shall be construed as continuing in force on or after the appointed day any form of control by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom over the affairs of the new Dominions or of any Province or other part thereof;

(c) so much of the said Provisions as requires the Governor-General or any Governor to act in his discretion or exercise his individual judgement as respects any matter shall cease to have effect as from the appointed day;

(d) as from the appointed day, no Provincial Bill shall be reserved under the Government of India Act, 1935, for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure, and no Provincial Act shall be disallowed by His Majesty thereunder; and

(e) the powers of the Federal Legislature or Indian Legislature under that Act, as in force in relation to each Dominion, shall, in the first instance, be exercisable by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in addition to the powers exercisable by that Assembly under sub-section (1) of this section.

(3) Any provision of the Government of India Act, 1935, which, as applied to either of the new Dominions by sub-section (2) of this section and the orders therein referred to, operates to limit the legislature of that Dominion shall, unless and until other provision is made by or in accordance with a law made by the Constituent Assembly of the Dominion in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section, have the like effect as a law of the Legislature of the Dominion limiting for the future the powers of that Legislature.

* * *

Celebrations in Pakistan

"The Committee considered the question whether Congressmen and Congress Committees in the Pakistan areas should be asked to celebrate August 15. The Committee were of opinion that having regard to the secession of these areas from India and the deep anguish this secession has caused to Congressmen and minorities there, they should be left free to decide for themselves."

W.C. : July 4-12, 1947 : Delhi : IV.
"This Congress records its deep sorrow at the death, by inter-
neeine conflicts, of vast numbers of the people of this country be-
longing to every religion, during the disturbances that preceded
the Partition. The Congress extends its heartfelt sympathy to all
their relatives and to all the refugees who have suffered untold
misery and lost all they possessed, and borne their sufferings with
fortitude. While appreciating the work that the Central, Provincial
and State Governments and the non-official organisations have done
to give relief to and rehabilitate these refugees, the Congress trust
that every effort will be made both by Government, Congress organ-
isation and people to expedite this work and more particularly
that children and young people will be specially cared for and given
opportunities of education and development." 55: 1948: Jaipur: X.

See also

COMMUNALISM
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, NATIONAL INTEGRATION,
POLITICAL PARTIES—MUSLIM LEAGUE

PARLIAMENT

See

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

PARLIAMENT PROCEDURE

See

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

PARTITION OF BENGAL

See

BENGAL, PARTITION OF

PARTITION OF INDIA

See

PAKISTAN AND PARTITION
CHAPTER XVIII

POLICE REFORMS

"That, as it is the general belief of the people of this country that the existing system of police administration in India is highly unsatisfactory in itself and oppressive to them, the Government be respectfully urged to appoint a Commission, consisting of official and non-official members, to investigate the entire question as speedily as possible."

4 : 1888 : Allahabad : IV.

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"That Congress notices with satisfaction that the question of police reform is now under the consideration of the Government and that it is one of the twelve questions which His Excellency the Viceroy proposes to deal with during the term of His Viceroyalty. The Congress repeats its conviction that no satisfactory reform could be effected unless the Police were re-organised on the following lines:—

(1) That the higher ranks of the police should be recruited more largely than at present from among educated natives of India as by statute defined who being conversant with the language and habits, thoughts and life, of their subordinates would be in a position to exercise a more effective control over their subordinates than is exercised at present.

(2) That the pay and prospects of the subordinate ranks of the police should be substantially improved so as to render the service more attractive to the educated community. This Congress is of opinion that the wider employment of educated Indians in the subordinate ranks of the Police upon higher pay and with better prospects can alone contribute to the efficiency and integrity of the police.

(3) That the competitive examination held in England for the recruitment of the provincial branches of the Police service should be thrown open to natives of India instead of being confined to candidates of British birth."

17 : 1901 : Calcutta : VII.
"That this Congress records its sense of regret at the inadequacy of the representation on the Police Commission of Indian gentlemen of experience on the subject and at the limited scope of reference as indicated in the Resolution of the Government of India and in the opening speech of the President.

This Congress further records its deliberate conviction that the Police will not be rendered efficient unless the following among other reforms are carried out:

1. That men of adequate qualifications are secured for superior offices in the Police Service.
2. That educated Indians are largely employed in the superior offices in the Police Service.
3. That the position and prospects of investigating and inspecting officers are improved so as to attract educated men to the service.
4. That the Distinct Officer, who is District Magistrate and head of the Police, is relieved of his judicial powers and of all control over the Magistracy."

18 : 1902 : Ahmedabad: X.

*  *

"That this Congress, while noting with satisfaction some useful reforms recommended by the Police Commission, regrets that adequate measures have not been adopted to materially improve the efficiency and the honesty of the Police Service.

This Congress records its conviction:

1. That competitive examinations for the recruitment of the Police Service in the higher grades should be thrown open to all classes of British subjects instead of being confined to candidates of British birth, and that such examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India.

2. That educated Indians should be largely employed in the higher grades in order to secure efficiency in work.

3. That enlistment in the Provincial Service should be by competitive examinations.

4. And lastly, that District Officers, who are the heads of the police, should be relieved of judicial work and of all control over the Magistracy of the District."

21 : 1905 : Banaras : XI.

*  *
"That this Congress urges that in justice to India, it should be represented by an elected representative or representatives, to the same extent as the Self-Governing Dominions at any conferences that may be held to deliberate on or settle the terms of peace or reconstruction.

In view of the shortness of time, and in anticipation of the request made in the preceding part of the resolution being acceded to by His Majesty’s Government, this Congress elects as its representatives Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Mr. Syed Hasan Imam.”

"This Congress declares that the boycott of law courts by lawyers and litigants must be maintained and further resolves that greater efforts should be made to establish Panchayats and to cultivate public opinion in their favour."

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

"This this Congress desires to place on record its deliberate opinion that the reforms in the Police system which have been effected under the recommendations of Sir Andrew Fraser's Commission have not produced the results which had been anticipated, as is evident from the judicial findings of the highest courts in some recent cases, and they have not improved the efficiency or the quality of the police force including the village police. This Congress is of opinion that the pay and prospects of the Indian officers are not sufficient to attract the best men to the service, and it strongly protests against the practical exclusion of Indians of a better class from the higher offices of trust and responsibility and records its conviction that no real improvement in the methods of police investigation can be effected unless confessions are made inadmissible except when made at a trial.”
"The Congress, at its last session, being fully conscious of the fact that the most important and urgent problem of the country is the appalling poverty, unemployment and indebtedness of the peasantry called upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make recommendations to enable the All India Congress Committee to draw up an All India Agrarian Programme. Many P. C. Cs have not yet submitted their recommendations for such a programme. The Congress regrets this delay but realises that the subject is a vast and intricate one, requiring close study and investigation. It trusts that such P. C. Cs as have not reported so far will take early steps to send in their recommendations.

The Congress is convinced that the final solution of this problem involves the removal of British Imperialistic exploitation and a radical change in the antiquated and repressive land tenure and revenue systems. It feels, however, that the deepening crisis has made the burden on the peasantry an intolerable one and immediate relief is urgently called for. Pending the framing of an All India Agrarian Programme, therefore, the following steps are necessary:

1. Rent and revenue should be readjusted having regard to present conditions and there should be substantial reduction in both.

2. Uneconomic holdings should be exempted from rent or land tax.

3. Agricultural incomes should be assessed to income tax like all other incomes, on a progressive scale, subject to a prescribed minimum.

4. Canal and other irrigation rates should be substantially lowered.

5. All feudal dues and levies and forced labour should be abolished, and demands other than rent should be made illegal.

6. Fixity of tenure with heritable rights along with the right to build houses and plant trees should be provided for all tenants.

7. An effort should be made to introduce co-operative farming.

8. The crushing burden of rural debt should be removed. Special tribunals should be appointed to inquire into this and all debts, which are unconscionable or beyond the capacity of peasants to pay, should be liquidated. Meanwhile a moratorium should be declared and steps should be taken to provide cheap credit facilities.

9. Arrears of rent for previous years should generally be wiped out.

10. Common pasture lands should be provided, and the rights
of the people in tanks, wells, ponds, forests and the like recognised, and no encroachment on these rights should be permitted.

11. Arrears of rents should be recoverable in the same manner as civil debts and not by ejectment.

12. There should be statutory provision for securing a living wage and suitable working conditions for agricultural labourers.

13. Peasant unions should be recognised.

50 : 1936 (Dec.) : Faizpur : XIX.
CHAPTER XIX

POLITICAL AND SEMI-POLITICAL PARTIES

Note: In order to bring together documents concerning all the Political and Semi-political Parties in India which played some part during India’s Struggle for Freedom or came into existence after she won her political independence, they are arranged alphabetically. To trace their origin and development brief notes regarding parties precede the text of documents. The parties appear in the following order:

1. Akali Dal.
2. All-India States’ People Conference.
4. Chamber of Princes.
5. Communist Party of India.
7. Forward Bloc.
8. Hindu Maha Sabha.
9. Indian National Congress.
10. Muslim League.
13. Redical Democrat Party.
15. Revolutionary Socialist Party.
17. Swaraj Party.

Documents:

1. Akali Dal.

Note:—The Akali Dal as a Political force came into existence in February 1921. It was organized by some Akali reformers in order to reform their shrines and wanted to have effective control over their lands and endowments. The Sikh priests who were patronised by the Government, naturally did not approve the reform. In order to crush the agitation the mahant (priest) in February 1921,
opened fire on those Sikhs who came to offer prayers at the Shrine of Nankana Sahib, the birth place of Guru Nanak. 130 worshippers were reported to be killed.

Incidentally in the same month, Mahatma Gandhi, organized the boycott of the Duke of Connaught, who came to inaugurate the Councils and was greeted by black-flags. The leaders of the Akali Dal joined the non-co-operation movement and suffered heavy losses of life and property. The Indian National Congress at its Gaya and Gauhati sessions passed resolution appreciating the sacrifices made by the Akalis. The Akali agitation was closed down when the Act regarding the control of the Gurdwaras was passed.

A radical change crept in the ideology of the Akali Party after the publication on August 8, 1932, MacDonald’s Award popularly known as Communal Award. The Award extended and perpetuated communal divisions in Indian polity.

The Akali Party like the Muslim League and Hindu Maha-sabha turned into a Communal Party. The documents given below indicate its ideology and objectives.

Documents :

“This Congress records with pride and admiration its appreciation of the unexampled bravery of the Akali Martyrs and the great and noble example of non-violence set by them for the benefit of the whole Nation”.

37 : 1922 Gaya : IV.

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

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

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

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

(3) the outstanding grievances of the Sikhs are removed.

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

41 : 1926 : Guahati IX.

Sikhs and the Cabinet Mission*

The position of the Minorities has changed since the Cripps Mission. As conceded by Major Attlee, Indians cannot be made responsible for governing themselves and at the same time power retained in the hands of an authority outside India for intervention on behalf of such Minorities for ensuring their proper treatment by the majority. This makes it all the more necessary for the Sikhs to safeguard in the Constitution itself their political status in the future policy of the country.

The draft declaration provides for the right of non accession of provinces. The Sikhs make it plain and they are opposed to any possible partition of India as envisaged in the draft declaration. As stated above, the Sikhs form a compact cultural nationality of about six millions. They further maintain that, judged by any definition or test, the Punjab is not only their homeland, but their holy land. They were the last rulers of the Punjab and before the advent of the British they enjoyed in the Punjab independent economic and political status which has gradually deteriorated under British rule.

They wish, however, to point out that, with the inauguration of provincial autonomy on the basis of the Communal Award, they have been reduced to a state of complete helplessness. If the existing provincial political set-up is continued, the transference of power to the people would perpetuate the coercion of the Sikhs under what in practice has come to Muslim rule. That set-up is unjust to the Sikhs. Its working has meant Muslim communal rule in the Punjab which has almost exasperated the Sikhs to the point of revolutionary protest. The intervention of war conditions alone has been responsible for the Sikhs acquiescing temporarily in this communal tyranny. They cannot be expected to continue to submit to it as a permanent arrangement in any new scheme of Indian polity.

Akali demands: The statutory Muslim majority in the Legislature of the Province must go and the position of the Sikhs must be

strengthened by increased representation therein so as to ensure to the Sikhs an effective voice in the administration of the country.

In the alternative, out of the existing province of the Punjab a new Province may be carved out as an additional provincial unit in the united India of the future in such a way that all the important Sikh Gurdwaras and shrines may be included in it as also a substantial majority of the Sikh population in the existing Province of the Punjab.

The Sikhs cannot, however, be blind themselves to the fact that the Muslims have declared that they are a separate nation as distinct from the Sikhs, the Hindus and others, and that on that basis they are entitled to Pakistan. We have already expressed unequivocally our opposition to the establishment of such a state. In view of the rumours that are current we are obliged to take note of the possibility of the Cabinet Mission giving serious consideration to the Muslim League claim.

Before the Mission arrives at a decision on this question, we would emphasize that the Sikhs have as good a claim for the establishment of a separate sovereign Sikh state as Muslims for Pakistan and that the Mission should not concede the claim for Pakistan without conceding at the same time the claim for a separate state made on behalf of the Sikhs. The Sikhs are in favour of a single constitution-making body in which they should be represented as already indicated above.

In case the Mission should think of taking into serious consideration the proposal that has been made for two constitution-making bodies, one for Pakistan and the other for the rest of India, we wish, in the light of what has been said by us above, to make our position clear that there should be a separate constitution-making body also for the Sikh state.

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Letter from Master Tara Singh to Lord Lawrence, 25 May, 1946.

Since the British Cabinet Mission’s recommendations for the future Constitution of India have been published, a wave of dejection, resentment and indignation has run throughout the Sikh community. The reasons are quite obvious.

The Sikhs have been entirely thrown at the mercy of the Muslims. Group ‘B’ comprises the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, and the representatives given to each
community will be Muslims 23, Hindus 9 and Sikhs 4. Can anybody expect from this Assembly, constituted as it is, any consideration of justice for the Sikhs? The Cabinet Mission recognizes 'the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu Majority rule.' But is there no 'genuine and acute anxiety' among the Sikhs lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Muslim majority rule? If the British Government is not aware of the Sikhs' feelings the Sikhs will have to resort to some measures in order to convince everybody concerned of the Sikh anxiety, in case they are subjected to a perpetual Muslim domination. The Cabinet Mission has not only put under Muslim domination the non-Muslim areas of the Punjab and Bengal, but the whole province of Assam where the non-Muslims are in overwhelming majority. This is evidently done to placate the Muslims. If the first consideration of the Cabinet Mission's recommendations is to give protection to the Muslims, why should the same consideration be not shown for Sikhs? But it appears that the Sikhs have been studiously debarred from having any effective influence in the Province, group or central union. I refer to section 15 (2) and section 19 (7) in which it has been definitely provided that the majority of both the Hindus and Muslims is necessary for certain purposes. The Sikhs are entirely ignored though they are as much concerned as the other communities.

This is how I read the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission. But as the issues are very grave and momentous, the Sikh representatives, assembled here today to consider the situation created, have advised me to seek clarification from you and find out if there is any hope of such amendments as may save the Sikhs from perpetual domination.

So, I put three questions:

1. What is the significance of recognizing the Sikhs as one of 'the main communities'?

2. Suppose the majority of Section 'B' frames a Constitution under section 19 (5) but the Sikh members do not agree. Does it mean deadlock or does the opposition of the Sikh members mean simple disassociation?

3. Is there any hope of obtaining for the same right as is given to the Muslims and the Hindus under section 15 (2) and 19 (7)?

* * *
Sikh State*

“We want a Sikh State in a United India.”
(Pakistan had not till then been formed; and there was no proposal to partition India till then.)
Clarifying the position, Masterji explained;
“Such State will belong to the Sikh Panth, but it will be democratic and not monarchical.”

Sikh State*

“To sum up their arguments they stated in their memorandum as follows:—
(i) It will solve the language controversy agitating the minds of the public.
(ii) It will eradicate increasing bitterness of the two sister communities.
(iii) It will satisfy the Sikhs to a great extent and enable them to make their full contribution towards the reconstruction of the Province.
(iv) It will create conditions for the preservation of Panjabi culture, and traditions granted under the Constitution and so useful for the country.
(v) It will smooth down the aggressive consciousness of an immutable communal majority causing demoralisation and frustration in the minds of the minority and consequently would create conditions for the health and growth of democratic institutions.”

Lord Pethick Lawrence’s Reply to Master Tara Singh*

“Thanking you for your letter of 25th May.
The anxieties of the Sikhs were kept prominently in mind when we were drafting the Cabinet Mission’s statement and I can certainly claim that of the various alternatives open to us the best one from the Sikh point of view was chosen. You will, I am sure, admit that if India had been divided into two sovereign states, or if

*Extracts from Master Tara Singh’s statement dated 4th April, 1946, published in “The Tribune.”
*Extracts from the declaration made by the Akali Dal at the Baisakhi Diwan held at Amritsar in April 1946 and was reported in “The Tribune” dated 16th April, 1946,
*Lord Pethick Lawrence wrote this letter to Master Tara Singh on 1st June, 1946.
the Punjab had been partitioned, either of these decisions would have been far less acceptable to the Sikhs than the one which is actually reached.

I have considered carefully the detailed points you raise at the end of your letter. I fear the Mission cannot issue any addition to, or interpretation of, the statement. There is, however, no intention whatever to prejudice the position of the Sikhs in the Punjab or in the North-West Group, nor do I think their position has been prejudiced, for it is inconceivable that either the Constituent Assembly or any future Government of the Punjab will overlook their special place in the province of the Sikhs. The estimate of the importance of your community would never depend on the number of seats that you held in the Constituent Assembly."

**Demand for Sikh State**

"The Sikhs have demanded and they reiterate that they should get East Punjab as a Sikh State. All areas that contain at least 85% Sikh population should be included in such State."

**The view of the Hindus on the Sikh demand**

In opposing the demand, the Hindus, as stated in the Memorandum submitted by the Punjab Provincial Hindu Sabha to the States Reorganisation Commission, gave the following arguments:

(i) "That it was undesirable to create more provinces as smaller the number of Provinces the greater would be the chances of cohesion and unity of the country.

(ii) That the demand for a Punjabi speaking Province is a mere camouflage for the demand made by a section of the Sikhs for Khalistan and the demand was, therefore, a purely communal one.

(iii) That the demand was made only by a small minority of the people of the Punjab. If the demand was genuinely for a Punjabi speaking Province it should have been made by all the Punjabi speaking people and not only by the Sikhs who were only about 30% of the population of the

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*In a public meeting of the Sikh community held at Amritsar and reported in *The Tribune* of 19th June, 1947, this declaration was made on behalf of the Akali Party.

Punjab. As a matter of fact, all the Hindu organisations, viz., the Hindu Sabha, Jan Sangh, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, Ram Rajya Parishad and all the Arya Samajas were strongly opposed to the demand as was apparent from the decision of the Convention held at Amritsar, in October 1953.

(iv) It was also urged that the Akalis who were making the demands were not great respecters of law and order and the slogans shouted by them at their meetings and processions showed that their real intention was to turn out the Hindus as soon as their demand was conceded.

(v) That the demand was not being supported even by the Sikhs as a community as was borne out by the writings and speeches of some of the most leading Sikhs, including Sardar Swaran Singh, a Minister of the Central Government, S. Surjit Singh Majithia, the Deputy Defence Minister, S. Partap Singh Kairon (now Chief Minister of Punjab) S. Gyan Singh Rarewala, ex-Chief Minister, Pepsu and others.

(vi) That the burden of proof being upon the Akalis they have not shown why the existing arrangements should be disturbed. The ground urged that the Sikhs are not being treated fairly by the majority community in the Punjab was absurd on the face of it as the Hindus have always looked upon the Sikhs as part and parcel of their own community.

(vii) The plea of culture was also considered to be hollow as they maintained that the culture of the Sikhs was in no case different from that of the Hindus of the Punjab.

(viii) The plea of language was also refuted and it was pointed out that reference to the case of Andhra frequently made by the Sikhs was entirely irrelevant as the language of Andhra was different from the language of other parts of the Madras Presidency, while the language of the Punjab, as a whole, was almost the same irrespective of social variations and that the question of language had moreover lost its importance as after the Partition lakhs and lakhs of Central Punjab people had come and settled in other parts of the Province. The real difference lies in the script and not in the spoken language."
The S.R.O. on the Sikh demand

The State Reorganisation Commission ruled out the contention of the Akalis on the following grounds:

"The creation of a Punjabi-speaking State would offer no solution to the language problem, the present arrangements for the recognition of both Punjabi and Hindi could not be done away with, and the controversies would not in all probability come to an end, and while no major problem would be solved both the languages might suffer.

"We now come to the important question whether the proposed State will secure an improvement from the point of view of peace and contentment of the people of the area. There are no complaints from those sponsoring the movement for a Punjabi-speaking State about economic or political exploitation of the Punjabi-speaking areas by the representatives of the so-called Hindi-speaking region. If anything the complaint is from the hilly areas and the Hariana tract.

"There is undoubtedly internal tension in this area. But this tension follows communal and not territorial lines. There is little likelihood that the creation of the proposed State will lead to greater communal harmony and concord."

"The sponsors of the Punjabi-speaking State argue that a majority of the people inhabiting the area are in favour of a Punjabi-speaking State and that opposition is confined to certain communal elements. The results of the recent elections to the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee have been cited as evidence of the popular backing which the demand has amongst the Sikh masses. On the other hand, the results of the last general elections and the subsequent by-elections are cited in support of the view that the demand for the Punjabi-speaking State is confined to communal elements in the Sikh community.

"We do not propose to express any opinion on the relative influence and popularity of those supporting or opposing the movement for a Punjabi-speaking State. But it is quite obvious that the minimum measure of agreement necessary for making a change in the present set up does not exist so far as the proposal for the Punjabi-speaking State is concerned. The Dar Commission rightly expressed the view that no linguistic State should be imposed on substantial minorities opposing them. In this particular case, we may actually be imposing the wishes of a substantial minority on the majority."

"The case for a Punjabi-speaking State flashes firstly, because it lacks the general support of the people inhabiting the area, and
secondly, because it will not eliminate any of the causes of friction from which the demand for a separate Punjabi-speaking State emanates. The proposed State will solve neither the language problem nor the communal problem and far from removing internal tension, which exists between communal and not linguistic and regional groups, it might further exasperate the existing feelings."

* * *

**Punjab Samiti's view on the Sikh demand**

While the Maha Punjab Samiti are fighting against the so-called Regional Formula, the Arya Samaj has organised a strong opposition to one of the items contained in the Formula which lays down that the official language of the so-called Punjabi region (Jullundur Division) up to the District level and below would be Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script alone. Both the Arya Pratindhi and the Arya Pradeshik Pratindhi Sabhas have combined and held a big convention at Ambala on the 9th September presided over by the octogenerian Sanyasi, Swami Atma Nand, President of the Arya Sarvdeshik Sabha. They have urged the following demands:

1. There should be only one language scheme for the whole of the Punjab.
2. The medium of instruction, Hindi or Punjabi, in educational institutions should be left to the choice of the parents of the students.
3. None of the two languages, Hindi or Punjabi, should be taught compulsorily as a second language at any particular stage.
4. At even Government level, Hindi should replace English.
5. The orders and notices given at the district level or below, in Government Departments, should be in both the Languages, Hindi and Punjabi.
6. One should be free to write applications to the Government in any of the two languages and orders should be passed in the language in which the application is written.
7. Documents in the district courts and lower courts and in other Government offices at the district level or below should be in both the languages.
**Akalis’ Memorandum to the Congress**

1. "That the Shiromani Akali Dal will confine its activities to the religious, educational, moral, social and economic matters.
2. Akali Dal will not run its own candidates and will help those candidates who hold Congress tickets.
3. For the Punjabi region the Congress tickets should be given by a Board consisting of the Prime Minister or Maulana Azad and Master Tara Singh.
4. There should be a separate State Congress Committee for the Punjabi Region.
5. Akali Dal will join the Congress."

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**Draft-Election Manifesto**

**Of**

**Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar.**

For

General Elections, 1962

The third General Elections which are coming in the beginning of next year would be a severe test for the voters in this country. These elections are taking place at such a delicate time when this country is facing danger both from inside and outside of the country. The riots that have taken place ranging from Jabalpur to Assam and Sagar to Aligarh and other towns in U. P., have attracted the nation’s attention. The danger from Pakistan and China has also confronted this country with the serious problem. In every corner of the country disruption, frustration and corruption is writ large everywhere and everyone from a peasant, a labourer and small businessman, teacher or taught, right up to the biggest capitalist and industrialist including the Government servants, is very much disgusted and dissatisfied. Corruption, favouritism, bribery, mal-administration, partisanship and misconduct are

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"Sher-i-Punjab," Delhi, an important Sikh Urdu Weekly of forty-six years’ standing, had published in its issue of 9th September (1956) that the Akali leaders had submitted a memorandum to the Congress High Command urging in it the above five points.

**Text supplied by the Shiromani Akali Dal, Amritsar.**
prevailing everywhere. In the Government offices high-handedness and red-tapism is increasing day by day.

In these circumstances after five years the voters have got this occasion to decide as to who should be entrusted with the administration of the country. The Congress party who has ruled the country for the last fifteen years have not been able to satisfy the countrymen with their mode of administration and the country is totally frustrated and dissatisfied with the mal-administration carried on by them.

Under the name of secularism, the extent of communalism which has been practised is really shameful and has caused our heads to hang in shame in the international world. Even recently the Union Home Minister had to admit that time had come when we have to decide whether the minorities are at all to be allowed to live in this country or not. The Shiromani Akali Dal maintains that the minorities have to be retained and their satisfaction has to be secured.

While on the one hand dearness had increased to the breaking point, the rate-payers' money is being mercilessly squandered both inside and outside the country. Lacs of sons of this soil who have been uprooted on account of the acceptance of creation of Pakistan by Congress party with a view to get into power, have not so far been rehabilitated. The question of the religious institutions left in Pakistan has not so far been solved and thousands and lacs of our people have been rendered homeless by the floods, diseases and starvation, the entire country is in the grip of disputes and factionalism. The mal-administration and the wrong policies of the Congress have in fact made the people to lose their confidence in the democracy.

The land tiller in this country is mainly bearing the brunt of wrong policies and mal-administration of the Congress Government. The first attack has been made on the peasant in depriving him of his property by making laws for ceiling their holdings. On the other hand the capitalist and industrialist is allowed to heap up the money without any control of any kind.

The ruling party has continued its efforts to bring about a totalitarian state wherein all business professions' avocations and mode of earning livelihood may be regimented by the Government licenses, permits and controls. In spite of the fundamental rights guaranteed under the constitution of free trade and business, there is hardly any trade or business left in the country which one sees being carried on without Government Control.
So far as the Punjab is concerned it is virtually a Police State and there is no civil liberty worth the name to be seen anywhere. Two independent Enquiry Committees during last year published detailed reports, bringing to the notice of the nation the hopeless conditions prevailing in the Punjab. The P. S. P. Enquiry Committee and the Punjab Enquiry Committee set up by the Swatantra Party have found that the civil liberties are completely curbed in this part of the country and the condition of law and order is such as had never existed even during the Moghal or the British period. Throughout this state highhandedness, bribery, selfishness, favouritism, nepotism and discrimination besides lawlessness and immorality are rampant. The rate-payers money is being mercilessly wasted from the exchequer for the satisfaction of personal whims, self aggrandisement of the high ups of the ruling party. In fact the Congress party is not running the Government, but the Government is running the Congress party by misuse of State Funds and Governmental machinery. By giving a false alarm to one community against the other the economic progress had been kept in complete abeyance and the wastage of the public money for personal interests has been continued for years and years. Thousands of innocent persons have been jailed without trial, many have been killed and yet thousands injured under the name of agitations and putting down thereof but in fact with a view to terrorise the people and to stop them from claiming their just demands.

Never before in this history of over 100 years of criminal procedure code had section 107 of Cr. P. C. been so misused against a particular people as the same has been done during recent times in the Punjab. The Jurists and impartial people have been stunned and astonished when they are told that in the Punjab at the same date and time thousands of persons have been arrested by the police from their night-beds under Section 107 Cr. P. C. in the various districts of Punjab on almost the same allegations and were kept in jails for 9 or 10 months without trial, just by demanding from them exorbitant amounts of bail like from Rs. 50,000 to two lacs of rupees irrespective of their position in life or the nature of allegations against them.

The above-noted hopeless conditions that are prevailing in the Punjab require a serious thought on the part of the voters in the coming general elections to decide whether such a party has again to be voted into power who has brought about all this misery, mal-
administration, corruption, favouritism, nepotism, communalism in the state affairs.

Shiromani Akali Dal from the very beginning has established a record of its service to this State and their history is that of service, renunciation, martyrdom and selflessness. It is for this reason that the Akali Dal has always been supported by the voters in the various elections, The Shiromani Akali Dal has decided to contest the General Election in 1962 and depend upon the co-operation and support of the Punjab Voters and it is hoped that the voters would return the candidates holding the Akali Dal Ticket or support by casting their votes for them.

The various matters for which the Akali Dal candidates would strive, if returned, are given in brief hereunder. Our candidates would try to achieve these objectives both in the Lok Sabha as well in the State Legislative Assembly.

1. **Punjabi Suba**

The Indian National Congress had committed itself to the nation times out of number before the attainment of the freedom, that India when free would be re-adjusted on linguistic and cultural basis. After the attainment of independence of Congress rulers began to resile from these commitments without any sufficient reasons and they became responsible for lot of bloodshed by their refusal to implement this national decision in Andhra and Bombay, etc. They had to concede the formation of Andhra and separation of Bombay and Gujerat on linguistic basis but after lot of bloodshed. The only state now left in India which is bi-lingual is the present Punjab consisting of two regions officially called Hindi and Punjabi Regions. Their areas are demarcated and they are having their separate regional committees consisting of members of the Legislative Assembly elected from the respective regions. The language, custom, culture, and mode of life of these both of the regions are quite different from each other. In spite of its commitments the Congress Government has refused to implement the national decision in the case of Punjab and Akali Dal voiced the feelings of the Punjabi people ont his issue strongly and its 12,000 supporters had been jailed during 1955 and above 50,000 in 1960. A great number of them were killed and injured, but they did not give up the path of non-violence as had been done in Andhra, Bombay or Naga Land etc. In the continuation of that struggle for the attainment of unilingual Punjabi State the Great and Revered Saint Baba Fateh Singh resorted to fast unto Death and after 23 days of his fast the Prime Minister of India.
assured him that he would listen to the Punjabi Suba case and be convinced or convince honestly basing himself on reasons and without any reconceptions. In spite of this assurance the talks between Sant Fateh Singh and the Prime Minister broke down because the matter was not discussed with open mind. This led to the fast unto death by Master Tara Singh, the President of Shiromani Akali Dal, who remained on fast for 48 days when the Government had agreed to appoint a High Powered Commission to examine the question leading to the fast.

However in spite of the assurances given by the Government that the proposed Commission would be of men unconnected with Punjab or politics and that the nominees of the Akali Dal would be duly considered, the Government has announced the personnel of the Commission which is not in accordance with the aforesaid assurances. Even the terms of reference have been kept vague and are not in accordance with the Government communiqué of 1.10.61. The Shiromani Akali Dal, therefore, has expressed his inability to accept the personnel of the commission who enjoys the confidence of only one party i.e., the Government and not of the other party i.e., the Akali Dal. So much so that certain persons who were accepted by the Government as members of the said commission have also been ignored and left out of the personnel and in their stead other men have been appointed. Hence the Shiromani Akali Dal is determined to go to polls for the support of the voters on the Punjabi Suba issue, whose voice should have its effect on the Government for conceding this just demand. Thus our candidates would stand for the fulfilment of this demand for the creation of Punjabi Suba.

2. Civil Liberties

As has been noted above since some time past civil liberties are completely blurred in the Punjab and the people’s faith in the administration of law in this state is completely shaken. The restoration of the faith in the law and its administration is essential in any democracy. All those black laws which have been made to terrorise the people against their demand for their just rights would be abolished and the civil liberties would be completely restored in case the Akali Dal candidates are returned.

3. Abolition of Corruption

For the restoration of the State to its normal position the essential task would be the abolition of corruption, bribery, favouri-
tism, nepotism, selfishness, red-tapism and communalism, by the Government of the day. Akali Dal assures the voters that these objectives would be achieved by their representatives in the legislature.

4. The Akali Dal representatives in the legislature would demand appointment of a Judicial Enquiry, into the charges of corruption and irregularities brought up against the Chief Minister, Ministers and other high ups, of the Congress party.

5. Protection of Minorities

The subject is most vital and important in the interest of our country. All minorities must have equal rights to participate in all spheres of social, economic and political life. They should have also the rights to preach and practise their religions, organise their educational institutions and cultural associations for the promotion of their languages, script and literature. Such institutions would be entitled to state aid. Where linguistic minorities form a fair proportion, primary education would be imparted to them in their mother-tongue and the regional language will also be taught side by side. With a view to safeguard and assure the enjoyment of these rights to the communal, linguistic or cultural minorities, efforts would be made to get a separate ministry for dealing with the minorities' problem set up in the Centre and a Minority Commission with high powers would be set up to watch that their rights are not tampered in any way.

6. National Integration

Shiromani Akali Dal stands for national integration but by the process of emotional integration. In spite of the 14 long years of Congress rule national integration has not been brought about because under the garb of secularism, nepotism, and nationalism communalism has been practised and encouraged at all levels. The result is before our eyes that on the one hand national integration conference was concluding its deliberations in Delhi, communal riots had broken out in various cities of U.P., costing great number of lives and large amount of property. Akali Dal's representatives would sincerely work for National Integration so as to evolve a common Nation of dia without distinction of caste, creed, and religion etc.

7. Fight Against External Danger

In spite of the fact that the freedom of this country has been hard-earned, the sacred frontiers of the country remain violated. A
big part of our soil is suffering humiliation of foreign occupation, be that of Pakistan, China or Portugal. The Government of the day has failed to meet the aggression and at the same time have kept the people under false hopes and wrong assurances. The policy of the Akali Dal is to free our tracts from foreign aggression and to keep our frontiers inviolable.

8. Amendment of Hindu Succession Act

The promulgation of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956 has very seriously affected the agricultural economy of Punjab. By providing a share to the daughters from the property of their father, but no share to them from the property of their father-in-law, has made a very anomalous position. Already sealed holding in the Punjab in land ranging from 30-50 St. Acres, property is being divided between sisters and brothers equally with the result that the daughters and sisters who are married elsewhere get a right in the land of their father or brother, who cannot manage the same themselves, thus the result is that the land has to be sold by daughters and sisters, sometimes to the enemies of the family resulting in lot of litigation, fighting and murders. Further the consolidation of holdings is undone and rather fragmentation is brought about by this. Shiromani Akali Dal assures the electorate that their representatives would fight for the amendment of the Hindu Succession Act suitably so as to remove the above-noted defects therefrom.

9. Co-operative Farming

We are of the opinion that Co-operative farming is not suited to the conditions of our country and it would bring poverty and lack of enthusiasm in this State if this is introduced. Hence Shiromani Akali Dal’s representatives would strongly oppose the co-operative farming in this country.

10. Protection of Rights of Government Servants

It has been noticed that the rights of Government servants are being trampled on account of various reasons, personal or otherwise. On account of communalism, favouritism, nepotism, victimisation and a number of other evils, the security of service and reasonable emoluments has been shaken in the minds of the Government servants during the past many years on account of mal-administration by the Congress party, with the result that the
Government servants are ceasing to put their heart into their work when they see that their merit is ignored against favouritism and personal loyalties. For any healthy Government general security and assurance for justice and fair play to the Government servants is essential. Our representatives fully stand for the legitimate right and protection of the Government servants and they would strive for redress of their grievances and getting justice and fair play for them.

11. Untouchability and Uplift of Scheduled Castes

Untouchability is the greatest evil in the country and its removal is most necessary in the interest of the nation. The untouchable and scheduled castes have to be lifted so as to be brought up on the higher level with the rest of the society. Special protection and safeguards for their interests are essential. The promises so far held by the Congress Government, to these castes have not been implemented both in regard the percentage of quota or services as well in other activities. Moreover, without the economic uplift of Scheduled castes and backward classes they cannot be brought on equal footing with other people. The Akali Dal stands committed that its representatives would work for the removal of untouchability and for the uplift of scheduled and backward castes in all fields of life.

12. Control of Floods

Lot of misery has been brought to our people by recent floods and water-logging. It is essential that adequate measures be adopted to control the floods and water-logging. Our representatives would strive for such measures.

13. High Taxation

The heavy taxation that has increased during the past few years of Congress rule has come to a breaking point. Our people are dying under the load of this heavy taxation without any corresponding common benefit derived by the society. The lot of this taxation is responsible and is the result of want of waste of the public money by our administrators on useless schemes and mal-administration. Our representatives would strive and fight for ending the heavy taxation, and bring about fair distribution of wealth. They would also work for the reduction of unnecessary and
wasteful expenses in the administration. Our residential houses would be free from property tax for the family use. The land revenue will be levied on the Income Tax system.

14. Separation of Judiciary from Executive

For restoring the public confidence in the administration of law, it is essential that the executive and judiciary be separated from each other. In spite of the promises held out by the Congress Party they have not been able to complete this separation of judiciary from Executive during the last 14 years in our State. We assure the electorate that our representatives would work for expediting the separation of the judiciary from the executive.

15. Uplift of Women-Folk

In the interest of our nation the removal of social handicaps of our women-folk of our country and work for the advancement in all the spheres of life and equality, is essential and we assure the people that our representatives would achieve the said objective.

16. The Nationalization of Banks and Heavy Industries

The objective before the new Government should be now to nationalize the Banks and heavy industries to bring about equal distribution of wealth and to avoid heavy taxation on the poor and middle classes. We assure that our policy would be directed towards the above objective.

17. Abolition of Honorary Magistrates and Sub-Registrars

It has been noticed that although in Punjab the institution of Honorary Magistrates and Sub-Registrars was abolished during the first few years of our independence, recently the same has been re-introduced with a view to keep the people under the hold of ruling party. In a free democratic country such institutions are against the national interest and the Government should depend on its own achievements and goodness for being popular and not on these devices to keep the people under their hold. Hence our representatives would work for the abolition of village functionaries, Honorary Magistrates and Honorary Sub-Registrars, etc.

18. We assure that we would enforce the Panchayat Raj in its real sense both in letter and spirit and would work for decentrali-
zation of power. We would also work for solving the question of restoration of religious institutions left in Pakistan. This is most essential which the Congress Government have failed to achieve during the last 14 years. The question can be dealt with without delay at the Central Government level and this would be done, when our representatives would honestly work for this proposition.

19. We assure that we shall arrange suitable water supply for irrigation purposes to the peasantry and also for drinking purposes in every part of our State. We would also provide for medical facilities, free education, facilities for communications and transport, electric energy for household and small-scale industry for rural areas. We would work for providing employment for all and for technical education for our people which is most essential.

20. Above all we assure that we would strive for having a clean and efficient administration We stand for the setting up a High Powered Commission with suitable powers to deal with charges of corruption in the administration and at the Government level.

21. The Shiromani Akali Dal stands for abolition of forced labour under any pretext and stands for adequate living wage for the labour class and for the promotion of labour welfare.

22. The Akali Dal stands for reversal of the policy of the present Government to refuse or withdraw recognition or aid to the denominational educational institutions whether they are inside or outside temples, Gurdwaras or other religious places of worship.

Final Appeal

The past 15 years of Congress rule have caused the frustration to our nation. The General Elections provide an opportunity to end the same. In our democratic State, our people are the final authority to shake and have the kind of Government that they want. This manifesto has given some of the points on which we want to dedicate ourselves for the efforts to remove misery, poverty, mal-administration, inefficiency and corruption from our country. For the said dedication we humbly seek the blessings of our people.

Dated 18.11.1961.

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2. All India States Peoples' Conference

Note: All India States Peoples' Conference was the principal instrument for infusing among the people of the Princely States, the
spirit of nationalism. It was mainly started to establish responsible Government based on democratic principles, in the Princely domains.

A.I.S.P.C. may be defined as a counterpart of the Indian National Congress, even though, Mahatma Gandhi in the early years of its formation, firmly was of the view that the Congress should extend only moral support to it.

Out of all the nationalist leaders, it was Jawaharlal Nehru who urged active political support and guidance. He played an increasingly active role in strengthening the bonds between the A.I.S.P.C. and the I.N.C. even in the face of staunch opposition from Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress Right Wing. His writings and speeches had stressed the archaic character of the "relics of medievalism", as he was fond of terming the Princely States. During the tense days before the partition it was he who emphatically stated India's resolve to integrate the States with the Union. During the lengthy negotiations for the entry of the States into the Indian Constituent Assembly, it was he who played the decisive role.

The documents given below explain the objectives of A.I.S.P.C. and indicate the efforts by it, towards the establishment of responsible governments based on democratic principles.

* "I.N.C. Policy Towards the Princely 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 an integral part of India which cannot be separated. The Purna Swaraj or complete independence which is the objective of Congress 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 Congress is one in which the States participate as free units enjoying the same measure of democracy and freedom as in the rest of India.

"The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible Government and the guarantee of civil liberties in the States and deplores the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and the suppression of civil liberties in many of the States."

*Resolution of the Indian National Congress passed at the Haripura Session held in 1938 regarding its policy in relation to the Princely States.
"The internal struggle of the people in the States must not be made in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organization should be started and continued, where they exist already in the States."

Jawaharlal Nehru's Views Regarding A.I.S.P.C.*

There are about six hundred States in India—big ones and small ones and tiny ones, which one cannot even place on the map. They differ greatly among themselves and some have advanced industrially and educationally, and some have had competent Rulers or Ministers. The majority of them, however, are signs of reaction and incompetence and unrestrained autocratic power, sometimes exercised by vicious and degraded individuals. But whether the Ruler happens to be good or bad, or his Ministers competent or incompetent, the evil lies in the system. This system has vanished from the rest of the world and, left to itself, it would have vanished from India also long ago. But in spite of its manifest decay and stagnation, it has been propped up and artificially maintained by British Imperialism. Offspring of the British power in India, suckled by imperialism, for its own purposes, it has survived till today, though mighty revolutions have shaken the world and changed it, empires have collapsed and crowds of princes and petty Rulers have faded away. That system has no inherent importance or strength, it is the strength of British imperialism that counts. For us in India, that system has in reality been one of the facets of imperialism. Therefore, when conflict comes, we must recognize who our opponent is.

We are told now of the so-called independence of the States and of their treaties with the Paramount Power, which are sacrosanct and inviolable and apparently must go on for ever and ever. We have recently seen what happens to international treaties and the most sacred of covenants when they do not suit the purposes of imperialism. We have seen these treaties torn up, friends and allies basely deserted and betrayed and the pledged word broken by England and France. Democracy and freedom were the sufferers and so it did not matter. But when reaction and autocracy and imperialism stand to lose, it does matter, and treaties, however moth-eaten and harmful to the people they might be, have to be

*The Indian States and Nationalist India: Presidential Address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Annual Session of the All-India States' People's Conference, 16 February 1939.
preserved. It is a monstrous imposition to be asked to put up
with these treaties of a century and a quarter ago, in the making of
which the people had no voice or say. It is fantastic to expect the
people to keep on their chains of slavery, imposed upon them by
force and fraud, and to submit to a system which crushes the life-
blood out of them. We recognize no such treaties and we shall in no
event accept them. The only final authority and paramount power
that we recognize is the will of the people, and the only thing that
counts ultimately is the good of the people.

A new theory of the independence of the States has been
advanced in recent years, and it has been advanced by the very
power that holds them in an iron grip and keep them in subjection.
Neither history nor constitutional law gives any justification for
this, and if we examine the origins of these States, most of their
Rulers would be reduced to the status of feudal barons. But we need
not trouble ourselves with legal research, as the practice and facts
are plain enough. This practice has been for the British Power to
dominate these States completely and its slightest gesture is a
command to them, which they disobey at their peril. The Political
Department of the Government of India pulls the strings and the
puppets dance to its tune, the local Resident is the master of the
situation; and latterly the practice has grown of British officials
being imposed as Ministers of the Rulers of the States. If this is
independence, then it will be interesting to learn how it differs from
the most abject subjection. There is no independence in the States, and
there is going to be none, for it is hardly possible geographically and
it is entirely opposed to the conception of a united free India. It is
conceivable and desirable in the case of the larger States for them
to have a great deal of autonomy within the framework of an Indian
Federation. But they will have to remain integral parts of India
and the major matters of common concern must be controlled by a
democratic Federal Centre. Internally, they will have responsible
government.

It is clear that the problem of the States would be easy of
solution if the conflict was confined to the people and the Ruler.
Many of the Rulers, left to themselves, would ultimately line them-
selves with the people and if they hesitated to do so, the pressure
from below would soon induce them to change their minds. Not to
do so, would imperil their position and the only alternative would
be complete removal. The Congress and the various Praja Mandals
have so far made every effort to induce the Rulers to side with
their people and establish responsible government. They must
realize that for them not to agree to do so will not stop the coming
of freedom to their people; their opposition will only place an insurmountable barrier between them and their people, and an arrangement between the two will then become exceedingly difficult. The map of the world has changed many times during the last hundred years; empires have ceased to be and new countries have arisen. Even now, before our very eyes, we see this map changing. It requires no prophet to say with confidence that the Indian States system is doomed even as the British Empire, which has so long protected it, is doomed. It is the path of prudence as well as of wisdom for the Rulers to line themselves with their people and share with them in the new freedom, and instead of being despotic and disliked Rulers, with a precarious tenure, to be proud and equal citizens of a great commonwealth. A few of the Rulers of the States have realized this and have taken some steps in the right direction. One of them, the Raja of Aundh, the Chief of a small State, has distinguished himself by his wisdom in granting responsible government to his people, and in doing so with grace and goodwill.

But, unhappily, most of them stick to their old ways and show no signs of change. They demonstrate afresh the lesson of history that when a class has fulfilled its purpose and the world has no need of it, it decays and loses wisdom and all capacity. It cannot adapt itself to changing conditions. In a vain attempt to hold on to what is fading away, it loses even what little it might have retained.

What is the nature of the conflict today? This must be clearly understood. It varies slightly from State to State, but the demand everywhere is for full responsible government. Yet the conflict is not at present to enforce that demand, but to establish the right of organizing people for the demand. When this right is denied and civil liberties are crushed, no way is left open to the people to carry on what are called constitutional methods of agitation. Their choice then is either to submit and give up all political and even public activity, and to suffer a degradation of the spirit and a continuation of the tyranny that oppresses them, or to resort to direct action. This direct action according to our code, is perfectly peaceful Satyagraha and a refusal to submit to violence and evil, whatever the consequences. The immediate issue today is, thus, one of civil liberties in most of the States, though the objective everywhere is responsible government.
The freedom of the people of the States is a big enough thing, yet it is part of the larger freedom of India, and till we gain that larger freedom, it is struggle for us. If the Federation is imposed upon us, we shall fight it and sweep it away. Wherever the British Power intervenes against the people in the States, we shall have to face it. The time approaches when the final solution has to come... a Constituent Assembly of all the Indian people, framing the constitution of a free and democratic India.

A.I.S.P.O's Aims and Objectives*

"In these states, big or small, with very few exceptions, personal, autocratic rule prevails. There is no rule of law and taxation is excessive and unbearable. Civil liberties are crushed. The privy purse of the Rulers is usually not fixed and even where it is fixed this is not adhered to. On the one hand there is the extravagance and luxury of the Princes, on the other the extreme poverty of the people.

"With the hard earned money of the poverty-stricken and miserable people, enjoyment is bought, and luxury is flaunted by their Rulers in foreign countries and in India. This system cannot continue. No civilised people can tolerate it. The whole argument of history is against it; the temper of the Indian people cannot submit to it."

"The King of England receives roughly one in 1600 of the national revenue, the King of Belgium one in 1000, the King of Italy one in 500, the King of Denmark one in 300, the Emperor of Japan one in 400........No King receives one in 17 like the Maharani of Travancore (which is the most progressive State in India), one in 13 as the Nizam of Hyderabad or the Maharaja of Baroda, or one in 5 as the Maharajas of Kashmir and Bikaner. The world would be scandalised to know that a few princes appropriate one in 3 and one in 2 of the revenues of the State."

I.N.C's Policy towards A.I.S.P.C.**

"The Congress is of the opinion that the resolution of the Haripura session of the Congress relating to the States, has answer-

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*The declaration of the States People's Conference (the organ of the popular democratic movement in the States) in 1933 summed up the character of the regime of these Princes.

**Resolution of the Indian National Congress, passed at the Tripura Session held in 1939 regarding its policy in relation to the Princely States.
ed the expectations raised by it, and has justified itself by encouraging the people of the States to organise themselves and conduct their own movements for freedom. The Haripura policy was conceived in the best interests of the people in order to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. This policy was dictated by the circumstances but it was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always possessed the right, as it is its duty to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. The great awakening that is taking place among the people may lead to a relaxation or a complete removal of the restraint which the Congress has imposed upon itself, thus resulting in the ever increasing identification of the Congress with the States peoples."

The Goal of A.I.S.P.C.*

"It is inevitable that the vast majority of States which cannot possibly form economic units, should be absorbed into neighbouring areas.....The Rulers of such small States may be given some kind of pensions and may be further encouraged to serve in a different capacity if they are fit enough for this.

"Of other States, which may be fifteen to twenty in number and which will, form autonomous units in the Federation, the Rulers can remain as constitutional heads under a democratic system of Government. Some of these Princes and Rulers belong to ancient Houses intimately connected with history and tradition."

A.I.S.P.C. on the Cabinet Mission**

"The General Council of the All India States Peoples' Conference have considered the various statements made by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in regard to the drawing up of the constitution for India. The Council have noted with surprise and regret that the representatives of the States people have been completely ignored by the Cabinet Delegation in their talks and consultations. No constitution for India can have any validity or effectiveness unless it applies to the 93 million people of the Indian States and no such constitution can be satisfactorily made without reference to the representatives of the people. The General Council,

*After the war, the All-India States People's Conference met in Udaipur in December 1945 and adopted the goal of "attainment by peaceful and legitimate means of full responsible government by the people of the States as integral part of a free and federated India."

**Resolution of the All India States Peoples' Conference, June 10, 1946.
therefore, record their feeling of resentment at the way the people of the States have been ignored and bypassed at this critical juncture of India's history.

In the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on May 16 references to the States are brief and vague and no clear picture emerges as to how they will function in regard to the constitution-making process. No reference has been made to the internal structure of the States. It is not possible to conceive of a combination of the existing internal structure, which is autocratic and feudal, with a democratic Constituent Assembly or a Federal Union.

The Council welcome, however, the statement that paramountcy will end when the new All India constitution comes into effect. The end of paramountcy necessarily means the end of the treaties existing between the Rulers of the States and the British Paramount Power. Even during the interim period the functioning of paramountcy should undergo a fundamental change so as to prepare for its total termination."

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3. Bharatiya Jana Sangh

Note: Bharatiya Jana Sangh is one of the Semi-Political parties which came into existence after India won her political Independence in 1947. The aims and objectives of B.J.S. are quite evident from the Manifestoes for the General Elections of 1957 and 1962, which are given below:

Documents

Election Manifesto, 1957*

Although it is ten years since Bharat became free the country has not been able to get rid of the evil consequences of the circumstances in which independence came, even to this day. The Partition of Bharat has proved a grievous blunder. The establishment of a separate theocratic state has not only encouraged other fissiparous tendencies but has created a standing threat to the freedom and security of Bharat.

*Text of the manifesto was supplied by the General Secretary of the B.J.S., Ajmere Gate, Delhi.
2. The good intentions of the Congress leaders and the appeasement policies of the Congress Government have failed to bring about a change in the aggressive attitude of Pakistan towards Bharat. Pakistan holds Bharat to be her "only enemy" and is making military preparations on a vast scale to deal with this "enemy". She is in forcible occupation of one third of Jammu and Kashmir state and is bent upon capturing the rest of it by any means, fair or foul. The well planned and calculated campaign of squeezing out the Hindus from East Bengal, which began before partition continues unabated till date. Spies and fifth columnists are being utilized for sabotaging and disturbing the internal peace of Bharat.

3. The extent to which Pakistani leaders are prepared to go to harm Bharat is clear from their increasing intimacy with Portugal, the worst imperialist country of the world. Pakistan has exhibited her enmity for Bharat by opposing the justified liberation demand of Portuguese colonies in Goa and by actively endeavouring to foil the economic sanctions imposed by Bharat even while unduly exploiting her generosity. While the very existence of vestiges of Portuguese imperialism on the soil of Bharat is a danger for Bharat's security and integrity, this detestable Pak-Portuguese alliance has increased the danger manifold and it may become a serious menace to our south-western frontier.

4. Nor is the northern frontier of Bharat completely secure. Notwithstanding her declarations for peaceful co-existence Communist China has done some work of Tibet's independence and is keeping the country in bondage. Even in her treaty with Nepal, China has not honoured Bharat's special position in Nepal. Inclusion of Bharatiya territory in Chinese maps (which was sought to be explained away as a mistake), entry of Chinese forces in Burma (which was described as due to a misconception) and the activities of domiciled Chinese in the small countries of South-East Asia are pointers to the need for watchfulness on the part of Bharat.

5. Congress Government has failed to maintain and promote national integrity. The armed Naga rebellion on the North Eastern Frontier, which has not been completely quelled even after long drawn military operations, the agitation for a separate Dravidastan whose protagonists are not prepared to tolerate a person from any other province even as a Governor, the unfortunate happenings in various parts of the country on the question of States reorganisation at the bottom of which lie the narrow and sectarian tendencies of linguism, provincialism, and communalism, for which the policies of the Congress Government itself are to be blamed, are the symptoms
of the serious malady the nation’s body politic is suffering from. Instead of taking steps to root out the trouble after a proper diagnosis, the Congress Government is following a policy because of which the malady would, after being suppressed for a short time, reappear with increased vehemence. Refusal to control the antinational activities of the foreign missionaries, encouragement of the efforts to keep alive and provoke Muslim Communalism, and bargaining with the Akali Dal, are instances of the interests of the nation being sacrificed at the altar of party gains.

6. The hopes of a free, happy and prosperous life which the Bharatiya people held at the dawn of freedom and independence, have turned into despair during the ten years of Congress rule. Congress has failed to fulfil its assurances in every sphere of the people’s life.

The Congress Government has failed to meet the requirements concerning food, clothing, housing, education, and medical needs of the citizens. Food prices have gone higher up despite the highly expensive and much publicised “Grow More Food” plans and official claims of increased production. Cloth has the same story to tell. Housing shortage continues unabated. Primary education has become unmanageable for the common people. Rural Bharat, where 83% of our people live, is almost devoid of health and medical facilities.

7. Some progress has no doubt been achieved in the construction of big dams and heavy industries under the First Five Year Plan, but people have had to pay a heavy price for it. Even the second plan on which the whole future of Bharat is being risked and which everybody has declared to be over-ambitious will not be able to solve the questions of food, clothing and unemployment. It has not given due consideration to the circumstances of Bharat and our resources and capacities. As a consequence the people are hard pressed between the twin burdens of crushing taxation and inflationary high prices. Instead of funds being allocated for the development of cottage and small-scale industries as the basis of Bharat’s industrialization, long and wordy speeches abound.

8. Cultivators, labourers, employees, teachers, shopkeepers and traders—all are depressed and suffering. The cultivator puts in his hardest labour, his produce also increases but with it increases not his happiness but his misery. So long as the grain is in the hands of the grower price keeps falling; as soon as it gets out of his hands and reaches the godowns, its price rises. Due to disparity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products, the farmer is compelled to sell his produce cheap and buy his necessities dear. The rent he has to pay continues to be the same as before abolition of
landlordism, and new taxes are proving the last straw on his back. No progress has been made in the direction of giving land to the landless labourers. Instead of any rise in the wages and allowance of labour, retrenchment and unemployment will follow.

9. The condition of urban middle class is even more deplorable. With their limited sources of income, they are suffering serious economic hardships because of rising prices of essentials of life.

Petty shopkeepers, traders and industrialists are also obsessed with the policies of the Government. Sales tax is a curse for everybody. Small traders and industrialists are subjected to discrimination in the matter of Government subsidies, protection, transport facilities and export-import licenses, due to group interests and corruption rampant in the administration.

10. Unemployment problem is growing from bad to worse. Millions upon millions are roaming about in search of work. And, those in power are trying to engage them playfully with empty and attractive slogans of "Aaram Haram Hai", instead of providing them with work. Unemployment has increased during the course of the First Five Year Plan. The Second Plan aims at providing 8 million additional jobs. Even if the plan accomplishes the target, which is doubtful in view of the shortage of resources and trained staff and of absence of public enthusiasm, the volume of unemployment will be no less at the end of the Plan because a bigger lot of the fresh unemployed, larger than those given jobs, will have grown by then.

The unemployment of the educated is not only heart-rending, it is a potential danger to the whole nation. A Government which cannot inspire feelings of confidence and security among its educated youth, will not be able to maintain its democratic nature for long. Instead of sympathetically and properly understanding the feelings in young minds and instituting planned steps—both short term and long term—to remove their fears and uncertainties, the present Government has attempted to suppress their dissatisfaction, which sometimes takes an explosive form, with sheer brute force.

11. The way in which the Congress Government has taken unhesitating resort to tear-gasing, lathi-charging and opening fire for suppressing the voice of the people and imposing its undemocratic decisions, has eclipsed the hundred and fifty years of British repression. The rulers have no courage left to accept the demand for judicial enquiries of police firings. Attempts are being made to make up for the loss of popularity with increased powers. The tendency is gaining ground to equip the police with more powers at the cost of the judiciary and to misuse Detention Act, Security Act and other reprehensible laws for limiting freedom of expression and restricting
the progressively increasing strength and influence of opposition parties.

12. If police administration has improved, it has done so only on the wrong side. The wide gulf between the people and the police ought to have been bridged and the police force should have developed as the servant, helper and protector of the public. But even today the police continues as a symbol of terror and harassment. Third degree methods are used for the investigation of crimes. Notwithstanding that however, crimes do not show any tendency to decline. It appears as if there is a race between police budget and crime figures, crimes increasing parallel to the budget. The villagers feel themselves to be totally unprotected. Even city life is far from being thoroughly safe.

The C.I. Deptt. is quite efficient in keeping watch over the activities of opposition parties and shadowing their leaders and workers but all its ability and efficiency vanishes into thin air when it has to investigate the anti-Bharatiya activities and conspiracies of foreign spies and fifth columnists.

13. The administration is steeped in corruption. Even the ministers are not above board. Official positions of power are unashamedly misused for individual and party interests. Serious charges of corruption against ministers are not subjected to judicial enquiry but are hushed up as domestic affairs of the Congress. All scruples and administrative requirements are given the goby in the efforts to associate the favourites and family member in power. Even the Public Service Commission is unhesitatingly brushed aside for this rather it is sought to be justified in the name of "right of appointment". If this does not suffice, new departments are created.

The result of all this is that while the cost of administration has inflated in a lopsided manner, corruption and inefficiency have increased manifold. When even the high ups are not above suspicion, the officials and employees can hardly be expected to live up to any high ideals. An honest man who lacks the art of flattery, finds all his doors for improving his prospects locked. Efficiency in administration is, therefore, on the decline, the services are getting totally frustrated. Because of undue interference of the ministers, initiative and sense of responsibility at the lower level have disappeared. The employees dance attendance upon the officials and the latter upon the ministers, while the ministers do little better than seek the pleasure of the Prime Minister. The whole administration has thus become the victim of a personality cult.

14. Totalitarian tendencies are on an increase in the Govern-
ment. All economic power is sought to be centralized in the name of ‘socialist pattern.’ A policy of increasing governmental control and interference in the cultural, social and religious spheres also is being followed. Independence of education is being circumscribed and the educational institutions are being robbed of their freedom. Even literature, arts and sciences are attempted to be dominated and suited to the Government. The covetous eyes of the government are fixed on the temples and religious seats as well as on saints and sadhus.

15. In this delicate situation when the unity and integrity, freedom and security of Bharat are jeopardized by external invasion and internal disruption, and the people sick of the undemocratic, totalitarian, corrupt and inefficient Congress rule are seeking a new path, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has come forward with a positive and constructive programme for the all-sided progress of Bharat.

This programme is not wedded to any particular ‘ism’. In its formulation full consideration has been given to the Bharatiya genius and tradition as well as the present state of our national being, both the strength and the weakness thereof. Through this we shall not only solve our food, clothing and housing problems and attain self-sufficiency in their regard, we shall succeed in building Bharat into a political, social and economic democracy providing equality of opportunity and freedom to the individual.

This programme by making Bharat strong and prosperous will transform it into a modern, progressive and enlightened nation, capable of facing and frustrating all outside aggression and of contributing its helpful influence to the comity of nations for the establishment of world peace.

16. This programme is as follows:

Bharatiya Jana Sangh will give top priority to national defence. The armed forces will be expanded to be compatible with the extent and population of the country, and will be equipped with the most modern arms. Jana Sangh will undertake following programmes to prepare the country physically and psychologically for self-defence:

(a) Compulsory military training for all young men.
(b) Nationalisation of all the wings of the armed forces in their inspiration as well as form.
(c) Immediate establishment of defence industries.
(d) Organisation of a vast territorial army.

The guarding of the borders will be the Centre’s responsibility for which a border police establishment will be constituted. Strong steps will be taken to check infiltration and smuggling. The intelligence department will be made more active and efficient so that strict watch is kept on the activities of foreign spies and fifth columnists
and then their nefarious designs foiled even before they take shape.

17. For the preservation of national unity, without which neither the hard won freedom can be preserved nor the big plans for economic development and social reconstruction be executed, Jana Sangh will take the following steps:—

(1) Creating a feeling of equality and oneness in the Hindu Society by liquidating untouchability and casteism.

(2) Nationalising all non-Hindus by inculcating in them the ideals of Bharatiya culture.

The recommendations of the Niyogi Committee will be implemented to free the Bharatiya Christians from the anti-national influence of the foreign missionaries.

The present constitution is an obstacle in the way of national solidarity inasmuch as it established a federal structure and while naming the provinces as 'States' and Bharat as their 'Union' it has distributed powers between them in a way as to create a feeling among provinces of rivalry for the Centre. Jana Sangh will amend the constitution and declare Bharat to be a Unitary State.

18. But the establishment of a unitary state would not mean centralisation of power. Jana Sangh has faith in democracy, so as to make all people partners in the governance of the country, Jana Sangh will decentralise power to the lowest levels.

Village Panchayats, municipalities, corporations and other local bodies will provide opportunities for decentralized administration and will be given a dignified recognition in the higher constitutional enactment of the nation. Their resources will be assured and augmented so that they can discharge their responsibilities properly.

Village Panchayats will not be imposed from above, but evolved from below with public co-operation. Casteism and factionalism, today are the greatest curse of Panchayats. To check their growth Jana Sangh will try to encourage the system of unanimous elections of Panchayats. Till then elections will be by secret ballot. A part of land revenue will be allotted to the Panchayats so that they may not be dependent on discretionary grants.

19. The present Legislative Councils have failed in achieving their objectives. Jana Sangh will abolish them.

20. Jana Sangh will protect the fundamental rights of speech, writing, association and expression of the Bharatiya people.

It will repeal the Preventive Detention Act, the Public Safety Act, the Press Objectionable Matters Act—acts which have been enacted by the present Government to limit and restrict civil liberties, and will make such amendments in sections 107, 108, 109 and 144 Cr. P.C. and Section 124 A and 153 of I.P.C. so that powers con-
ferred by them may not be misused by the authorities to deprive people of their liberty.

21. Jana Sangh will completely overhaul the administration so that it is freed of bureaucratic ways of red tapism, inefficiency and corruption.

Jana Sangh will remove the present inequality, in the services, which creates a sense of inferiority complex in the lower grades and that of vanity in the officers. It will try to inculcate in them a feeling of partnership in the great job of reconstruction of the country. The employees working in temporary departments of the Government will be confirmed and in the event of those departments being wound-up the Government would have the responsibility of providing them with alternative jobs.

To root out corruption the Anti-Corruption Department will be given greater powers, and greater punishment will be meted out to the guilty.

In accordance with the recommendations of the S.R.C. Jana Sangh will establish All-India Services in judiciary, health, forests and engineering.

22. Jana Sangh will take strong measures to reduce Government expenditure which in recent years has risen manifold. Every pie of the poor Bharatiya people shall be spent on their betterment and not on any pomp or fanfare. In all offices, from the Rashtrapati Bhawan to the lowest rank within the country and abroad in our embassies, simplicity and thrift, the ideals of Bharatiya Culture will be observed.

In this context, Ministers will have to set an example before the people. They will not draw a salary of more than Rs. 500 p.m. Jana Sangh believes that if the people are to be inspired to practise simplicity and economy, the Ministers must not draw salaries bigger than Rs. 500 and their number should also be reduced to the minimum.

With a view to reducing the difference in the standard of living of the officials and the common man Jana Sangh will fix the maximum salary at Rs. 2,000 p.m. and lowest at Rs. 100 p.m.

23. Justice will be cheap, speedy and within the reach of everybody. From this point of view the proposal for abolition of High Court benches is undesirable. The Court fee will be substantially reduced and mobile Courts to take justice to the common man established. The Judiciary will be completely free and separate from the Executive at all levels. Jana Sangh is opposed to the limitation of the jurisdiction of courts and will make efforts to check
this growing tendency. The system of Honorary Magistrates will be abolished.

24. The aim of Jana Sangh is the establishment of an economic democracy with equal opportunities for development to all and with no chances for any exploitation. To this end it will introduce revolutionary changes in the present economic order. These changes will be in keeping with Bharatiya values of life and will take full account of the present situation. The condition of Bharat is different from both U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. It has more men than land, and it is industrially backward. The market for ready goods is limited. Therefore, imitation of Russia or of America cannot be in our interest.

25. Jana Sangh will develop a new economic order suiting the circumstances and needs of Bharat, in which there will be full freedom for individual enterprise, but economic power shall not be allowed to be centralized in a few hands. Neither shall the State be given unlimited powers. This is the way to avoid individualistic capitalism as well as state capitalism and to establish a real democracy.

The immediate aims of Jana Sangh’s economic programme will be two-fold:

(1) To solve the problem of food, clothing, housing, unemployment and inequality.

(2) To make the country self-sufficient in defence, producer’s and consumer’s goods.

26. Man power is our greatest asset. It will be the basis of our economic reconstruction. To reawaken it Jana Sangh will provide work to all. Work is man’s birth right. Jana Sangh will include right to work in the list of fundamental rights guaranteed by the constitution. The State will give unemployment allowance, if it fails to provide gainful employment to all able-bodied citizens.

27. Need for increased agricultural and industrial production is conceded by all. Until and unless production rises emphasis on distribution is of little avail and in the absence of proper distribution poverty and disparity cannot be abolished. But the present ways of production are not suited to the conditions of Bharat. Under this system although production increases, there is a reduction in the mass scale work, resulting in reduced purchasing power and consequently lack of market in the country. Unemployment grows with production. This explains the increasing unemployment during the five-year plans.

Jana Sangh stands not only for mass production but also for production by masses. It will, therefore, oppose mechanisation of
agriculture and labour saving devices, which are going to augment unemployment.

To provide work for all and to free the society of the evils of centralisation of labour and capital, Jana Sangh would take steps to decentralise economic power. Net-work of Cottage and Small-Scale Industries will be established. To put an end the competition between the small-scale and large-scale sectors, their spheres of production will be clearly demarcated.

To small industries will be the basis of all industrial planning; the large industries will have to adjust according to them.

The following steps will be taken for the development of small-scale industries.

(1) Making of machines suitable for cottage and village industries, so that their scale of production and the income of the producers may be increased.

(2) Establishment of industrial school to train the workers in modern technology.

(3) Reservation of markets for small, cottage and village industries.

(4) Encouragement and establishment of co-operative industries.

Jana Sangh will give full protection to Handloom Industry. At the present time introduction of powerlooms in place of handlooms is unwise. Co-operative Spinning Mills will be established to provide cheap yarn to the handloom weavers.

28. Jana Sangh stands for nationalisation of basic and defence industries. All other industries should be given full opportunity to develop, subject to state supervision, regulation and control.

The present tendency to take over more and more industries in State ownership and control is not only killing democracy, it is undesirable even from the point of view of economic development. The experience of nationalized industries is very bitter and disappointing. Wastage of public funds and an attitude of indifference to the general public—these two have become the cardinal features of nationalized industries. Jana Sangh is not opposed to controlling the tendency of exploitation in private industries or to equipping the Government with powers for raising the resources needed for economic reconstruction, but it considers all round nationalization as unnecessary. Jana Sangh is opposed to the policy of state ownership of road transport, insurance and banking.

29. Jana Sangh policy as regards mining, tea plantation, coffee, rubber and other such industries as are in the hands mainly of foreigners is to Indianise them. Immediate steps will be taken
in this direction in respect of the soap and match industries, whose production is today controlled mainly by foreign concerns. As regards the other foreign industries 2/3 of the total investment in any concern ought to be Indian. Not only the labourers but also the experts and the officers in such concerns should mainly be nationals of Bharat.

30. Jana Sangh will fix a maximum limit for the foreign companies in the matter of remitting profits outside.

31. Jana Sangh proposes to make labour a co-sharer in the management and profit of industry. With this end in view, it will arrange for their due representation on the Corporations and Boards of Directors in both nationalized and private industries.

32. In order that labour be conscious of its duties and vigilant in respect of its rights, it is essential that it be well-organised. The Jana Sangh would encourage every labourer to join some or the other Trade Union and defend the rights of the Labour Unions. Rules regarding the recognition of Trade Unions will be altered. The registration of a Trade Union ought, ipso facto to mean its recognition by the Government and the management.

33. A permanent Wage Board will be appointed to draw up a pay scale for work in the various industries and revise it from time to time after taking into consideration the standard of living as also the national minimum. Under the conditions of today the minimum wages of any labourer should be Rs. 100/- p.m.

34. The State shall be responsible for social security of labour. There shall not be any retrenchment unless alternative employment is provided. Special allowances will be given to labour engaged in hazardous duties. Contribution from the employees to the State Employees Insurance Scheme will be abolished. Provision for old age and sickness, will be made.

There will be equal pay for equal work and the women will not be discriminated against in this respect. Two months’ maternity leave with pay will be allowed to them.

35. Jana Sangh will take special steps to liquidate unemployment amongst the educated. Reorganisation of the system of education and greater provision for technical and scientific education will reduce the number of such unemployed. Work to educated unemployed will be provided through expansion of primary education and establishment of cottage and small-scale industries.

36. Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to all citizens. With a view to removing economic disparity and raising finances for development, the Jana Sangh will fix a maximum of Rs. 2000 (Rupees Two Thousand Only) as expendable monthly
income, according to present prices. The minimum income under present conditions will be Rs. 100/- per month and efforts will be made to take it continuously rise so that in the near future ratio between the minimum and maximum is brought to 1 : 10.

37. With a view to the development of industries and for saving foreign exchange, Jana Sangh will take steps to revive the spirit of Swadeshi. There will be restrictions on the imports of consumer goods, especially on toiletry and luxury goods. To protect indigenous industries against foreign competition, protection will be provided. Swadeshi goods alone will be used for Government purposes.

38. Jana Sangh will make revolutionary reforms in the system of taxation. It will discourage indirect taxes, the incidence of which falls mainly on the common man. There will be no indirect tax on the people at the minimum level of income.

Jana Sangh considers sales tax to be a regressive measure and will, therefore, try to abolish it. As a first step towards this end, it will:

(i) Abolish sales tax on the necessaries of life;
(ii) Exempt cottage and small-scale products from the levy of sales tax;
(iii) Introduce uniform rates in all States;
(iv) Make it a single point tax;
(v) As far as possible, collect it at the production stage; and
(vi) Abolish Inter-State Sales Tax.

Jana Sangh is against the levy of excise duty on the necessaries of life. The increased duty on coarse cloth will, therefore, be abolished.

39. Although Jana Sangh is not opposed to foreign aid if it will come without any political strings, foreign aid will not prove of much use in the economic picture. Foreign influence comes naturally with foreign aid. Jana Sangh will, therefore, place emphasis on self-reliance for the country's economic development and will plan according to our own means and resource.

40. For making the country self-sufficient in food and for the rejuvenation of the village life Jana Sangh will make revolutionary changes in land tenure. Land shall belong to the tiller of the soil and there will be no intermediary between the Kisan and the State. Persons displaced by abolition of Zamindari and Jagirdari will be rehabilitated.

The problems of the peasants and the landless have not been solved under the Congress rule even after the much publicized land reforms. Jana Sangh will stop the ejection of tillers, restore their
land to those already ejected, reduce the land revenue and other
taxes and redistribute land to provide holdings to the landless. The
minimum and maximum holding shall be 5 and 30 acres of well-
irrigated land or its equivalent. A minimum wage for agricultural
labour also will be fixed.

Jana Sangh will lay greater emphasis on the reclamation of
land and on raising the yield of land already under the plough in
the interest of increased production. It considers collectivisation of
agriculture unsuited to Bharat.

41. Jana Sangh aims at co-ordinated development of
agriculture and industry. It will try to establish a parity between
the prices of agriculture and industrial products so that no section
of the society suffers due to changes in the price-level of
commodities.

Jana Sangh will establish cottage and village industries to
provide subsidiary employment to the agriculturists and also to
reduce the burden on the land.

Jana Sangh will strive to improve the condition of villages and
take the following steps to that end.

1. By means of countrywide campaign, peasants will be
encouraged and enthused to work harder for increased yield.

2. Steps will be taken to supply better seeds and manure to
the agriculturists and to discourage the use of cow dung as fuel,
instead of organic manure. Use of chemical fertilizers will be
discouraged.

3. Use of tractors for normal ploughing purposes will be
discouraged.

4. Farmers will be encouraged to grow vegetable and fruits
along with cereals and they will be given necessary facilities for
the purpose.

5. Dairies will be set up in villages to make pure milk and
milk products available to villagers and supply them to urban areas.

6. Co-operative banks will be established in the rural areas
and schemes for insurance of the villagers, their cattle and crops
will be introduced.

42. Jana Shigh will pay special attention to the expansion
and development of road, rail, water and air transport.

Jana Sangh will run more Janta Trains in place of III Class
Air-Conditioned Trains being run mainly for propaganda purposes.
It will provide sleeping accommodation to long journey III Class
passengers without any extra payment. Efforts will also be made
to procure more goods wagons. Hitherto neglected areas will be
connected by rail.
Railway employees will be represented on the Railway Board. Special efforts shall be made to improve the working conditions of lower grade and running staff. Arrangements for the education of their children and for medical aid will be made. Recommendations of the Kripalani Committee for removing corruption will be implemented.

In order to reduce the burden on the Railways, Jana Sangh will take steps for the development of road and water transport. Rates of the motor vehicle taxation will be reduced and made uniform throughout the country and efforts will be made to connect every village by road and every big city by air. The Ganga will be made navigable from Patna to Calcutta. The contract system of Ghats will be abolished and their management will be conducted with the help of the boatmen.

43. Partition of Bharat was a great blunder and it has not benefited either the Hindus or the Muslims. The number of people who are beginning to realize that annulment of partition is essential for the well-being of the country and for maintenance of world peace is daily increasing both in Bharat and Pakistan. In fact, most of the Indo-Pak problems such as Kashmir, rehabilitation of displaced persons, economic instability, increase in defence expenditure, can all be permanently solved only by the establishment of Akhand Bharat in which Hindus and Muslims and people of other faiths live as loyal citizens of one great nation. Evidently, this unity cannot be achieved by any use of force. It will need a psychological change. The programme of cultural unification of Bharatiya Jana Sangh aims at such a change.

44. But so long as Pakistan continues to be a separate entity Jana Sangh will adopt a policy of reciprocity in dealing with the State. The policy of appeasement that has so long been followed has not changed the mentality of the leaders of Pakistan; on the contrary it has strengthened it. Jana Sangh is against giving any concessions to Pakistan on the question of evacuee-property, recovery of India's loan and dues of canal water. The leaders of Pakistan having declared Bharat to be their only enemy should be prepared for such treatment. It is for the people of Pakistan to get rid of such leaders who in order to satiate their feelings of hatred for this country are prepared to push Pakistan into a catastrophe.

45. Jana Sangh welcomes the ratification by the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir of the accession of the State with Bharat. Jammu and Kashmir is an indivisible part of Bharat and its unification with it is permanent and irrevocable. Any talk of plebiscite in Kashmir is illogical and unnecessary.
46. It is the considered opinion of Jana Sangh that Pakistan has no locus standi in Kashmir. She is an aggressor and should be treated as such. The proposal to divide that State along the cease-fire line is cowardly and anti-national. Jana Sangh will make efforts to get Pakistan declared aggressor by the U.N.O. and will take all possible steps for liberation of Pak-held Kashmir. Jana Sangh is opposed to a separate constitution for Jammu and Kashmir because it will encourage fissiparous tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of separatism and duality between Bharat and Kashmir. The growing influence of communists in the Government of J. and K. is a matter of anxiety. It can again create a situation which may be dangerous to both Kashmir and Bharat. For the future safety and security of Jammu and Kashmir with which the safety and security of Bharat is linked, it is essential that it should be brought fully under the Constitution of India by repealing article 370 of the Constitution.

47. Congress Government has so far failed to rehabilitate the people who have been displaced by partition. Even after ten years of freedom they find themselves helpless and their future insecure. Jana Sangh will give priority to their rehabilitation and will give full compensation for their properties left in Pakistan. For this purpose Jana Sangh will take the following steps :-

1. Immediate payment to small claim holders.
2. Allotment of houses on no-profit basis.
3. Rent realized till date will be credited towards price payment.
4. Realization of the value of these properties in easy instalments over a period of 30 years from those who are not in a position to pay it at present.
5. Interest will be charged on loans advanced to D.P.s. after acceptance of claims.
6. Recovery of amounts upto Rs. 2,000/- given as help will be stopped.
7. No discrimination will be made between urban and rural D.P.s.
8. Taking full responsibility of rehabilitation of those displaced persons who either have no claims or have claims of nominal values.

48. The Congress Government which is pledged to protect the lives and property of Hindus in East Bengal has failed to redeem its promise. No Hindu can live there with honour today. Jana Sangh will mobilize world public opinion against the forcible squeezing out of Hindus from East Bengal and it will demand land from
Pakistan for resettling them (Hindus). Under the present circumstances it will take away all facilities afforded to Pakistani citizens of employment and earning their livelihood in India, to facilitate the resettlement of Bengal Hindus. No restrictions, direct or indirect, will be placed on granting visas to those Hindus in East Bengal who are desirous of migrating to India. Full facilities will be afforded to those who have, anyhow crossed the border and come to Bharat.

49. The Jana Sangh is opposed to any extension in the limit of fifteen years period laid down by the Constitution for the replacement of English by Hindi and the Regional languages. Language has a vital role to play in national reconstruction. A foreign language can hardly serve this end.

50. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make a five-year plan for the development of Hindi and other Bharatiya languages under which technical and scientific terms will be prepared by a committee of linguists, based on Sanskrit and other Bharatiya languages. Books from other languages especially text books for higher classes will be translated and published in Hindi.

51. Encouragement will be given to the various dialects. Sindhi will be included in the list of Bharatiya languages recognised by the Constitution. Hindi will get its rightful place in the Jammu and Kashmir State. The policy of Jana Sangh with regard to medium of instruction will be following:

1. Primary education through the mother tongue.
2. Secondary and Higher Education through the Regional language and Hindi to be a compulsory subject.
3. Knowledge of any one regional language compulsory for Hindi speaking students.
4. A compulsory course of Sanskrit studies.
5. Graduates of Hindi and other recognized Indian languages will be treated on par with the graduates who have passed with English medium.

52. Jana Sangh will make revolutionary changes in the present system of education. The aim of education is an integrated development of the individual and the establishment of moral and spiritual values of life so that education may become a powerful and effective means of the real progress of the nation and the individual. Education, like Judiciary, will be free from interference of and control by the Government. Autonomy of educational institutions and Universities will be respected and protected.

In order to attract talented people towards teaching and to give the assurance of a happy and satisfied life to the teachers, their
wage level will be raised and they will be secured a place of dignity in the society. The following will be the programme of Jana Sangh in the field of education:

1. Provision of free and compulsory education at the primary and secondary stages.
2. Free education to poor but deserving students (Boys and Girls) at the higher stages.
3. Establishment of technical, scientific and multipurpose institutions.
4. Facilities for research and instructions in scientific education.
5. Arrangements for adult education and encouragement to the study of fine arts.

53. Jana Sangh will provide free medical aid to all. Giving due recognition to Allopathy, Homeopathy, Naturopathy and Unani systems of medicine, Jana Sangh will develop Ayurveda as the national system of medicine and it will be made the vehicle of improvement for health.

Jana Sangh will aim at establishment of a dispensary in every village, and till this objective is achieved mobile dispensaries and hospitals will be provided to make medical aid available even in the remote villages. Research laboratories will be established in various parts of the country for research and manufacture of Ayurvedic medicines. The country will be sought to be made self-sufficient in respect of manufacture of medicine, and drugs of various types. A committee of experts will be appointed to go into the question of advisability of B.C.G. vaccine. Conditions of Government hospitals and dispensaries will be improved. In the interest of public health Jana Sangh will endeavour that all eatables and other essential goods are made available in pure and unadulterated form. Jana Sangh will provide deterrent punishment to those guilty of adulteration.

54. Jana Sangh will make special efforts to get equal and honourable treatment to the socially depressed and economically backward sections of the society. It will strive to eradicate untouchability and casteism. There will be no restrictions on the entry of any section of the Hindus into the temples.

In order to improve their economic condition, priority will be given to the depressed class and the tribes in the matter of redistribution of land. Their traditional trades and crafts shall be developed. Arrangements for providing houses and drinking water to them will be made. Special facilities for their education will be provided, necessary steps will be taken to link the tribal areas with the cities.
55. Joint family and indissoluble marriage have been the basis of Hindu Society. Laws that alter this basis, will ultimately lead to the disintegration of the society. Jana Sangh will, therefore, repeal the Hindu Marriage and Hindu Succession Acts.

56. Jana Sangh will take special steps to remove social, educational and economic disabilities of women, so that they may fully discharge their responsibilities to the family, society and the nation. Equal opportunities in every field will be afforded to women.

Without, in any way, altering the scientific principles of social organisation Jana Sangh will try to increase the rights of women. Taking woman to be a member of the joint family steps will be taken to secure for her a share along with her husband in the property of her father-in-law.

57. Respecting the sentiments of the people of Bharat and taking into consideration its economic importance Jana Sangh will impose a total ban on Cow-Slaughter. As a result of movements launched by the Gohatya Virodh Samiti, with which Bharatiya Jana Sangh fully co-operated, legal ban on cow slaughter has been imposed in U.P., Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Punjab. But still there is no such law in West Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and Assam. It is resulting in rapid deterioration and loss of the cattle wealth of the country. Jana Sangh would try to get central legislation enacted to ban cow-slaughter, throughout the country. It will induce both the Government and the people to strive for the development of the cattle.

Jana Sangh will establish Gosadans in every district and would pay special attention for bettering the condition of Goshalas. Co-operative Societies will be formed for the distribution of milk in the cities. Pasture lands will be provided in all villages. Restrictions on grazing in the forests will be removed. Jana Sangh will ban the production of hydrogenated vegetable oil.

58. The aim of Jana Sangh shall be the enlightened self interest of Bharat. It will look upon all problems of war and peace in the interest of the nation. It has no aggressive design against any country, but will stake its all for the protection of national interests if and when they are threatened.

It is the considered view of Jana Sangh that permanent peace is not possible so long as there exist political slavery, economic exploitation, social discrimination and selfish lust for power. The incidents of Egypt and Hungary have once again demonstrated that weakness is a curse and that if one wants to live freely and honourably, it is essential to have military and economic strength.
The foreign policy of Jana Sangh will help an early realization of this objective. With this end in view the Jana Sangh

1. will follow a policy of non-alignment with the two power blocs as also of non-involvement in international affairs not directly affecting Bharat.

2. will try for goodwill and friendship with all nations.

3. will fully co-operate with the U.N.O. in the preservation of world peace based on liberty and equality of all nations and will try to get the U.N. Charters so amended that the U.N.O. becomes a real representative of the people of the world and that it may be an effective instrument of world peace and co-operation.

4. will try to get a permanent seat for Bharat in the Security Council.

5. will give full moral support to the struggle for independence of the people under the grip of Western colonialism or Russian imperialism, and will try to induce them to adopt an independent foreign policy.

6. will encourage the Afro-Asian countries to exert their influence in favour of world peace and freedom, keeping them away from both the power blocs, and will co-operate in joint efforts for economic development of these countries.

7. will take all steps, including police action, for the liberation of Portuguese possessions in India.

8. will try for equal citizenship rights in their respective countries to Indians overseas.

Jana Sangh calls upon the 36 crores of Bharatiyas for the fulfilment of this programme.

Today we stand on the threshold of a great opportunity. We have to decide whether we desire to see Bharat live and develop in accordance with its prestige and glory or to make it a carbon copy of other countries. We have to decide whether we want to reduce the individual to the position of a mere automation in the vast machine of state or to cater to his mental and spiritual hunger, also in addition to the physical.

"From darkness on to light"—this has been the Bharatiya ideal of progress. The Jana Sangh has come forward with this programme to establish this ideal in every sphere of life and to rebuild Bharat in accordance with it.

Through this programme the country will be saved from ex-
ternal aggression and internal disruption and a happy, prosperous
and refined national existence will dawn for the common people now
suffering between the mill stones of economic distress and social
injustice.

Jana Sangh is entering the election arena with this programme. Our
representatives will get this implemented by the Government
within the Parliament and Assemblies and without we will awaken
and educate public opinion and create a powerful mass mind in its
favour.

Last five years work of the Jana Sangh is testimony to the
fact that we have struggled continuously for the fulfilment of the
hopes and emotions of the people and have grudged no sacrifice.
however great, in the cause of the nation. If the Jana Sangh is
marching ahead despite repression and injustice, it is only because
it is the organisation of the people of Bharat themselves, one which
derives its sustenance from the people and whose all is dedicated for
the welfare of the people.

We believe that the people of the land—men and women—
will not miss the great opportunity for rebuilding their destiny,
which has presented itself in the auspicious year 1957. People are
divinity incarnate. Jana Sangh will respectfully bow before their
verdict. Jai Bharat.

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Election Manifesto, 1962*

Once again 1962 affords an opportunity to the people of
Bharat to change democratically the present government and bring
forward a new leadership to pilot the nation to a safe haven.

The government which has failed in its primary duty of
protecting the country from external aggression and internal sub-
version, as also of providing to the people their basic necessities of
food, clothing and housing has forfeited its right to be in office.

The party which has fallen from its high idealism and has be-
come the resort of selfish, opportunist and unscrupulous politicians
engaged in internecine war in their hunger for power, and which
has entered into an alliance with separatist, communal and anti-
national elements only to maintain itself in power, cannot inspire
the people with idealism or impel them to take bold and revolu-

*Text supplied by the General Secretary, Bhartiya Jana Sangh, New Delhi.
tionary steps to combat impending dangers and lay the foundations for a glorious future.

The situation demands a dedicated leadership, a well-disciplined party, and a realistic programme rooted in the cultural traditions of the people.

To reinforce the ideals of Bharatiya Sanskriti and Maryada which alone can form the basis of a steady development of the nation and of a permanent solution of its problems and strengthen democracy, the Bharatiya Jana Sangh has been exerting itself by mobilising and organising public opinion through constructive, and when necessary, agitational means. Besides, local and provincial questions, Jana Sangh has effectively given expression to people's feelings on national question e.g., integration of Jammu and Kashmir State with the rest of Bharat, liberation of Goa, resistance to Chinese aggression, change in the appeasement policy towards Pakistan, checking price inflation, rise in unemployment and increase in taxation, opposition to cooperative farming and state trading in foodgrains, etc. While different political parties were busy encouraging communalism, casteism and regionalism just to gain petty political advantages, the Jana Sangh attached supreme importance to national welfare and constantly and relentlessly waged a war against these perverse and fissiparous tendencies.

The critical times ahead and the growing confidence reposed in us by the people, have impelled and encouraged us to make an all-out effort to fulfil their expectations. We hope that the people too, on their part, will realise the gravity of the situation and will assert their democratic rights undaunted and untempted, without fear or favour. The present situation demands that immediate attention be paid to the solution of the following problems without which neither the defence of our country nor the economic development of the people is possible. These are:

1. The defence of our frontiers, and national unity;
2. Efficiency and purity of administration;
3. Stabilisation of prices and eradication of unemployment; and
4. Reorientation of education.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh pledges itself to the solution of these problems.

The borders of India have been violated. Pakistan on the one side and Communist China on the other have forcibly occupied large tracts of our land. Portuguese imperialism continues still in Goa, Daman and Diu. Despite the country's capacity successfully to combat aggression, the policy of appeasement and vacillation fol-
lowed by the Congress Government has only demoralised the people and allowed time to the enemies to consolidate their positions. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will use all means to meet this challenge to our freedom and sovereignty and liberate every inch of Indian territory.

Corruption in administration has become chronic and contagious. The policies and conduct of people at the top are responsible for this sorry state of affairs. While the Jana Sangh will take effective action against corrupt officials it will, as the people's representative, encourage honest and efficient servants of the people. The Jana Sangh will check the growing tendency towards centralisation. It will take suitable steps for the devolution of power to the man on the spot so that he may act with greater initiative and responsibility.

The rise and fall in prices have created an imbalance in our economy. The producers and consumers have both suffered. For balanced development of the economy the Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers it necessary that the prices of agricultural produce and manufactures, salaries and wages, interest rates and profits should be correlated. The Jana Sangh will make the necessary modifications in the five-year plans and in the fiscal and monetary policies of the government, so that all sections of society become co-sharers in the increase in the national income, so that the economy may not suffer from inequitable stresses and strains in its development.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers the right to employment as a fundamental right of the citizen. Without employment a person can neither develop his individuality nor contribute his quota to the reconstruction of the country.

Education is intimately connected with employment. Today there is neither adequate provision for the education of every child nor has it been orientated to become an effective instrument of an integrated development of the personality of an individual so that he may, even while properly discharging his obligations to society, be assured of employment. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will in the next five years provide free education unto the secondary stage to every child. Also it guarantees employment.

With a view to achieving the above objective in particular and generally to realise its aim of establishing in India a political, economic, and social democracy on the foundation of its age-old culture and tradition and to weld it into a modern, progressive, prosperous and strong nation, the Jana Sangh policies will be formulated to implement the following programme:
(1) **National Defence**

Keeping in view the aggressive and evil designs of both China and Pakistan, the defence potential of the country will be adequately augmented. The Defence Services will be equipped with all modern weapons. Missiles, submarines, fighters etc., will be manufactured and/or procured without the country joining any military bloc. In order to determine and evolve a national defence policy a National Defence Council representing all national elements will be appointed.

(a) The N. C. C. will be expanded so as to include every student.

(b) The Territorial Army will be organised on a mass scale.

(c) New Defence industries will be established and the efficiency and the capacity of the existing ones increased.

Emoluments and amenities of the Jawans will be upgraded and special attention will be paid towards the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen and for this end, adequate training facilities will be provided. Provisions of the Arms Act will be liberalised. No license will be required for muzzle-loading guns. Special efforts will be made to develop border areas. Plans in this regard will be made, financed and, where necessary, executed by the Defence Ministry. Besides improving transport and communications, attention will also be paid towards the economic development of these areas.

A special police establishment to guard the frontiers will be constituted by the Centre. Effective steps will be taken to check infiltration and smuggling. The intelligence department will be modernised to keep a better watch on the activities of foreign spies and fifth columnists, and to expose and foil mischievous activities even before they assume menacing proportions. Steps will be taken to expel illegal immigrants from Pakistan, especially in Assam and Kashmir.

In case of border violations, the policy of the Jana Sangh will be one of retaliation rather than of issuing protest notes.

(2) **National Unity**

The rerudescence of separatist and fissiparous forces shows that serious constructive efforts have not been made to strengthen national loyalties. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh guarantees full freedom of faith and worship to all but it is opposed to the tendency, so contrary to our ideals of a secular state, of exploiting religion in politics, and of demanding special privileges on that
basis. The Jana Sangh will give no quarter to such elements. It is wrong to divide the people of Bharat into a majority and minorities on the basis of regions. It only shows a lack of conception of the true nature of Bharatiya Nationalism. There shall be no room for such wrong notions, and the classifications based on them. Special measures will be taken to strengthen national unity by inculcating in all Bharatiya citizens an abiding faith in Bharatiya culture.

Educational and economic help to backward classes will be given to bring them in line with the whole society, with a view to obliterate all vexatious distinctions of high and low, touchable and untouchable. An enquiry into the conduct and activities of every foreign missionary will be instituted and those found engaged in proselytisation through objectionable methods or in political activities will be externed from Bharat. Recommendations of the Neogi and Ruge Committees will be implemented. Ordinarily foreign missionaries will not be allowed to enter tribal and frontier areas.

The present Constitution which, by calling the Centre as 'Union' and provinces as 'States', has recognised a separate and somewhat sovereign status of the constituents is also a hindrance to national unity. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will amend the Constitution and declare India a Unitary State, with provision for decentralisation of power to the lowest levels.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will restore to local bodies such as the village Panchayats and municipalities, which are the primary units of a democratic system, their is pride of place in the Constitution of the country. They will derive all authority from it. District Councils and Janapada Sabhas will be established and they will be assured of financial resources so that they may discharge their responsibilities fully without looking to the state government for grants. No right to supersede or dissolve a duly-elected local body, or to suspend or remove any of its members, will be allowed to a state government. This right will be given to an independent judicial body.

The village Panchayats will get a share of the land revenue.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers the whole of Jammu and Kashmir State an integral part of Bharat. To bring it in line with other States, the Jana Sangh will take steps to delete Art. 370 and thus apply the whole of the Indian Constitution to that State. All provisions that discriminate against citizens of India residing in the State or in the rest of the country, will be done away with. The citizens of the State will be given the franchise for direct election to
the Lok Sabha. Displaced persons living in the state who have no vote now, will be given the right to vote. Refugees from Pak-held Kashmir will be granted all facilities regarding rehabilitation and compensation available to other displaced persons. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh looks upon any attack on Kashmir as an attack on India, and will take all measures to liberate Indian territory illegally occupied by Pakistan and China.

(3) Administration

The Jana Sangh will completely overhaul the administration so that it is freed of the evils of bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption. The Jana Sangh will remove the present feeling of inequality in the services which creates a sense of inferiority in the lower grades and that of vanity in the officers. It will try to inculcate in them spirit of service to the people and a feeling of partnership in the great task of reconstruction of the country. The employees working in the temporary departments of the government will be confirmed, and in the event of these departments being wound up, the government would have the responsibility of providing them with alternative jobs. The right of government servants to form associations and to have collective bargaining will not be abridged. Suitable negotiating machinery will be devised to consider their complaints and demands. Uniform pay scales will be prescribed for all government employees, Central, provincial, and local. These will be based on Central Government scales. The Dearness Allowance will be linked to price index. The government will provide residential accommodation to every government employee. To root out corruption, in addition to arming the Anti-corruption Department with more powers, a high-powered commission will be appointed to enquire into the causes of corruption at higher levels. Deterrent punishment will be meted out to those found guilty. All-India Judicial, Health, Engineering, Educational, Agricultural and Public Enterprise Management Services will be created.

The Jana Sangh will take strong measures to reduce government expenditure which in recent years has risen enormously. Unnecessary departments and posts will be abolished. The number of Governors will be reduced by appointing one Governor for each zone. Legislative Councils are unnecessary and shall be abolished. No minister or official shall receive emoluments more than the national maximum i.e., Rs. 2,000 p.m.
(4) Justice

Justice will be cheap, speedy and within the reach of every citizen. Court fees will be substantially reduced and will be uniform in all states. There shall be no court fee on writ petitions. The State will provide for the legal defence of the poor. Mobile courts will be established for petty offences. The Judiciary will be completely freed and separated from the Executive at all levels. The practice of limiting the jurisdiction of the courts by administrative action will be discontinued. The practice of appointing honorary magistrates will be stopped.

The Jana Sangh will repeal the Preventive Detention Act and the various Public Safety Acts which have been enacted by the present government to limit and restrict civil liberties, and will make suitable amendments to Sections 107, 108, 109 and 144 of Cr. P.C. and Sec. 124A and 153A of I.P.C. so that powers conferred by them may not be misused by the authorities to deprive people of their liberties. Government policy in respect of advertisements will be impartial and will be formulated strictly on the basis of the circulation of papers.

(5) Language

Jana Sangh will take steps to introduce Hindi and the regional languages as official languages in their respective spheres, within the period prescribed in the Constitution. Care would however be taken to see that those who have failed to acquire the necessary proficiency in these languages are not handicapped in the matter of recruitment and promotions. With a view to settling the controversy about the official languages in different states, a high-powered Commission will be appointed. Its recommendations will be binding on all. Bharatiya Jana Sangh will formulate a five year plan for the development of Hindi and other languages under which technical and scientific terms based on Sanskrit and other Bharatiya languages will be prepared by a committee of linguists. Books from other languages will be translated and published in Hindi and other Bharatiya languages. In due recognition of its universality special steps will be taken for the promotion and development of Sanskrit. Encouragement will be given to the various dialects. Sindhi will be included in the list of Bharatiya languages recognised in the Constitution. The policy of the Jana Sangh with regard to the medium of instruction will be as follows:

(1) Primary education through the mother tongue;
(2) Secondary and higher education through the regional languages, and Hindi to be a compulsory subject;

(3) Knowledge of one of the regional languages will be compulsory for Hindi-speaking students;

(4) A compulsory course of Sanskrit studies. The Congress Government has failed to realise the importance of education in national reconstruction. The present educational system, gifted us by the Britishers, who had framed it for the achievement of their imperialistic designs, cannot fulfil the needs of a free nation. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will evolve a new educational pattern which would blend our ancient Gurukul modes with modern methods, with their technical, vocational and scientific bias. The Jana Sangh will provide for free and compulsory education up to the secondary standard for every child. No restrictions will be imposed on admissions to the University until avenues for alternative education are made available for every student at that stage. Promising and diligent students will be given free education even at the University stage. Research scholars will be given special encouragement. The present examination system will be improved. A countrywide campaign for adult literacy will be undertaken. The Jana Singh will make special efforts to ameliorate the lot of teachers. Pay-scales and other facilities available to teachers in private educational institutions will be brought on a par with those of government institutions. Particular attention will be devoted to better the lot of the much neglected primary school teachers.

(6) Economic Programme

Despite its all-out stress on the economic development of the country, the policies and programmes followed by the Congress Government during the last few years have only disturbed and strained the economy. It can neither fulfil the basic necessities of the people nor guarantee the defence of the country. In the course of two plans there has been an over-all increase in investment and production but it has neither reduced unemployment nor raised the standard of living of the common man. Growing inequalities and centralisation, shortage and high prices, taxation and loans, deficit financing and inflation, dependence and imitation are the characteristics of the present economic condition of our country. The liberty
of the individual has been further restricted by extension of control and ownership by the State. Today farmers, labourers, employees, teachers and traders are all in distress. Revolutionary steps are needed to change this state of affairs.

The Jana Sangh recognises the need of planning for utilising the resources of the nation for maximum return during a minimum of time. But planning is a means and not an end. It has to be formulated on a realistic appraisal of the needs and capacities of the people and related to the permanent values of the Nation. There are grave apprehensions of danger to the unity, independence and democratic structure of the nation in the method of formulation, and in the manner of implementation, of the present plans. Besides, it has thrown on the people burdens too heavy for them to bear, but ignored their capacities by a proper utilization of which they can be helped to achieve a greater increase in national income, and successfully implement a programme even bigger than is conceived by the Third Plan.

The Jana Sangh will basically change the Plan. In addition to the fulfilment of the economic programmes given here the priorities of the plan will be particularly changed as follows:

1. First priority will be given to agriculture so that the country becomes self-sufficient in food and agricultural raw material.

2. Small-scale industries and consumer goods industries will be established on a vast scale.

3. Stress in the public sector will be on consolidation rather than further extension on doctrinaire grounds. The projects taken up in hand during the last plan period will be completed quickly, and in future only those industries will be started by the government which are of a basic nature and are necessary for the development of agriculture and other industries.

4. The doctrinaire distinction between public and private sectors will be abolished. Instead, the concept of a national sector will be put forward and every individual and authority, will be expected to contribute his best towards the establishment, ownership, and management of industry.

5. The objectives of the Plan will be: (a) maximum production; (b) equitable distribution; (c) guarantee of a minimum living standard to all; (d) maximisation of employment opportunities; and (e) balanced and coordinated development of all regions and sections of the society.
6. As part of the general plan, a defence plan will be separately prepared.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reconstitute the Planning Commission and the National Development Council. The Commission will be made an expert body, freed of political elements.

The N.D.C. will include, besides members of the Central Cabinet and State Chief Ministers, members from parliament and state legislatures on a proportional basis.

(7) Agriculture

Maximum agricultural production in India is possible only through intensive cultivation. The Jana Sangh will make adequate arrangements for the necessary capital and equipment for this purpose. Facilities for cheap, sufficient and timely availability to the farmer of better seeds, manures and fertilizers, agricultural equipment and bullocks, and credit will be made. The provision of these facilities will be tagged on to increase in production. Necessary steps will be taken to ameliorate the condition of agricultural labour. A crop insurance scheme will be introduced.

All possible steps will be taken to free agriculture from its dependence on the vagaries of the monsoon. The projects will be soon completed and the farmers will be in a position to enjoy their benefits without paying betterment levy or cess. Small irrigation works, dams, tanks, tube-wells, field channels, etc., will be given priority. Together with new plans, attention will also be paid to the repair of old and existing projects.

Today even the existing irrigation facilities are not properly and fully utilised. Canals do not provide sufficient water when it is needed. Irrigation rates are heavy and uneconomic. Facilities for wet farming are not available in many areas. Field channels have not been laid out even where new canals have been duly constructed. The Jana Sangh will remove all these deficiencies and make the irrigation department more efficient. Irrigation rates will be prescribed keeping in view the needs of agriculture. The Irrigation Department will not be run with a profit motive. A country-wide survey of the drainage system has not been made. Consequently, on the one hand, such water as could be stored in small pools and tanks and utilised for irrigation goes to waste, and on the other, vast areas are devastated by occasional floods.

The Jana Sangh will pay attention to the scientific management of the available water resources of the country.

The Jana Sangh will make the farmer master of his land. After removing all lacunae the existing laws will be effectively imple-
mented. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will stop ejections and restore to the tenant all lands from which he had been illegally or improperly ejected. The right of leasing the land will be granted to owners of land up to 5 acres and without limit to widows, orphans, disabled persons, military personnel and charitable trusts and institutions.

Legislation fixing a ceiling on land holdings has been enacted in almost all the states. However, the laws suffer from a number of defects and their implementation is purposely delayed by the present ministries. Consequently there is uncertainty in the minds of the peasants thus affecting agricultural production. The Jana Sangh, after removing their defects, will implement them within a year. Surplus land and other cultivable land will be distributed to the landless and to farmers with uneconomic holdings, on the ownership basis. While fixing ceilings, rights of members of a joint Hindu family will also be duly recognised.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will try to convert uneconomic holdings into economic ones by providing them with additional land, or by introducing methods of intensive cultivation. Fragmentation and division, making a holding uneconomic, will be prohibited. Necessary amendment in this regard will also be made in the Hindu Succession Act.

The Jana Sangh will take effective steps to remove corruption, favouritism and irregularities in the consolidation department. The Jana Sangh will arrange a soil-survey and preparation of a Master Plan for every village where consolidation work is needed. Corruption in the department will be ruthlessly rooted out.

Service cooperatives to provide credit, seed and equipment to the farmers, and for marketing their produce, will be organized. They will be made viable, and strengthened, so that they may be in a position to meet all the requirements of the farmers. They shall be freed from government control and interference and will be allowed to develop on a voluntary basis. Necessary help and advice will continue to be given.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh considers joint co-operative farming detrimental to democracy and unsuited to the needs of increasing production per acre of land. All those provisions that force the farmer to give up his rights on land will be repealed. Facilities provided by the government will be given to all farmers without any discrimination. Land to the landless will be given on ownership basis and not in the name of a joint cooperative farming society.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will see to it that the agriculturist gets proper return for his produce. Warehouses will be constructed
on a vast scale. Arrangements will be made by government to purchase agricultural commodities at a minimum price announced in advance of the sowing season. While fixing the minimum price, a certain amount of profit to the farmer, in addition to his cost, will also be included.

(8) Industry

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh believes in a balanced and integrated development of agriculture, industry, trade and service. To reduce the burden on land and to fulfil the various needs of the people the country should be specially industrialised. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh is of the view that, for a proper and quick industrialisation, instead of copying western patterns, we should develop our own technique. The optimum combination of available factors of production differs from country to country. Also, our cultural traditions, social values, and the needs of our material well-being are so different that by imitating and imposing foreign techniques we can neither solve our economic problems nor create a self-sufficient and self-generating economy. The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will develop a new technique through which every family will become a productive unit on the basis of a decentralised system of economy. It will also maximise production together with an automatic and more equitable distribution of wealth and income.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will make small-scale and cottage industries the basis of its programme of industrialisation. Most of the consumer goods will be manufactured by them. Big industries, will be confined to producer goods for small-scale industries, to assembling the products of similar plants, or to production for export purposes. To increase the productivity of small-scale industries and to make them stand on their own feet, they will be rationalised. In spite of heavy subventions the Khadi industry has not yet become economic. The Jana Sangh will set a time limit within which the industry will be required to become self-reliant. Handlooms will be converted into power-looms. Care will, however, be taken to ensure that no weaver is thrown out of work. The following steps will be taken for the development of small-scale industry:

1. Making of machines for cottage and village industries, so that their scale of production and income may be increased. Priority in respect of distribution of electric power will be given to these industries.
2. Establishment of industrial schools for training workers in modern technology.

3. Reservation of markets for small-scale cottage and village industries.

4. Encouragement to cooperative industries.

Subject to the above, large-scale industries will be given full scope for growth. But they shall not be allowed to be concentrated in a few hands or localities. Steps will be taken to decentralise industries now concentrated in such cities as Bombay and Calcutta.

The Jana Sangh stands for nationalising defence and basic industries. However, in the near future it feels that the State should mainly concern itself with establishment and development of defence industries. As for basic industries the State will utilize its resources for adequate development of Railways, mineral oils, hydro-electric and atomic power. Private enterprise will be associated in the establishment and development of other industries.

Autonomous corporations will be constituted to run the different public enterprises. They shall be kept free of political interference and control. Prices of their products will be fixed in the context of the general price policy. Their profits should arise from efficient management and not by manipulating excise and other kinds of imposts inseparable from monopolist control. Rules and regulations applicable to other industries will be equally applicable to them. Their employees will have a right to take part in politics.

With a view to the development of industries, and for saving foreign exchange, the Jana Sangh will take steps to revive the spirit of Swadeshi. There will be restrictions on the import of consumer goods, especially of toiletry and luxury goods. Protection will be given to indigenous industries against foreign competition. Swadeshi goods alone will be used for government purposes.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh attaches importance to self-reliance. There will be very much less need for foreign capital in the economic picture that the Jana Sangh places before the country. For basic and other necessary industries, it will welcome foreign capital if it comes without political strings. But it will plan in such a way that the programmes of industrialization do not suffer even if foreign capital is not forthcoming. Collaboration of local capital will be necessary with foreign capital. It will also be necessary that within a prescribed period local technicians should be trained and the whole concern managed by Indians as soon as they are available.

The Jana Sangh will try to Indianise Tea, Coffee, Rubber Mines, Match, Vegetable Oil, Tobacco and Soap Industries that are at present mainly in foreign hands.
(9) Tax Reforms

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reform the tax system so that people groaning under unbearable tax burdens will get some relief. Necessities of life shall be exempt from indirect taxes. Those getting minimum income will not be liable to any direct taxes. Tax collection will be simplified. A unified machinery to collect all the taxes central, provincial and local will be constituted. It will reduce collection expenses and save the assesses' trouble of having to appear before a number of officials. Tax collections will be so distributed amongst the different authorities that they can discharge their responsibilities independently. Today the local bodies look to the province and provinces to the Centre for grants. This state of affairs will be changed.

Capital formation is necessary for industrial development. It needs savings on our side and opportunities for investment on other. While the Jana Sangh will take steps to raise the living standards of the common man, it will check all ostentations. The aim of government monetary and fiscal policies will be maximum investment. To achieve this objective, the Jana Sangh will fix Rs. 2,000 as the maximum expendable income per mensem.

(10) Labour Policy

In order that labour becomes conscious of its duties and vigilant in respect of its rights, it is essential that it should be well organised. The Jana Sangh would encourage every labourer to join some one or other trade union and, defend the rights of labour unions. Rules regarding recognition of trade unions will be altered. The registration of a trade union ought, ipso facto, to mean its recognition by the Government and the management.

The Jana Sangh proposes to make labour a co-sharer in the management and profits of industry. With this end in view, it will arrange for their due representation on the Board of Directors of different concerns.

A permanent Wage Board will be appointed to draw up a pay scale for work in the various industries and revise it from time to time after taking into consideration the standard of living as also the national minima. Under conditions of today the minimum wage of any employee or labourer should be Rs. 125 p.m.

(11) Labour Welfare

The State be responsible for the social security of labour. There shall not be any retrenchment unless alternative employment
is provided. Special allowances will be given to labour engaged in hazardous duties. Contribution from the employees to the State Employees Insurance Scheme will be abolished. There will be equal pay for equal work. Women will not be discriminated against in this respect. Three months maternity leave with pay will be allowed to them.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh guarantees a minimum standard of living to every citizen. The primary aim of the Jana Sangh's programme will be to provide to every one his basic needs of food, clothing and housing. The Jana Sangh will initiate social legislation which will comprise a National Health Service (including School Health Service), Unemployment and Sickness Benefits and Old Age Pension etc. Pension of retired employees will be linked with the price index. Steps will be taken to remove delays and difficulties in the disbursement of pensions.

The Jana Sangh will provide free medical aid to all. Giving due recognition to Allopathy, Homeopathy, Naturopathy and Unani system of medicine, the Jana Sangh will develop Ayurveda as the national system of medicine and will make it a vehicle for improvement of national health. The Jana Sangh will aim at the establishment of a dispensary in every village, and till this objective is achieved, mobile dispensaries and hospitals will be provided to make medical aid available in remote villages. Research laboratories will be established in various parts of the country for research in, and manufacture of, Ayurvedic medicines. The country will be made self-sufficient in respect of manufacture of drugs of various types. The condition of government hospitals and dispensaries will be improved. To protect public health Jana Sangh will take proper measures to ensure availability of pure foodstuffs etc. Deterrent punishment will be meted out to those guilty of adulteration.

(12) Foreign Affairs

The touchstone of the success of the foreign policy of any nation is its capacity to protect and promote the enlightened self-interests of the nation; and assessed on the basis of this criterion the foreign policy of our Congress rulers has been a total failure. Neither has it been able to curb Pakistan's hostility towards India, nor has it succeeded in making China vacate its aggression from occupied Indian territory. Our policy of international peace and amity notwithstanding, no major country supported our just stand on Kashmir. The U.S.S.R. used its veto on this matter only when Pakistan joined the Western military alliances. China's aggression on Indian soil is a direct consequence of this foreign policy. By surrender-
ing India's rights in Tibet and acknowledging China's suzerainty over the country, our Congress rulers have allowed a new and relatively more dangerous brand of imperialism—Communist imperialism—to raise its ugly head atop the roof of the world. They have thus not only invited a permanent menace on India's northern frontiers but have imperilled the freedom and security of the entire South East Asia. Besides this, our present foreign policy has failed to mobilise world opinion in India's favour or to secure the moral support of those nations whom we have tried to support even to the detriment of our own national interests. China's endeavours to isolate India from its neighbours have succeeded in some measure. In Nepal anti-Indian feeling has grown. The attitude adopted by Burma and Indonesia towards the Sino-Indian dispute has only given strength to China's propaganda that while China wishes to solve the problem by peaceful means, it is India that has been acting intransigently. In Africa and countries of West Asia too, lack of necessary and proper publicity has been allowing India's case to suffer from default.

India's foreign policy purports to aim at the elimination of imperialism, but Portuguese imperialism continues to defile Indian soil. The Government has not only failed to take any effective steps by itself for the liberation of Goa, but has checked popular movements for a peaceful Satyagraha to help Goa's freedom fighters.

The Congress regime has failed to secure full citizenship rights to Indians settled in South Africa, Sri Lanka, Burma, Malaya, Mauritius and Fiji.

Despite its claim of following a policy of non-alignment the present Government has, by its attitude towards a number of international questions, given an impression of its leanings towards a particular bloc.

The Bharatiya Jana Sangh will reorientate the nation's foreign policy to make it more realistic, dynamic and firm so that while effectively safeguarding India's interests it may contribute to world peace by upholding the freedom of nations and rights of men. To this end the Bharatiya Jana Sangh

(a) will follow a policy of non-alignment with the two power blocs and will not become involved in any international tangle not directly concerning India;

(b) will strive to secure the goodwill and friendship of all nations;

(c) will lend full cooperation to the U.N.O. to enable it to secure a world peace based on the freedom and equality of all nations and endeavour to have the U.N. Charter so amended as to make the U.N.O. truly representative of
the people of the world and an effective instrument for international peace and cooperation;

(d) will endeavour to secure for India a permanent place on the Security Council;

(e) will give full moral support to the freedom struggle of the peoples enchained by Western colonialism and communinst imperialism and will inspire them to follow an independent foreign policy;

(f) will cooperate in Tibet's struggle for emancipation from the Chinese yoke;

(g) will strengthen our bonds of amity and friendship with Nepal;

(h) till such time that Pakistan exists as separate, will follow a policy of reciprocity towards it, will annul the transfer of Berubari and deal firmly with Pakistan in respect of evacuee property, recovery of debts etc.; and

(i) will make efforts to secure for Indians overseas rights of equal citizenship in their respective countries of domicile.

* * *

4. Chamber of Princes

Note: The Chamber of Princes was organized by some eminent Princes of Indian States in 1917 "to discuss matters of common interest and to place the same before the Viceroy" who was the Ex-officio President of the Chamber. Another reason which led princes to organize themselves was to escape from the rigid control of political agents and to try the weight of their united strength to bear on the paramount power. Its jurisdiction was so limited that it was not empowered to discuss even the internal affairs of a State nor question the authority of a ruler in the administration of his State. In other words the Chamber was merely advisory body and its decisions were not binding on the Government or on the Rulers of the Princely States. That probably was the main reason why the Princes neither could organize themselves properly nor they could chalk out a common policy for improving the lot of the people of their States.

* * *

Documents:
Constitution of the Chamber of Princes, 1942

1. The Crown Representative shall be the President of the Chamber.

2. The Chamber shall consist of Members and Representative Members. The Members of the Chamber shall be
   (i) Rulers of States who enjoyed permanent dynastic salutes of 11 guns or over on the 1st January 1920; and
   (ii) Rulers of States who exercise such full or practically full internal powers as in the opinion of the Crown Representative qualify them for admission to the Chamber.

The Representative Members of the Chamber shall be such Rulers of States not qualified for admission under sub-clause (i) and (ii) above as may be appointed under the Regulations.

3. The Chamber shall be a deliberative and advisory, but not an executive body.

4. The functions of the Chamber shall be
   (i) to initiate in accordance with the Rules of Business proposals and to make recommendations relating to the preservation and maintenance of Treaties, and of the rights and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of the Princes and Chiefs, their States and the members of their families;
   (ii) to discuss and make representations upon matters of Imperial or common concern, and subjects referred to the Chamber for consideration by the Crown Representative;
   (iii) to appoint Committees of experts and others to advise the Chamber upon technical or other intricate questions;
   (iv) to appoint a Chancellor and a Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber and a Standing Committee, such appointments to be made in accordance with the Regulations, by which the functions of the Chancellor, the Pro-Chancellor and the Standing Committee will also be defined;
   (v) to propose for the consideration of the Crown Representative, Regulations for any purpose connected with the Chamber or Rules of Business, or amendments, or alterations of the Regulations of Rules; and
   (vi) to deal with any other matter provided for by the Regulations or Rules.

5. No proposal affecting the constitution of the Chamber shall be brought up before it or discussed except with the leave of the Crown Representative.

6. Treaties and internal affairs of individual States, rights,
and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of individual Princes and Chiefs, their States and the members of their families and the actions of individual Rulers shall not be discussed in the Chamber.

7. The institution of the Chamber shall not prejudice in any way the engagements or the relations of any State with the Crown Representative (including the right of direct correspondence) nor shall any recommendation of the Chamber in any way prejudice the rights or restrict the freedom of action of any State.

8. The First Regulations shall be the Regulations set out in the schedule hereto, which may be varied or added to from time to time by the Crown Representative in consultation with the Chamber.

9. Rules for the conduct of the business of the Chamber (hereinbefore referred to as Rules of business) shall be made by the Crown Representative in consultation with the Chamber and may be varied or added to from time to time.

10. The Crown Representative may, for the purpose of any meeting of the Chamber, suspend any of the Rules or Business.

* * *

The Indian Princes and the Cripps Mission: Resolution*

The Indian States Delegation unanimously adopted the following resolution in respect of the proposals of His Majesty’s Government which you discussed with them:

"The attitude of the Indian States in general on the Mission of the Lord Privy Seal is summed up in the resolution in the subject which was adopted unanimously at the recent session of the Chamber of Princes. The Indian States will be glad as always, in the interest of the motherland, to make their contribution, in every reasonable manner compatible with the sovereignty and integrity of the States, towards the framing of a new constitution for India.

"The States should be assured, however, that in the event of a number of States not finding it feasible to adhere, the non-adhering States or group of States so desiring should have the right to form a union of their own, with a full sovereign status in accordance with a suitable and agreed procedure devised for the purpose.

The following is the text of the Resolution referred to:

*Resolution passed by the Indian States Delegation.*
(a) That this Chamber welcomes the announcement made in the House of Commons on March 11, 1942, by the Prime Minister and the forthcoming visit to India of the Lord Privy Seal and leader of the House of Commons and expresses the hope that it may help to unite India to intensify further her war effort and to strengthen the measures for defence of the Motherland.

(b) That this Chamber has repeatedly made it clear that any scheme to be acceptable to the States must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, engagements and sanads or otherwise and ensure the future existence of sovereignty and autonomy of the States thereunder guaranteed, and leave them complete freedom duly to discharge their obligation to the Crown and to their subjects; it, therefore, notes with particular satisfaction the reference in the announcement of the Prime Minister to the fulfilment of the treaty obligations to the Indian States.

(c) That this Chamber authorizes its representatives to carry on the discussions and negotiations for constitutional advance of India with due regard to successful prosecution of war and interests of the States, and subject to the final confirmation by the Chamber without prejudice to the right of the individual States to be consulted in respect of any proposals affecting their treaty or other inherent rights.

* * *

Lord Wavell's Views*

Your Highnesses, this leads me to a subject to which I know well you all attach the greatest importance—that of your relationship with the Crown and the rights guaranteed by your treaties and engagements. I can assure you that there is no intention on our part to initiate any change in this relationship or these rights without your consent. I am confident that Your Highnesses will through your accredited representatives take your full share in the prelimi-

* Extracts from the proceedings of a meeting of the Chamber of Princes, 1946.

His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Wavell's speech at the opening session, 17 Jan. 1946.
nary discussions, which were announced in my broadcast of the 19th September, as well as in the intended constitution-making body; and that your consent to any changes which emerge as a result of these negotiations will not unreasonably be withheld. I am also confident that in your approach to these problems you will have no intention or desire to stand in the way of the growth of India to its full stature or to hinder the political, economic or social progress and advancement of your subjects. It will rather be natural and in accordance with your traditions that you should become leaders in peace, as you have formerly been in war.

The record of some States in the art of civil government is already most distinguished. In no part of India is administration more efficient, are industries better organized and the welfare of the people better secured than in some of the States. That such a claim cannot be made on behalf of all States, Your Highnesses will doubtless not contest: that it cannot be made on behalf of the small States is largely due to the fact that their resources are insufficient to meet the cost of a modern administration. Although inadequate finance is a misfortune for which, in itself, the Darbars concerned are not responsible, it is, I suggest, incumbent upon them so to modify the constitutional position of their States as to ensure the welfare of their subjects for the future. To achieve these three conditions are necessary. Every State should possess of the people with the administration. If a State cannot fulfil these conditions, I strongly urge that it should arrange to do so either by joining a larger unit or by combining with other small States to form a political entity of a sufficient size. I am convinced that only by this means will the small States be able to keep abreast of progress in other parts of India, and I, therefore, trust that they will not withhold their consent to such modifications of their relations with the Crown as present circumstances and future requirements demand, with any expectation that, by so doing, they may be able to perpetuate conditions which are out of date.

Although these suggestions primarily concern the small States, they are, I believe, of importance to all Your Highnesses, who must naturally be concerned to assist the smaller States to solve their particular problems with success.
Speech by His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, 18 January, 1946*

The resolution before us records our intention to make every possible contribution to the settlement of the Indian constitutional problem. The character and extent of that contribution it is not yet possible for us to specify, for we have no idea of what the final picture is to be. We can, however, promise our fullest contribution to any attempt to settle India's constitutional problem on a just and reasonable basis.

As an earnest of that spirit and to enable the States to play their full part in the India of the future I have the honour to make the following declaration in regard to constitutional developments in the States:

1. The Chamber of Princes in consultation with the Committee of Ministers have given anxious consideration to the question of the development of constitutional reforms in Indian States, and without prejudices to the correct constitutional position, which has been reaffirmed by the declaration made in Parliament on behalf of His Majesty's Government and repeated by His Excellency the Viceroy, that "the decision as to the constitution best suited to the needs of his people and his State rests with the Ruler himself to take", they recommend an immediate declaration by the Chamber of Princes of the policy in this matter and the steps which should be taken immediately where this had not already been done, to implement it. The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes is accordingly authorized to make the following declaration on behalf of and with the full authority of the Chamber of Princes.

2. The object is to be set up forthwith constitutions on which the sovereign powers of the Ruler are exercised through regular constitutional channels without in any way affecting or impairing the continuance of the reigning dynasty in, and the integrity of, each State. There shall be popular institutions with elected majorities to ensure close and effective association of the people with the governance of the States. It is understood that, in framing the detailed constitution of individual States on the above lines, regard shall be had to the special circumstances in each State.

* Proceedings of the Meetings of the Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal, Simla, 1946) pp. 20-22.
3. Most States have already adopted statutory provisions guaranteeing the rule of law and the security and protection of person and property within their territories. In order to lay down and declare the position in this matter in precise and clear terms, the following essential rights should be guaranteed in States where this has not already been done, with powers vested in the courts of the States to redress any infringement of these rights:

(i) No person should be deprived of his liberty, nor should his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with law;

(ii) Every person should have the right to a writ of habeas corpus. Such right may be suspended as may be prescribed in case of war, rebellion or serious internal disorder;

(iii) Every person should enjoy the right of free expression of opinion, the right of free association and combination, and the right to assemble peacefully without arms and without military formation for purposes not opposed to law or morality;

(iv) Every person should enjoy freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, subject to public order and morality;

(v) All persons should be equal before the law, irrespective of religion, caste or creed;

(vi) No disability should attach to any person merely by reason of his religion, caste or creed, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, or in the exercise of any trade or calling;

(vii) There should be no begar.

4. It is reaffirmed that the administration shall be based on the following essential principles which would be strictly enforced where they do not obtain at present:

(i) The administration of justice must vest in an impartial and competent judiciary, independent of the Executive and there must be suitable provision for the impartial adjudication of disputes between individuals and the states.

(ii) The Rulers in their own States should clearly demarcate administrative Budgets from Civil Lists and fix the latter at a reasonable percentage of the ordinary revenues.

(iii) The incidence of taxation must be fair and equitable
and a definite and substantial portion of the revenue must be allocated for the benefit of the people, particularly in the nation-building departments.

5. It is strongly recommended that the essential measures recommended in this declaration should, where they are not in force be adopted without delay.

6. This declaration, made spontaneously and earnestly, is inspired by faith in the people of Indian States and in the future destiny of the States. It represents the will of the Rulers to implement these decisions without reservation or delay. May it lead to increasing freedom from want and fear, and freedom of the mind and its expression; may it grow on the sure foundations of mutual love, tolerance, service and responsibility.'

Our views and intentions on these crucial questions have frequently been gravely misrepresented in the past. I venture to think that the language of this resolution, and the declaration I am making on behalf of the Chamber of Princes, will leave no room for any doubts whatsoever in the future. I need say no more in commending the resolution I am moving for your acceptance. It runs as follows:

'The Chamber of Princes desires to reiterate that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature, and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian constitutional problem.'

* * *

The Reply of the Members and Representative Members of the Chamber of Princes to His Excellency Lord Wavell's Address.

18th January, 1946*

We are glad to get Your Excellency's testimony to the fact, that in no part of India is administration more efficient or industries better organized and the welfare of the people better secured than in some of the States. Your Excellency emphasized three conditions which you consider necessary for a State to conform its administration to the requirements of the time, viz., political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association of the people

*Proceedings of the Meeting of the Chamber of Princes (Narendra Mandal, Simla, 1946) pp. 34-5.
with the administration. We are not quite sure as to what is intended by the term 'political stability' in this text but this term, as we understand it, must take into account the historic background and geographica! position of the States and as such it can be inherent in a unit even of a small size.

Moreover, while we recognize the importance of adequate finance in providing higher standards of administration, we would wish to emphasize that the potential resources of many Indian States are awaiting development and therefore their existing revenues alone should not be the criterion of assessing their financial position.

Your Excellency has invited smaller States, whose resources may be insufficient to meet the cost of modern administration, to join a larger unit or combine with other small States to provide the requisite standard. We take it as understood that the arrangements envisaged under the suggestion are intended to proceed on the basis of mutual consent and do not exclude suitable schemes of joint services between some bigger and some smaller States where these may be evolved by mutual agreement. In fact some of the smaller States have admittedly efficient administrations and are willing to do all they can, individually where necessary or through suitable voluntary schemes of joint services, to effect such further improvements as may be possible and required to meet local conditions. The Chamber of Princes has already stated its view that where individual States cannot themselves afford the agreed standards of efficiency required in modern times, they should do so by making suitable arrangements with some other State or States. We are convinced that it is possible to ensure the objective in view without impairing the continuance of the ruling dynasty, the izzat of the Rulers or the integrity and autonomy of the States concerned. The declaration made by the Chancellor during this session makes it clear that the States, big and small, are determined to make every effort possible to raise the standards of living and social services in their States and to associate their peoples with the administration of the States. The Rulers concerned are entitled, however, to be assured that their agreeing to work out suitable schemes of joint services for the further improvement of their administrations will not be used as a justification for undue interference by local officers in their internal affairs. We feel confident that there will be no difficulty in the Rulers concerned themselves agreeing to suitable schemes of joint services where needed, if they are assured in unequivocal terms that such co-operation will not lead to an impairment of their sovereignty and an increase of outside interference. We feel sure
that in asking the smaller States which cannot themselves afford to provide the requisite standards of a modern administration to form 'political entities' of sufficient size, Your Excellency has no intention of suggesting any arrangement which may affect the continuance of the ruling dynasties or the integrity or autonomy of the States concerned. We deem it our duty to bring to Your Excellency's notice the serious misgivings which prevail generally amongst the Rulers of so-called smaller States, and we invite Your Excellency's particular sympathy and consideration in approaching the problems of these States.

The larger States will, we feel sure, be glad to assist the smaller States to solve their particular problems with success, but any arrangements in which they are invited to assist must proceed on the initial basis of mutual consent and should involve no impairment of the status of the Rulers or the integrity of the States concerned.

* * *

Indian States and the Cabinet Mission

Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy presented by the Cabinet Mission to His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, 12 May, 1946

1. Prior to the recent statement of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons an assurance was given to the Princes that there was no intention on the part of the Crown to initiate any change in their relationship with the Crown or the rights guaranteed by their treaties and engagements without their consent. It was at the same time stated that the Princes' consent to any changes which might emerge as a result of negotiations would not unreasonably be withheld. The Chamber of Princes has since confirmed that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature. His Majesty's Government have now declared that if the "Succession" Government or Governments in British India desire independence, no obstacle would be placed in their way. The effect of these announcements is that all those concerned with the future of India wish her to attain a position of independence within or without the British Commonwealth. The Delegation have come here to assist in resolving the difficulties which stand in the way of India fulfilling this wish.

2. During the interim period which must elapse before the coming into operation of a new constitutional structure under which
British India will be independent or fully self-governing, paramountcy will remain in operation. But the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government.

3. In the meanwhile, the Indian States are in a position to play an important part in the formulation of the new constitutional structure for India, and His Majesty's Government have been informed by the Indian States that they desire, in their own interests and in the interests of India as a whole, both to make their contribution to the framing of the structure, and to take their due place in it when it is completed. In order to facilitate this they will doubtless strengthen their position by doing everything possible to ensure that their administrations conform to the highest standard. Where adequate standards cannot be achieved within the existing resources of the State they will no doubt arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure. It will also strengthen the position of States during this formative period if the various Governments which have already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their State by means of representative institutions.

4. During the interim period it will be necessary for the States to conduct negotiations with British India in regard to the future regulation of matters of common concern, especially in the economic and financial field. Such negotiations, which will be necessary whether the States desire to participate in the new Indian constitutional structure or not will occupy a considerable period of time, and since some of these negotiations may well be incomplete when the new structure comes into being, it will, in order to avoid administrative difficulties, be necessary to arrive at an understanding between the States and those likely to control the Succession Government or Governments that for a period of time the then existing arrangements as to these matters of common concern should continue until the new agreements are completed. In the matter, the British Government and the Crown Representative will lend such assistance as they can should it be so desired.

5. When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments will not be such as to enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy. Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose. Thus, as a
logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power will return to the States. Political arrangements between the States on the one side and the British Crown and British India on the other will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular political arrangements with it or them.

* * *

Press Statement by the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes on the Cabinet Mission Plan

1. The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have in consultation with the Committee of Ministers and the Constitutional Advisory Committee given careful consideration to the Statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy on 16th May, 1946. They have also examined the Delegation's Memorandum on States' Treaties and Paramountcy, and the further statement of 26th May. They are of the view that the Plan provides the necessary machinery for the attainment by India of independence as well as a fair basis for further negotiations. They welcome the Declaration of the Cabinet Mission in regard to paramountcy, certain adjustments for the interim period will be necessary.

2. There are, however, a few points in the Plan which still require elucidation. There are also several matters of fundamental importance which are left over for negotiation and settlement. The Standing Committee have, therefore, accepted the invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy to set up a Negotiating Committee and have authorised the Chancellor to arrange discussions as contemplated in the Plan. It is proposed to place the results of these negotiations before a General Conference of Rulers and Representatives of States.

3. As regards the arrangement for the interim period, the Standing Committee confirm the following proposals made by the Chancellor:

(a) that a Special Committee may be set up consisting of
representatives of the States and of the Central Government to discuss and reach agreement on matters of common concern during the interim period:

(b) that disputes on justiciable issues and on fiscal, economic or financial matters should be referable to Courts of Arbitration as a matter of right;

(c) that in personal and dynastic matters the agreed procedure should be implemented in letter and spirit, and the Crown Representative should ordinarily consult the Chancellor and a few other Princes, if not objected to by the States concerned;

(d) that in agreement with the States machinery may be provided for the early settlement of the pending cases and for the revision, at the instance of the States concerned, of the existing arrangements in regard to such subjects as Railways, Ports and Customs.

The Committee have, therefore, authorized the Chancellor to conduct further negotiations with a view to reaching early decisions.

4. The Standing Committee endorse the suggestion made by the Cabinet Delegation that the States' will doubtless strengthen their position by doing everything possible to ensure that their administrations conform to the highest standard. Where adequate standards cannot be achieved within the existing resources of the State they will no doubt arrange in suitable cases to form or join administrative units large enough to enable them to be fitted into the constitutional structure. It will also strengthen the position of the States during this formulative period if the various Governments which have not already done so take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their State by means of representative institutions. The Standing Committee have to emphasize the necessity for the States, which have not done so, to declare immediately their decision to follow the lines of internal reforms laid down in the declaration made by the Chancellor at the last session of the Chamber of Princes and to take necessary steps to implement that decision within 12 months.
Indian States and the New Dominion of India
Statement by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on Indian States, 5th July, 1947*

It was announced some days back that the Government of India had decided to set up a Department to conduct their relations with the States in matters of common concern. This Department has come into being today and the States have been informed to this effect. On this important occasion I have a few words to say to the Rulers of Indian States among whom I am happy to count many as my personal friends.

It is the lesson of history that it was owing to her politically fragmented condition and our inability to make a united stand that India succumbed to successive waves of invaders. Our mutual conflicts, and internecine quarrels and jealousies have in the past been the cause of our downfall and our falling victims to foreign domination a number of times. We cannot afford to fall into those errors of traps again. We are on the threshold of independence. It is true that we have not been able to preserve the unity of the country entirely unimpaired in the final stage. To be bitter disappointment and sorrow of many of us some parts have chosen to go out of India to set up their own Government. But there can be no question that despite this separation a fundamental homogeneity of culture and sentiment reinforced by the compulsive logic of mutual interests would continue to govern us. Much more would this be the case with that vast majority of States which owing to their geographical situation continue to maintain relations of mutual friendship and co-operation with the rest of India. The safety and preservation of these States as well as of India demand unity and mutual co-operation between its different parts.

When the British established their rule in India they evolved the doctrine of paramountcy which established the supremacy of British interests. That doctrine has remained undefined to this day, but in its exercise there has undoubtedly been more subordination than co-operation. Outside the field of paramountcy there has been a very wide scope in which relations between British India and the States have been regulated by enlightened mutual interests. Now that British rule is ending, the demand has been made that the States should regain their independence. In so far as paramountcy embodied the submission of States to foreign will, I have every sympathy with this demand, but I do not think it can be their

desire to utilize this freedom from domination in a manner which
is injurious to the common interests of India or which militates
against the ultimate paramountcy of popular interests and welfare
or which might result in the abandonment of that mutually useful
relationship that has developed between British India and Indian
States during the last century. This has been amply demonstrated
by the fact that a great majority of Indian States have already come
into the Constituent Assembly. To those who have not done so, I
appeal that they should join now. The States have already accepted
the basic principle that for Defence, Foreign Affairs and Commu-
nications they would come into the Indian Union. We ask no more
of them than accession on these three subjects in which the
Common interests of the country are involved. In other matters
we would scrupulously respect their autonomous existence.

This country with its institutions is the proud heritage of the
people who inhabit it. It is an accident that some live in the States
and some in British India, but all alike partake of its culture and
character. We all are knit together by bonds of blood and feeling
no less than of self-interest. None can segregate us into segments;
no impassable barriers can be set up between us. I suggest that it is
therefore better for us to make laws sitting together as friends than
to make treaties as aliens. I invite my friends, the Rulers of
States and their people to the Councils of Constituent Assembly in
this spirit of friendliness and co-operation in a joint endeavour,
nursed by common allegiance to our motherland for the common
good of us all.

There appears a great deal of misunderstanding about the
attitude of the Congress towards the States. I should like to make
it clear that it is not the desire of the Congress to interfere in any
manner whatever with the domestic affairs of the States. They are
no enemies of the Princely Order, but, on the other hand, wish them
and their people under this aegis all prosperity, contentment and
happiness. Nor would it be my policy to conduct the relations of
the new Department with the States in any manner which savours
of the domination of one over the other; if there would be any
domination, it would be that of our mutual interests and welfare.
We have no ulterior motive or selfish interests to serve. Our
common objective should be to understand each other's point of view
and come to decisions acceptable to all and in the best interests of
the country. With this object, I propose to explore the possibility
of associating with the administration of the new Department, a
Standing Committee representative of both the States and British
India.
We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavour we can rise the country to a new greatness while lack of unity will expose us to fresh calamities. I hope the Indian States will bear in mind that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if we are unable to act together in the minimum of common tasks. Let not the future generation curse us for having had the opportunity but failed to turn it to our mutual advantage. Instead, let it be our proud privilege to leave a legacy of mutually beneficial relationship which would raise this sacred land to its proper place amongst the nations of the world and turn it into an abode of peace and prosperity.

* * *

Address by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, to a special full meeting of the Chamber of Princes, 25 July, 1947

It is a great pleasure and a great privilege for me to address so many Rulers, Dewans and representatives of the States of India in this historic Chamber of Princes. It is my first and my last occasion that I have the privilege of addressing you as crown Representative.

I would like to begin by giving you a very brief history of the negotiations I have conducted since I have been out here and the line that I have taken up about the States.

* * *

There was a universal acceptance among the States of the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of May 12th and when the parties accepted my statement of June 3rd they fully realized that withdrawal of paramountcy would enable the States to regain complete sovereignty. That gave me a starting point from which to try and deal fairly with the States.

* * *

Now, the Indian Independence Act releases the States from all their obligations to the Crown. The States have complete freedom—technically and legally they are independent. Presently I will discuss the degree of independence which we ourselves feel is best in the interest of your own States. But there has grown up during the

period of British administration, owing to the fact that the Crown Representative and the Viceroy are one and the same person, a system of co-ordinated administration on all matters of common concern which meant that the subcontinent of India acted as an economic entity. That link is now to be broken. If nothing can be put in its place, only chaos can result, and that chaos, I submit, will hurt the States first—the bigger the State the less the hurt and the longer it will take to feel it—but even the biggest of the States will feel itself hurt just the same as any small State. The first step was to set up some machinery by which it was possible to put the two future Governments of India—the Dominions of India and Pakistan—into direct touch with the States. So we conceived the scheme of setting up two States Departments within the future Governments. Please note that these States Departments exercised functions relating to paramountcy on behalf of the Crown Representative, the States Departments are to take over those subjects gradually which have nothing to do with paramountcy but which will be concerned with relations with neighbouring States and also provide the machinery to negotiate in such matters. In India the States Department is under the admirable guidance of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel with my own Reforms Commissioner, Mr. V.P. Menon as Secretary. In Pakistan the Department is under Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar with Mr. Ikramullah as the Secretary. It was necessary to set up two States Departments, one in each Government because the State are theoretically free to link their future with whichever Dominion they care. But when I say that they are at liberty to link up with either of the Dominions, may I point out that there are certain geographical compulsions which cannot be evaded. Out of something like 565 States, the vast majority are irretrievably linked geographically with the Dominion of India. The problem, therefore, is of far greater magnitude with the Dominion of India than it is with Pakistan. In the case of Pakistan the States, although important, are not so numerous, and Mr. Jinnah, the future Governor-General of Pakistan, is prepared to negotiate the case of each State separately and individually. But in the case of India where the overwhelming majority of the States are involved, clearly separate negotiation with each State is out of the question.

The first step that I took was to suggest that in the Bill before Parliament—the Indian Independence Act—a clause should be put in which would enable certain essential agreements to continue until renounced by either side. That was only done to ensure that there should be some continuity and to see if in the short time available
it was not possible to get the agreement through with every State representative. It does not replace the need for standstill agreements; it gives a very slight breathing space.

Now, I think it is no exaggeration to say that most Rulers and Dewans were apprehensive as to what their future would be when paramountcy lapsed. At one time it appeared that unless they joined the Constituent Assembly and accepted the Constitution when it was framed, they would be outside the organization and left in a position which, I submit if you think it over carefully, no state could view with equanimity to be left out having no satisfactory relations or contacts with either Dominion Government. You can imagine how relieved I was, and I am sure you will yourselves have been equally relieved, when Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on taking over the States Department made, if I may say so, a most statesmanlike statement of what he considered were the essentials towards agreement between the States and the Dominion of India.

Let us turn for one moment to the Cabinet Mission Plan of 16th May 1946. In this Plan the proposal was that the States should surrender in the Central Government three subjects—Defence, External Affairs and Communications. That was a Plan which, to the best of my belief, every Ruler and every State accepted as reasonable, fair and just. I talked with so many Rulers and everyone felt that Defence was a matter that a State could not conduct for itself. I am not talking of internal security but of defence against external aggression. I submit, therefore, that if you do not link up with one or the other of the Dominions, you will be cut off from any source of supplies of up-to-date arms or weapons.

External Affairs inextricably linked up with Defence. External Affairs is something again which is outside the boundaries of India in which not even the greatest State can operate effectively. You can hardly want to go to the expenses of having Ambassadors or Ministers or Consuls in all these foreign countries; surely you want to be able to use those of India and Pakistan. Once more I suggest that External Affairs is something that you have not dealt with since the formation of the East India Company. It would be difficult to operate and will also be a source of embarrassment for you to have to take it up and it can only be managed by those who manage the defence of the country. I submit that if you take it up it will be a liability and not an asset.

The third subject is Communications. Communications is really a means of maintaining the life-blood of the whole sub-continent. I imagine everybody agrees that the country has got to go on. The continuity of Communications is already provided for to
a certain extent in the Indian Independence Act; and most of the representatives here have come to discuss it as item 2 on the agenda.

Therefore, I am sure you will agree that these three subjects have got to be handled for you for your convenience and advantage by a larger organization. This seems so obvious that I was at a loss to understand why some Rulers were reluctant to accept the position. One explanation probably was that some of you were apprehensive that the Central Government would attempt to impose a financial liability on the States or encroach in other ways on their sovereignty. If I am right in this assumption, at any rate so far as some Princes are concerned, I think, I can dispel their apprehensions and misgivings. The draft Instrument of Accession which I have caused to be circulated as a basis for discussion (and not for publication) to the representatives of the States provides that the States accede to the appropriate Dominion on the three subjects only without any financial liability. Further, that Instrument contains an explicit provision that in no other matters has the Central Government any authority to encroach on the internal autonomy or the sovereignty of the States. This would, in my view, be a tremendous achievement for the State. But I must make it clear that I have still to persuade the Government of India to accept it. If all of you will co-operate with me and are ready to accede, I am confident that I can succeed in my efforts. Remember that the day of the transfer of power is very close at hand and, if you are prepared to come, you must come before the 15th August. I have no doubt that this is in the best interests of the States, and every wise Ruler and wise Government would desire to link up with the great Dominion of India on a basis which leaves you great internal autonomy and which at the same time gets rid of your worries and cares over External Affairs, Defence and Communications.

The whole country is passing through a critical period. I am not asking any State to make any intolerable sacrifice of either its internal autonomy or independence. My scheme leaves you with all the practical independence that you can possibly use and makes you free of all those subjects which you cannot possibly manage on your own. You cannot run away from the Dominion Government which is your neighbour any more than you can run away from the subjects for whose welfare you are responsible. Whatever may be your decision I hope you feel that I have at least done my duty by the States.
Form of Standstill Agreement entered into by the Dominion of India and the Indian States

Whereas it is to the benefit and advantage of the Dominion of India as well as of the Indian States that existing agreements and administrative arrangements in the matters of common concern, should continue for the time being, between the Dominion of India or any part thereof and the Indian States:

1. (1) Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to matters of common concern now existing between the Crown and any Indian State shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India, or, as the case may be, the part thereof, and State.

(2) In particular, and without derogation from the generality of sub-clause (1) of this clause the matters referred to above shall include the matters specified in the Schedule to this agreement.

2. Any dispute arising out of this Agreement, or out of the agreements or arrangements hereby continued, shall unless any provision is made therein for arbitration by an authority other than the Governor-General or Governor, be settled by arbitration according as far as may be, to the procedure of the Indian Arbitration Act, 1899.

3. Nothing in this Agreement includes the exercise of any paramountcy functions.

..................................... State
.....................................
Secretary to the Government of India.

SCHEDULE

1. Air Communications.
2. Arms and equipment.
3. Control of commodities.
5. Customs.
6. Indian States Forces.
7. External Affairs.
8. Extradition.
10. Irrigation and Electric Power.
13. Opium.
15. Railways (including police and other arrangements in Railway lands.)
17. Central Excise, relief from double income-tax and other arrangements relating to taxation.
18. Wireless.

* * *

Form of Instrument of Accession executed by the Indian States*

Whereas the Indian Independence Act, 1947, provides that as from the fifteenth day of August, 1947, there shall be set up an independent Dominion known as INDIA, and that the Government of India Act, 1935, shall, with such omissions, additions, adaptations and modifications as the Governor-General may by order specify be applicable to the Dominion of India;

And whereas the Government of India Act, 1935, as so adapted by the Governor-General, provides that an Indian State may accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the Ruler thereof:

Now Therefore

I.................................................. ..........
Ruler of..........................................................
in the exercise of my sovereignty in and over my said State
Do hereby execute this my Instrument of Accession and

1. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India with the intent that the Governor-General of India, the Dominion Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Dominion authority established for the purposes of the Dominion shall, by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession but subject always to the terms there-

*The form omitting the words in italics was used by States exercising full jurisdiction. The form including the words in italics was used by Semi-Jurisdictional and Non-Jurisdictional States. White Paper on Indian States (Govt. of India Press, New Delhi, 1950) pp. 169-72.
of, and for the purposes only of the Dominion, exercise in relation to the State of ................................................................. (hereinafter referred to as 'this State') such functions as may be vested in them by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, as in force in the Dominion of India on the 15th day of August 1947 (which Act as so in force is hereinafter referred to as 'the Act'); and I further declare that the Dominion of India may, through such agency or agencies, and in such manner, as it thinks fit, exercise in relation to the administration of civil and criminal justice in this State all such powers, authority and jurisdiction as were at any time exercisable by His Majesty's representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States.

2. I hereby assume the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the Act within this State so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this my Instrument of Accession.

3. Without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 1, I accept the matters specified in the Schedule hereto as the matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make laws for this State.

4. I hereby declare that I accede to the Dominion of India on the assurance that if an agreement is made between the Governor-General and the Ruler of this State whereby any functions in relation to the administration in this State of any law of the Dominion Legislature shall be exercised by the Ruler of this State, then any such agreement shall be deemed to form part of this instrument and shall be construed and have effect accordingly.

5. The terms of this my Instrument of Accession shall not be varied by any amendment of the Act or of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, unless such amendment is accepted by me by an Instrument supplementary to this Instrument.

6. Nothing in this Instrument shall empower the Dominion Legislature to make any law for this State authorizing the compulsory acquisition of land for any purpose, but I hereby undertake that should the Dominion for the purposes of a Dominion law which applies in this State deem it necessary to acquire any land, I will at their request acquire the land at their expense or if the land belongs to me transfer it to them on such terms as may be agreed, or, in default of agreement, determined by an arbitrator to be appointed by the Chief Justice of India.

7. Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me in any way to acceptance of any future constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution.
8. Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my sovereignty in and over this State, or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.

9. I hereby declare that I execute this Instrument on behalf of this State and that any reference in this Instrument to me or to the Ruler of the State is to be construed as including a reference to my heirs and successors.

Given under my hand this........................day of August, Nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

I do hereby accept this Instrument of Accession. Dated this............
..............................day of August, Nineteen hundred and forty-seven.

..............................
(Governor-General of India)

SCHEDULE

The matters with respect to which the Dominion Legislature may make Laws for this State..........

A. Defence

1. The naval, military and air forces of the Dominion and any other armed force raised or maintained by the Dominion; any armed forces, including forces raised or maintained by an Acceding State, which are attached to, or operating with, any of the armed forces of the Dominion.

2. Naval, military and air force works, administration of cantonment areas.

3. Arms; firearms; ammunition.

4. Explosives.

B. External Affairs

1. External Affairs; the implementing of treaties and agreements with other countries; extradition, including the surrender of criminals and accused persons to parts of His Majesty's dominions outside India.

2. Admission into, and emigration and expulsion from India, including in relation thereto the regulation of the movements in India of persons who are not British subjects domiciled in India.
or subjects of any acceding State; pilgrimages to places beyond India.

3. Naturalization.

C. Communications

1. Posts and telegraphs, including telephones, wireless, broadcasting, and other like forms of communication.

2. Federal railway; the regulation of all railways other than minor railways in respect of safety, maximum and minimum rates and fares, station and service terminal charges, interchange of traffic and the responsibility of railway administrations as carriers of goods and passengers; the regulation of minor railways in respect of safety and the responsibility of the administration of such railways as carriers of goods and passengers.

3. Maritime shipping and navigation including shipping and navigation on tidal waters; admiralty jurisdiction.

4. Port quarantine.

5. Major ports, that is to say, the declaration and delimitation of such ports, and the constitution and powers of Port Authorities therein;

6. Aircraft and air navigation; the provision of aerodromes; regulation and organization of air traffic and of aerodromes.

7. Lighthouses, including lightships, beacons and other provisions for the safety of shipping and aircraft.

8. Carriage of passengers and goods by sea or by air.

9. Extension of the powers and jurisdiction of members of the police force belonging to any unit to railway area outside that unit.

D. Ancillary

1. Elections to the Dominion Legislature, subject to the provisions of the Act and of any order made thereunder.

2. Offences against laws with respect to any of the aforesaid matters.

3. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the aforesaid matters.

4. Jurisdiction and power of all courts with respect to any of the aforesaid matters but, except with the consent of the Ruler of the Acceding State, not so as to confer any jurisdiction or powers upon any courts other than courts ordinarily exercising jurisdiction in or in relation to that State.
5. Communist Party of India

Note: The Civil Disobedience Movement led by Mahatma Gandhi infused a new spirit among all those who participated in it. Most of the participants, were peasants, students and mill-workers especially of large cities like Bombay, Delhi, Kanpur, Calcutta, etc. A wave of industrial unrest swept ever India.

Incidentally in those very days some young Indians who were greatly influenced by the Russian Revolution, began to feel that Communism of the Russian type was the sure remedy of all the ills in India. In these days of intense political activity, therefore, the Communist Party of India came into existence in 1924.

The British Government which lost no time in realizing the seriousness of the consequences of the new organisation, declared it an illegal association soon after its birth. The ban was not lifted from it till in 1943, it suddenly changed its policies by supporting the British Government, in its War efforts. It is interesting to note that the Communist supported the British because they believed that the "World War" which formerly to them was an "Imperialist War" after the entry of Russia into it against Germany it suddenly became "People's War".

It is also peculiar that the Communists, who during the years, their party was banned carried on their activities under the Congress Flag, now openly opposed the "Quit India" Movement. Because of their unfriendly activities, the Congress in 1945, had to expel them from the organization. Since then they have been working as an independent Party.

The most striking and peculiar observation about the Communist Party is that during the past few years it has been changing its policies from time to time. Some political thinkers believe that the main cause of these changes seems to be that it has got no basic policy of its own. Its policies are believed to be directed by the international situations, especially by the policies of the U.S.S.R.

Below is given text of a few important documents and manifestos of the Communist Party of India, which summarize its policies and programme.

Documents:

Communist Party

"The report of the Sub-Committee appointed to consider the charges brought against the Communist members of the A.I.C.C.
was considered and their recommendations were approved. Resolved that disciplinary action be taken against Servashri S.G. Sardesai, V. G. Bhagvat, V.D. Chitale, K.M. Ashraf, S. Sajjad Zaheer, Sohan Singh Josh, Karyanand Sharma and R.D. Bhardwaj, and their names be removed from membership of the A.I.C.C. and from all other elective Congress Committees of which they may be members. Further that Provincial Congress Committees should be directed to take similar action for the removal from all Congress elective offices of members of the Communist Party of India”.


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Disciplinary Action and the Communist Party

“Complaints received in the A.I.C.C. Office regarding the hostile activities of the Communist Party during the August struggle and their open defiance of the Congress Policy as embodied in the August Resolution were placed before the committee. It has decided that a committee consisting of (1) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, (2) Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and (3) Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant be formed to go into the charges of indiscipline brought against the Congress members of the Communist Party. The Committee was required to submit its report, if possible, before the A.I.C.C. meeting.”


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Extracts From Election Manifesto of The Communist Party of India 1957*

“Five years of Congress-rule—four of them after attainment of ‘freedom’—have brought our country and our people to the verge of disaster. The production of food, cloth, and every necessity of life has declined. Famine rages in Bihar with a crore of people facing slow death. The vast mass of peasants, the bulk of our people, continue to groan under the burden of rents, debts and taxes. The agricultural workers, their number ever swelling as a result of the eviction drive of landlords, eke out a miserable existence unable to satisfy even their hunger. The condition of workers worsens

* Text supplied by the Communist Party of India, New Delhi.
every day their wages lagging far behind the soaring prices. Teachers, clerks, office employees, and workers swell the ranks of the jobless and even those who retain their jobs find their real income constantly dwindling. Students unable to pay the rising cost of education, leave schools and colleges. Artisans, small manufacturers and traders are compelled to join the ranks of paupers in face of the growing scarcity and rising price of raw materials and cornering of all available goods by profiteers and black marketers. Millions of refugees from Pakistan uprooted from their homes, roam in streets and lanes unable to find food, shelter and work.

All these are matters of common knowledge and need no narration. Everyone has begun to see that freedom has come, to mean freedom for the common man to remain starved and naked, illiterate and backward, diseased and shelterless.

**What lies at the root of these miseries?**

Congress leaders claim they have ended foreign rule, they have stopped the looting of our people by the British imperialists. They admit there is misery and starvation but these they say, are the inevitable birth pangs of a new order. In order that people may have more they must produce more. They must work hard, they must sacrifice—above all, they must cooperate with the present Government. All classes and sections must suffer today in order that all may have more tomorrow. Such is the principle of Sarvodaya, the principle that guides the Congress.

Each one of these arguments is false, each one of these assertions is a lie.

The leaders of the Congress have not won freedom for our country. They have betrayed our freedom struggle. They have allowed the foreigners and reactionary Indian vested interest to plunder and loot our people just as they did in the past. They have themselves joined in the loot.

**A Government of National Betrayal.**

In violation of every pledge, in violation of every solemn declaration to implement which tens of thousands laid down their lives the Nehru Government made India a part of the British Government, made India a part of the British Commonwealth of which the British King is the head and in many areas of which Indians are treated worse than pariahs. Our Navy and Air Force are commanded by Britishers. Our Army is controlled by their
advisors and experts, our arms are modelled and manufactured by the British.

Britishers continue to own or control our mines, our plantations, our oil wells and refineries, our jute mills, many of our engineering works and other concerns. They control our foreign trade, our banking and finance. With their investment of 600 crores of rupees and through their managing agencies, they get millions of rupees as profits and hold our economy in their death grip, throttling all development keeping us backward, and dependent, refusing to supply us with capital goods with which we could develop our industries. They looted our people of goods and services worth 1600 crores in the war years promising to pay them back which they never did. They scaled down the sum to less than half and refused to release even the balance in accordance with our own requirements.

They framed the Colombo Plan the avowed aim of which is to keep India backward and dependent, a market for British goods, a source of cheap raw materials and cheap labour.

To all this, to this continued hold of Britishers on our economy, to this colossal looting and swindling of our people, to this continued colonial status of India, the Nehru Government has been a willing party. Instead of confiscating British capital in India it has begged the Britishers and Americans to invest more capital and assured them that they can ship out the profits. It has refused to break the tie with the British and Americans or even establish close trade relations with the democratic countries who could supply us with the capital goods we need. It has accepted the plan of imperialists and called it the Nehru Plan. Tied to British and American imperialists, the Nehru Government has taken no steps whatsoever to develop the heavy industries of India—the mining industries, the machine tool industries, the iron, steel and engineering industries, the chemical industries—that alone could make the country strong and independent and create the basis for real advance. The so-called, automobile and locomotive industries that have been established in India are merely plants for assembling parts imported from British and America. They ensure rich profits to the foreigners and their agents in India and can feed the war machine of imperialists but cannot help us to become industrialised. The Nehru Government is mortgaging the manganese mines of India, the richest in the world, to the American imperialists.

In view of these facts, who can call India a really free country and her government a government of National freedom?

The Nehru Government has not merely permitted the British
imperialists to hold sway over our country’s economy and loot its wealth. It has also permitted the princes, the landlords and the Indian monopolists and finance to continue their plunder and loot. It has maintained the whole system which the British created to perpetuate their own rule. What has come is not freedom. What has come is the replacement of a British viceroy and his councillors by Indian President and his ministers, of white bureaucrats by brown bureaucrats and a bigger share in the loot of Indian people for the Indian monopolists collaborating with the imperialists.

**Government of Landlords and Monopolists**

The Nehru Government has not abolished the rule and exploitation of the princely autocrats but given them a new lease of life through its schemes of merger and integration. It has come to the aid of the princes and feudal autocrats, where the people as in Hyderabad, rose in revolt against them. It has intervened in the neighbouring state of Nepal in order to bolster up the corrupt regime of the Ranas with the aid of the treacherous leaders who posed as the champions of the people of Nepal. It has not confiscated the wealth and properties of princes but allowed them to retain them besides allowing them to draw privy purses running into crores of rupees. It has not broken up the states to form linguistic provinces. By its policies it has intensified national animosities instead of uniting the people.

The Nehru Government has preserved the system of feudal exploitation which pauperised our peasants, ruined our agriculture and caused catastrophic fall in our food production. In the name of zamindari abolition it has hatched plans to pay the feudal parasites, sworn enemies of our people and traditional agents of the British imperialists the stupendous sum of four hundred crores of rupees as compensation while at the same time leading in their hands millions of acres as private land. Instead of handing over land to the peasants, freeing them from feudal exploitation and the grip of money lenders and thus destroying the fetters that hamper the growth of our agriculture, it has squandered one hundred and fifty crores of rupees extracted from the people in the farcical “Grow More Food Campaign” which has produced nothing and merely enriched the ministers, bureaucrats and a few firms connected with them and with the foreign imperialists. It has spent the staggering sum of 538 crores of rupees to purchase food from foreign countries, especially from America on terms which mortgage our sovereignty to the most aggressive imperialist powers.
in the world. In all this it has been guided not by the interests of the peasantry and the people but by the interests of the landlords and their masters, the foreign imperialists.

The growing poverty of the peasantry, a direct result of imperialist feudal loot, makes it impossible for them to buy even the barest necessities of life.

Our industries are declining. The big industrialists who own our factories are reducing output of goods in order to create scarcity and make big profits in a shrinking market. While millions go naked, the textile magnates work their factories at far less than even the existing installed capacity and export 80 crores of yards of cloth abroad. Similar methods are followed by big monopolies in other branches of production causing stagnation and decline of our industrial output, while at the same time increasing the bank balance of the monopolists who mint money out of people's misery and refuse to pay living wage to workers.

The situation comes as a boon to the profiteers and black marketers who corner all the available stock and pile up fortunes. Ministers of the Congress, their friends and relatives, high placed bureaucrats all join in the mad hunt for money and still more money and quarrel about the share of the loot. Through the device of inflation the rich grow ever richer by robbing the poor by taking from their mouth their last morsel of food.

While millions go homeless the extensive places and mansions of the princes, landlords and the rich are not requisitioned, housing accommodation is not rationed and landlords are permitted to fleece the people through exorbitant pugreess and salamies.

Corruption and bribery have become the hallmark of the Congress regime. The much boosted government budget is in the interest of foreign firms and their Indian agents. The white cap has come to mean graft and profiteering. The events that led to the dismissal of the Punjab Ministry have revealed to the whole world the real face of those who preach morals to the people. No less a sum than 5 crores of rupees, it is believed was appropriated by the Congress ministers of Punjab and their relatives in their four years of rule. The squabbles in Bengal and Madras, the shameless swindling by Congress ministers of Bihar and U.P. are now known to everyone, no matter how much the Nehru Government tries to whitewash them with white lies. The Jeep scandal whose echoes have not died down to this day and the shady deals carried out by certain embassies throw revealing light on the doings of those who represent India abroad on behalf of the Swaraj Government.

It is not true, therefore, to assert that all are suffering in
Nehru’s India, that freedom has brought suffering to all. Even a glance at the income tax figures, which too are faked will give the lie to such assertions. The Imperialists, the princes and the landlords, the big monopolists and financiers, the speculators and blackmarketers—all of them are prospering. Freedom has meant freedom for them to rob and loot the people and freedom for the Congress ministers to join in the loot.

**Government of Lathis and Bullets**

In order to uphold this regime of colonial slavery and starvation, this joint loot of our people by the British and their allies and friends, the Nehru Government has established a reactionary regime as ferocious and ruthless as any that India had seen even in the days of the direct British rule. It has not only resurrected all the lawless laws of the British, it has enacted new and worse repressive laws, gagged the press and placed the life and liberty of the people at the tender mercy of the police. It has promulgated an ordinance to crush the railway workers who demanded that the Government should honour its pledge—the pledge to implement the recommendations of the Pay Commission appointed by the Government itself.

Streams of blood have flowed in every city, every town, every village, whenever the starved and naked have demanded human conditions of life and dared to fight for them. The working class which stood in the forefront of the battles of 1945-46 that enabled the Congress to come to power has been sought to be chained by anti-labour laws and its struggles for wages drowned in blood. Even before the advent of full freedom the Congress ministers shot down the heroic leaders of Amalner workers, unleashed terror to break the strikes of the South Indian railway workers. The attack continued and intensified till every working class centre came to be placed under the iron heels of permanent police rule. In the great Bombay strikes of 1950 thirteen workers fell before the bullets of the police and the home guards. In 1951 the people of Cooch Behar asking for cheap rice, were greeted with murderous volleys whose echoes resounded in the whole land. The students of Cuttack whose only crime was that they protested against the raising of fees were attacked by armed forces of the police.

The peasant masses of Telangana who fought against the savage gangs of Razakars at a time when Congress leaders had entered into a standstill agreement with the Nizam and were supplying him arms, were rewarded with mass murders and gallows, the dishonouring of their mothers and sisters and reimposition of the hated rule
of the landlords with the aid of Nehru's army which entered Hyderabad on the pretext of helping the people. In Andhra and Malabar, in Patiala, and Ballia, in Tripura, Manipur and Kakdwip, in every area, the Nehru Government has come to the aid of landlords and suppressed the struggle of the peasantry. Scores of workers, peasants, students, teachers, office employees, men, women and even children have perished at the hands of the police, military and homeguards of the present Government, thousands bear the marks of lathis and bullets as souvenirs of the non-violent regime that the Congress has established.

According to its own admission, the government jailed 50,000 of its political opponents and shot down or wounded 13,000 in the first three years of its rule. And as all know these figures tell only a small part of the truth. The repeated attacks on political prisoners, that culminated in the ghastly West Bengal and Salem massacres in which nearly thirty prisoners were killed in cold blood show the length to which the Government has gone in suppressing those who fight it.

No wonder, therefore, that police and military budgets go on mounting from year to year while the government pleads lack of money where the needs of the people are concerned. Eighty per cent of the central budget goes to maintain the army and the bureaucracy. Far more are spent on the police than on education by the State Governments in a country where ninety percent of the people are illiterate.

Government's Foreign Policy Not a Policy of Peace

A government tied to imperialists, a government that establishes a reactionary regiment at home cannot pursue an independent and progressive foreign policy, a genuine policy of peace.

The aggressive imperialists of America and their allies, and satellites the British, French and other imperialists are planning to plunge the whole world into war to destroy the freedom and independence of all countries and enslave them. Every success scored by them in any part of the world is a menace to the freedom and independence of all countries, a menace to the peace of the world.

Our people want to be free and independent. They want foreign troops to withdraw from all countries so that all countries may be free and independent. They want to establish close friendship and fraternal relations with their great neighbour China that after years of slavery and degradation has freed herself and is building a new life for her people. They have been thrilled by the edic
struggle of the Korean people who defied the might of the American imperialists and defended their country in face of overwhelming odds. They hate the British imperialists who ruled us for hundreds of years and sympathise with the people of Malaya who are fighting against the same enemy.

Our people love and respect the Soviet Union where the workers and peasants have freed themselves from all exploitation and showed to all people the path forward. They know that on every issue the Soviet Union has upheld the cause of the colonial people fighting for freedom.

Our people want to live in friendship with the people of Pakistan and settle the issue of Kashmir by peaceful and democratic means which will enable the people of Kashmir to decide their own destiny without interference from imperialist powers that dominate the U.N.O.

Above all, our people love peace and hate war. They remember the horrors of the man-made famine in Bengal which claimed thirty five lakh victims. They have seen how the war in Korea was utilised by big business in India to raise prices and worsen the already wretched conditions of the people. They have seen how every war imposes fresh burdens on them and enriches their enemies.

Can any one say that the Nehru Government has carried out a policy which is in conformity with those desires of our people? One cannot.

It has sided with the Anglo-American imperialists on most issues in the U.N.O. including the sanctioning of American aggression in Korea. It expressed its “humanitarianism” by sending an ambulance corps to the murders of the Korean people. It has not condemned the indiscriminate bombing of Korean cities and villages. It has given the French transport facilities to wage war against the people of Viet Nam. It has given direct support to the British imperialists in Malaya by permitting them to recruit Gurkha troops. It has shipped arms to the aid of the reactionary Thakin Nu Government against the Burmese people. It has curtailed trade with China and has prohibited export of certain goods to China because of American objection. It has not developed extensive trade with democratic countries like the Soviet Union and people’s democracies preferring trade relations with the imperialists who want to keep us, dependent on them. The recent wheat deal with America throws revealing light on the real nature of the neutral and independent foreign policy of the Nehru Government.

Sometimes under the pressure of the people and due to its own weaknesses, the Nehru Government opposes those measures of the
imperialists which may immediately plunge the whole world into war but its basic policy remains one of tie up with the British imperialists, one of playing between peace and war.

The Nehru Government took the issue of Kashmir to the U.N.O. and paved the way for the machinations of the imperialists who have created a most dangerous situation of tension between India and Pakistan. Nehru rejected the U.N.O. proposal for arbitration in Kashmir but welcomed Graham who is now busy playing the imperialist game of provoking incidents. The reactionary communists who hold power in Pakistan and who are faking conspiracy cases to murder the best sons of the Pakistan people have utilised the situation to pose as defenders of the sovereignty and independence of Pakistan and mislead the Pakistani people.

Instead of deposing the Maharajah of Kashmir, introducing genuine agrarian reform, giving land to the peasants, expelling the U.N.O. arbitrator, removing the issue from U.N.O. and making concrete proposals to end the military partition of Kashmir to enable the entire people of Kashmir to decide their destiny freely and jointly the Nehru Government has followed a policy of seeking aid from imperialists who want India and Pakistan to remain at loggerheads so that both may be weakened and the strategic area of Kashmir may be used for war against the Soviet Union and China.

Thus both in its home and foreign policies the Nehru Government has proved to be a Government of the enemies of the people of India.

It has revealed itself to be a Government of landlords, princes and the most reactionary sections of the Indian princes and the most reactionary sections of the Indian capitalists who have betrayed their country to foreign imperialists for a mess of pottage.

Therefore, this government must go. It has forfeited every right to remain in power. The people have to develop a mass movement which will shatter its power, shatter the very state system it has maintained and take all power into their own hands. They have to replace the present government by a Government of People's Democracy.

The Communist Party warns the Indian people not to be cheated once again by the promises of the Congress. Those who broke every pledge for four long years will break them again.

What would a People's Democratic Government do?

The Government of People's Democracy will be a Government of all democratic parties, groups and individuals representing workers,
peasants, middle classes and the national bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie that stands for genuine industrialisation of the country and for the freedom and independence of India.

In its Draft programme, the Communist Party has already outlined the tasks that such a Government will carry out.

It will break with the British Empire, expel British officers from our forces, confiscate and nationalise all British capital in India.

It will take effective steps to crush the resistance of those who joined the imperialists and feudals against the people.

It will cancel peasants' debts and transfer all lands and implements of landlords and princes, without payment to the landlords, without any price to the tillers of the soil, taking care to provide for the poorer sections of landlords and without harming the interests of the rich peasant. Agricultural workers will be assured adequate wages besides land. Freed from feudal exploitation and with their demand for land satisfied, the peasantry will be able to increase production of food and raw materials, build dams and irrigation works, stop flood with their vast man power, feed the cities and towns and change the very face of the country, as they are doing in China.

It will develop the industries of India with the aid of the nationalised capital and by enlisting the cooperation of the private industrialists who will be assured legitimate profits and protection of their interest. It will put an end to inflation by drastic reduction in the police and military budget, by effective price control and by currency reform. It will aid the artisans and small manufacturers with credit, implements and raw material. It will welcome the assistance of such private capitalists and foreign government as are prepared to invest capital on terms that are in conformity with our national interests.

It will grant living wage to the workers, recognise their trade unions and the rights of collective bargaining, introduce social insurance at the expense of the state and capitalists against every form of disability, sickness and unemployment. Similar measures will be taken in relation to all employees whether of the State or of private concerns. Profits will be controlled and joint production councils set up.

It will create a national army closely linked with the people, and create human condition of life for the common soldiers who suffer today under brutal and soulless discipline, inadequate allowance, bad food and corrupt practices which cheat them even of their miserable earning. Soldiers will be granted full rights as citizens and be allowed to participate in political activities.
It will abolish the police force, dismiss such of its personnel as have earned notoriety as oppressors of the people and form a people’s militia. It will establish full freedom of speech, press, assembly, strike and combination.

It will form national states by the abolition of princely states and reconstruction of the present provinces, grant them wide powers including the right of self-determination and create a united India by voluntary consent of the nationalities and tribal people. It will grant regional autonomy to tribal people and national minorities wherever possible.

It will protect the rights and interests of all minorities, penalise incitement to communal hatred and discrimination and help the oppressed and backward sections to register rapid advance. It will end caste oppression, penalise untouchability and all practices based on caste inequality.

It will eliminate all social and economic disabilities from which women suffer and help them to attain full freedom and equality. Working women will be paid equal wages with men for equal work, maternity leave with full wages and special measures will be taken to protect their health.

It will introduce free and compulsory primary education. It will also take steps to develop secondary and higher education on a wide scale and raise the cultural level of the people.

It will establish people’s health services all over the country and medical centres to fight disease.

It will provide land, implements and employment to the refugee population and give them facilities to develop their life in their own national way.

It will establish trade and economic relations with all countries on a basis of full equality and for mutual benefit.

It will fight for a pact of peace between all the great powers, of the world for prohibition of the atom bomb, for progressive disarmament, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from all countries and the right of every nation to be free and independent. It will establish a pact of friendship and alliance with Pakistan, Ceylon and Nepal.

Basing itself on the power of the people and guided by their interests a People’s Democratic Government will solve all the problems, that face our country, harness its vast natural resources and manpower for the regeneration of India for the transformation of India into a free and democratic, happy and prosperous country, paving the way to Socialist society free from all exploitation of man by man.
What guarantee is there, many will ask, that the People’s Democratic Government will do all these things? Did not the Congress also make many promises which it all broke?

The people will be justified in asking such question.

The answer is that the People's Democratic Government will be above all a government of the common people and not a government of the rich few. Therefore, the very structure of the state will be such that it can ensure effective rule by the people themselves. Organs of struggles of the united people waging battle against the present regime and ending it will themselves become the basis of the new state power.

The Congress has maintained the rule of the bureaucrats and the police just as the British did because it wanted to maintain the same system of plunder and exploitation which the British created. A People’s Democratic Government will do away with the whole existing structure of the state and with it the rule of the bureaucrats and the police.

All organs of the People’s Democratic State from the lowest to the highest will be elected by the people who will have the right to recall any representative who betrays their trust.

All the powers of the state will be vested in these elected organs. There will be no officials imposed from above, no police force standing above the people, irresponsible and irremovable. All officers from the highest to the lowest will be elected by the people, be responsible to them and removable by them. Their salaries will be determined by the people themselves. The police force will be replaced by a people’s militia, raised, guided and controlled by the people themselves, through their organs of power.

These organs of power with the active cooperation of the mass of the people will raise taxes, mainly from the rich and spend them in a way that serves the interest of the people. They will ensure the carrying out of the programme to distribute land equitably, increase production and effect proper distribution, ration housing accommodation, build new houses by requisitioning land and building material and resettle the refugees, root out disease and illiteracy, free women from economic and social thraldom, protect the minorities suppress people’s enemies and stamp out corruption and vice.

A government based on local organs of power will be a government for the people because it will be a government by the people.
Such a government will not live in constant dread of the people. It will be able to cut down the vast expenditure on the military, the police and the bureaucracy and devote its resources mainly to improve the condition of the people.

The Communist Party does not come before the people with big promises of what it would do if it is put in power, with detailed plans and elaborate schemes that it would implement and carry out if people vote for it. It tells the people that in order to put an end to their misery and degradation, in order to build a happy life for themselves and their children, they must establish their own government, they must take power into their own hands.

Enemies of the people will shout that the passing of all power into the hands of the people’s committees will mean the breakdown of society itself. They will say that no government can do away with the high salaried bureaucrats and the all powerful police without destroying law and order and plunging the whole of society into chaos and anarchy.

It is with such talks that ruling classes always seek to keep the people away from revolution. The society they want to maintain is their society—a society based on plunder—the law and order that they want to preserve is law and order to perpetuate the rule of the propertied classes.

Such talks can no longer frighten the people.

We have before us the glorious example of China which, under a government of people’s democracy, has registered an advance that has amazed the whole world. It has freed the peasants from feudal shackles and increased food production by ten million tons. It is fast building its industries and roads, stamping out epidemics, spreading education in the remotest areas. It has liberated women from centuries of bondage, put an end to national animosities and united the peoples as they have never been united in their entire history. China, enslaved by foreign imperialists, robbed by the corrupt native rulers, backward and dependent has given place to a new China—free and strong, a mighty world power, an inspiration to the entire people of Asia.

All this has been done in less than eighteen months.

And it should not be forgotten that China was more backward than India, had to support a far bigger population and its economy was shattered by decades of war and devastation.

Congress leaders lie when they say there is no alternative to Congress rule, that the lot of the people will be worse than it is even today if they overthrow this government. This is how Chiang Kai Shek also tried to frighten the Chinese people. Wha actually follow-
ed the end of Chiang's rule in China was not ruin but happiness and prosperity of the whole people.

What the people of China did we can also do. The ending of the present regime and the establishment of a People's Democratic Government of India would mean the beginning of a new era for our people.

The Communist Party will fight relentlessly for the fundamental democratic transformations outlined above. It will never cease to explain to the people that without such transformation there can be no real improvement in their conditions, no real advance for the country.

At the same time the Communist Party declares that to begin with, it will strive for the realisation of those items in the above programme which will immediately relieve the distress of the people even to a limited extent and for such demands as the quitting of the Commonwealth and removal of all Britishers from the armed forces, the abolition of princely states, stoppage of all allowances to the princes, formation of linguistic provinces, repeal of all repressive laws and release of all political prisoners, fifty per cent reduction of rent moratorium on debts, a steeply graduated land tax, reduction of taxes whose burdens fall on the common people and increase in the taxes on the rich, living wages for workers and other employees and recognition of trade unions' rights, reduction in school and college fees, rationing of housing accommodation, effective measures, to solve the food problem and stabilise prices and enforce controls, prompt and effective steps against corruption, assistance to backward communities, protection to minorities, wider powers for local self government institutions, a non-aggression pact with Pakistan, the removal of the issue of Kashmir from the U.N.O., expulsion of the U.N.O. arbitrator and settlement of the issue of Kashmir by peaceful and democratic means and a consistent policy of peace. It will cooperate with other democratic parties in building a powerful mass movement for the realisation of these demands—And if government is formed by a united front of genuine democratic parties the Communist Party will support the Government in so far as it implements such a programme.

Unity—the Need of the Hour

Only the united struggle of the people can realise this objective—Only their united action can shatter the power of the present rulers and compel them to quit.

The coming days must see the forging of this unity—unity
to break the hold of imperialists over our country—unity to give land to the peasants, unity to provide bread, and work for all, unity to build a powerful peace movement, unity to establish a government of the people. The elections must become a mighty rally of the people behind these demands, a nationwide mobilisation to realise them, a demonstration of the united will of our people to smash the shackles of slavery that hold us down.

Big steps towards the building of popular unity have been already taken. The textile workers of Bombay, by their historic decision to form one Union, have set the example before the entire Indian working class. On the issue of civil liberties, on the issue of food, on the issue of peace and opposition to imperialist intervention in Korea, a vast number of people, following all parties have campaigned and struggled together. The victory of the progressive forces in the election in Howrah, Rajnandgaon, Burdwan and Chandernagore indicate the developing strength and sweep of the unity movement. Through bitter experience of the last four years, the people's forces are united against the common enemies.

This process must be carried forward. United Organisations of workers, peasants, students, youth add women must be forged everywhere and the broad masses drawn into them. The fight for adequate wages and dearness allowance, against landlord exploitation and police terror, for the right of education and for the release of all political prisoners must be intensified.

Millions of signatures must be collected to the Peace Appeal and the message of peace carried to every home. All the war mongering propaganda against Pakistan must be combated and the people roused against the instigators of communal riots. Committees must be formed in every centre to bring about unity of action between democratic parties and individuals on all issues facing the people.

All these are essentials to forge the fighting unity of the people—unity which alone can ensure victory of the democratic forces over their enemies. The unity thus built will be a powerful weapon in the electoral battle itself.

The Congress knows that it has lost the support of the majority of our people. It knows that it is looked upon by them as a party of exploiters and betrayers. It knows that its appeal and exhortation no longer move them.

But it hopes that the democratic forces opposed to it will not be able to close their ranks will fritter away their energy in mutual strifes and conflicts and will not be able to present a united opposition to its rule. This hope must not be allowed to materialise.
The Communist Party appeals to all democratic forces in the country to realise that the building of the democratic unity of the people is the supreme need of the hour. The task of each democratic party is not to paint before the people alluring pictures of what it would do if the people vote it to power but to develop a powerful united mass movement which alone can break the power of those who rule over us all. The electoral battle is not merely a battle of programmes which would all remain paper programmes, as long as the present government remains in power; it is a battle to mobilise, the entire people, the entire mass, against the present government.

Under the present constitution the people have the right to record their vote but not the right of recall if those whom they vote for turn to be traitors to the pledge they gave. Hence the people must not be deceived by false promises but examine the record of those they are called upon to vote for. The people want not a change of masters; they want to be masters of their own fate.

The Communist Party calls upon the entire people of India to build a mighty movement and return the candidates of the progressive and democratic parties. It appeals to them not to be deceived by the pretensions of the reactionary vested interests and their parties like the Hindu Maha Sabha which today are mouthing democratic phrases, nor by those who promise reforms without a radical change in the entire social system, without ending the very class rule which is responsible for the present misery. The people must judge each party and candidate not only by their professions but by their actual record, the class they serve and their deeds on issues facing the people.

The task of the common people is not merely to record votes at the polls. The task is to see that all democratic parties, groups, and individuals come together, stand together, and fight together. Their task is to see that the enemies of the people are not able to use the divisions in the camp of the people. The people must enter the scene not as passive recorders of votes but as active participants in the battle for freedom and unity.

Those in power today will use every device to prevent fair elections. They will use the weapon of terror, intimidation and demagoguery, they will use the power of money, they will use the pressure of landlords and big business. They will incite communal feelings, they will point to war tension between India and Pakistan as reason why people should support congress. They will stop at nothing to prevent the people from recording their verdict. All this the people must be prepared to face and defeat.

Repeatedly during the last two years the government promis-
ed to hold elections on the basis of adult franchise and repeatedly they broke that promise. They pleaded technical difficulties in the preparation of rolls. The real reason lay elsewhere. It lay in their growing apprehension of the outcome of elections. The results of recent local board elections in several areas have increased that apprehension. They may try again to postpone the elections on the plea of national emergency. That must not be allowed.

The Communist Party, the Party of Freedom and Democracy

The Communist Party enters the elections under serious handicaps. Thousands of its leaders and members are in prison and the Nehru Government refuses to release them even now. Thousands of the members including most of the members of its central committee cannot come in the open and have to remain underground. Many of the organisations of the party are illegal to this day. Military and police terror rages unabated in the areas where the party is strongest making participation in elections virtually impossible. The names of the most of those who could stand as candidates of the party have been left out of the electoral rolls.

The Communist Party will fight the elections despite these handicaps. It is proud that it has earned the hatred and hostility of the present rulers of India as it earned the hatred and hostility of the British. It is proud that it was the first to expose before the masses the real nature of the freedom that the Congress had won for India and lead the people in the battle against it which made the party the first target of attack by the government. Ever since its formation, the party has stood by the people. It has proved by its deeds that it is the party of the working classes and the toiling peasants, the party of the exploited masses. It was communists who laid the foundations of the great working class movements, led numerous strikes, won the eight-hour day and compelled the ruling classes to accept the principle of living wage and social security. It was they who planted the Red Flag on Indian soil, brought socialism to the working class and linked it with the international working class movement. It was they who brought the working class into battle for freedom from imperialist rule and democracy for the people. Tens of thousands of communists have been thrown in jails and detention camps, thousands have been tortured and killed but the Red Flag has never been lowered before the oppressors.

The communists were the first to make the peasantry conscious of the need for their own organisation to wage the battle for land. In every part of India, they have led battles of the peasants and
agricultural workers against the inhuman exploitations of landlords and capitalists. They have led the peasants in the great battle for 'tebhoga' in Bengal, in the battle for peddy in Malabar, in the battle for land in Telangana.

They have been with the students, with the teachers and employees, with the writers and journalists, with the refugees and the homeless in every struggle. The party and its members have helped our people to realise the menace of a new world war and mobilised millions against it and against its instigators, the Anglo-American imperialists. They have waged an uncompromising battle against communalist reaction and defended the lives of the people threatened by communal frenzy at the risk of their own lives.

While waging all these fights the communists have not been free from errors and mistakes. But as serious fighters they have always publicly admitted their mistakes and corrected themselves. Never have they left masses to the mercies of the oppressors. They have always stood by the masses ever defending their interest even at the cost of their lives, and properties and in face of inhuman torture at the hands of the British imperialists and the present Congress rulers, their inheritors. They have ever demonstrated their readiness not merely to teach the people but also to learn from them.

The Communist Party comes before the people as a party of national freedom and people's democracy, as the party pledged to unite our people in the noble task to win freedom, and independence, land and bread, democracy and peace, as party born out of the most heroic and self-sacrificing struggle of the people themselves, as a party which has drawn into its fold the most militant sons and daughters of the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia—all democratic sections and elements of our society.

It calls upon the people to support its candidates and the candidates of democratic parties.

* * *

Changes in India During World War II and Economic Basis of Collaborationist Policy of the Bourgeoisie*

Indian Big Business was counting on India's sterling balances amounting to Rs. 1,600 crores for large-scale import of capital goods

*General thesis of the Communist Party (extract)
Text supplied by the Communist Party of India, New Delhi.
without any difficulty about securing foreign exchange. The bourgeoisie thought that it could successfully negotiate a deal over this vast sum and secure capital goods at the earliest opportunity.

But the British and American imperialists have joined hands to repudiate the major part of these sterling debts and forced India to agree to it for the sake of paltry concessions or the release of a very small part of it.

The British, of course, never intend to pay back the sterling balances but only hold out the bait of releasing part of them as a weapon to secure new economic bargains.

America also wants that India should not be paid back the major part of these balances so that she does not get capital goods to any appreciable extent and her bourgeoisie is made dependent on American or British mercies.

The terms of the Anglo-American Loan Agreement of 6 December 1945, entered into between the Government of the United States and the United Kingdom, lay down in clause 10:

The settlements with sterling area countries will be on the basis of dividing these accumulated balances into three categories: (1) balances to be released at once and convertible into any currency for current transaction; (2) balances to be similarly released by instalments over a period of years beginning in 1951; and (3) balances to be adjusted as a contribution to the settlement of war and post-war indebtedness and in recognition of the benefits which the countries concerned might be expected to gain from such a settlement.

The sub-clause (3) is an open proposal to liquidate a substantial part of the balance with the bait that benefits might follow from such a settlement.

Thus the British and American imperialists are using the very debt which Britain owes to India to beat India down, to force India to scale it down in return for some benefits in the shape of capital goods, or in the alternative, to stick to her debt and forego any benefits. Immediately, that is, till India has not made a final settlement, they are not releasing any part of the balances for importing capital goods though a part is released to import food at extortionate prices.

In order that India should be able to pay for the import of capital goods when they are not paid out of the balances, India must export her own products to other countries and earn sufficient dollar or sterling. In the absence of a foreign loan, or utilisation of the sterling balances India has no other way of importing capital goods except what she earns through her exports.
The sum earned by India through exports is too little to finance the requirements of Big Business and it is thus brought to face the bitter truth that for its very existence it is dependent on America or Britain. It will have to wait for years if it were to depend on mere exports for financing its need of capital goods. In fact, it will not be able to replace old machinery for years this way.

The refusal to pay back the balances, the insistence on financing imports of capital goods through foreign exchange earned in exports, are devices of imperialism to strengthen the economic dependence of India on the British and American imperialists and force the Indian bourgeoisie down to servile economic agreements.

They are also instruments of drawing the Indian bourgeoisie into the Anglo-American economic net, baiting it by the offer of larger export markets in Anglo-American colonies.

The repeated entreaties for releasing at least a part of the sterling balances show the dependence of the Indian bourgeoisie on imperialist mercies.

The Indian bourgeoisie itself is already in need of foreign markets in view of the falling Indian market due to the economic crisis. It knows that unless some outlet is given Indian industry might collapse in a big way.

But this dependence on foreign markets is nothing but dependence on the colonies and semicolonies of Britain or America, which enables the latter to force down any conditions before access to these markets is given. The foreign exchange earned through this trade will constitute a mere trifle in relation to India's capital requirements and will constantly goad Indian Big Business to shed all the formal trappings of independence and come as a beggar for alms and completely depend on imperialism.

Indian Big Business itself, in its ambition, is looking to widespread foreign markets, to the entire South East Asia—and looking upon itself as the inheritor of the mantle thrown off by Japan. The Indian bourgeoisie realises that its plan of expansion cannot be realised without foreign markets, and members of the Union Government are already talking about exports to South East Asiatic countries. The desire to exploit the peoples of South East Asia with the help of imperialists is one of the most powerful factors in bourgeois politics. The need for foreign markets is the logical conclusion of a desire to develop industries on a capitalist basis with the colonial order kept intact.

Both for its immediate needs, replacement, immediate exports to avoid collapse of industry and its big plans of expansion of
industry, import of capital goods, finding of new markets, release of sterling balances, the national bourgeoisie needs collaboration with imperialism, as without imperialism it will not even be able to run its industry regularly, nor expand it.

The businessmen know that these are the crucial years when either industry expands, new markets are captured before the other nations suffering from war devastation come out as competitors, or they go bankrupt. That is why they need collaboration very badly.

This desire for collaboration, therefore, takes the shape of retaining the colonial order and willingly inviting foreign capital for joint concerns. They agree to make wide and sweeping concessions to foreign capital in return for securing access to other colonial markets.

The secret of the joint concerns, planned by Indian big businessmen but not yet executed is this. The Indian capitalists finding no other way of getting capital goods are prepared to accept the most extortionate terms from the monopolists of these goods.

The full meaning of this collaboration is seen in the terms demanded by imperialism and accepted by the Indian bourgeoisie.

Foreign capital through the Havana Trade Pact is demanding full equality, full compensation in case the State takes over any concern; that no measures of nationalisation be carried through, a demand which the Indian Government, itself opposed to nationalisation, has found easy to satisfy through its recent statement of policy when it says that there will be no nationalisation for five years; it demands that no discrimination be made between home and foreign capital; that tariff walls be not raised against foreign capital without previous consultation; and that full security be offered to it, meaning security against labour and State intervention.

These terms, accepted by the Indian bourgeoisie, were openly put in the several speeches of the arrogant American Ambassador to India, Dr. Grady. Speaking in April 1947 in New York, Dr. Grady demanded a fundamental reorganisation of India's taxation structure to suit the needs of the American imperialists for unhampered exploitation of India.

"He was of the opinion that the obstacles to maximum economic co-operation such as the present complicated tax structure that hampered the conduct of manufacturing operations in India by foreign companies could be removed by treaties or agreements"— in short, the State should not encroach through taxation on the profits of the foreign concerns.

Demanding a war on protective tariffs, etc., in the name of
world recovery and American assistance and sympathy Dr. Grady stated (Calcutta, 28 October, 1947)

"Until there is truly one world trading system with bilateralism, preferences and all other forms of exclusive trade advantage eliminated or at least in the process of progressive reduction, world prosperity will be shackled...."

Speaking in November 1947 in Calcutta, Dr. Grady said: "I am not in a position to state what attitude the Exports and Import Bank would take for advancing loans to India if the Government of India decided to go ahead with wholesale plan of nationalisation. But if a middle course between private enterprise and State institutions has followed then I believed there would not be much difficulty..." ...thus openly coming out against any genuine nationalisation.

To these insolent demands the reply of the Indian Union Government has been one of meek acceptance with only verbal modifications here and there.

Speaking to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on December 1947, Pandit Nehru said:

"We cannot have a special privilege for any foreign interest in India. There is a large field, especially for the next few years and we want co-operation with other countries during the process of India's development, and I think British and other foreign interests that exist in India will and should have this large field open to them."

This open welcome to foreign interests seeking to dominate India though verbally qualified by a declaration of no special privileges, shows how the Government is begging for foreign help.

In practice it accepts one by one all the terms which the foreign capitalists want.

At the Industries Conference, which met in January 1948 in New Delhi, the Government gave a secret understanding to the Indian capitalists that there would be no nationalisation for at least five years to come, thus accepting the demand of Dr. Grady. The resolution which the Conference passed on foreign capital kept quiet on all the insolent demands made, and contented itself by saying that the conditions under which foreign capital is invested in India should be regulated by national interests, and private deals between Indian and foreign capitalists should have formal approval of the Government.

What results from this is not industrial revolution, not the freeing of agrarian economy from feudal bondage, but the establishment of a few industrial concerns as give some outlet to the accumu-
lated capital without endangering the interest of Anglo-American imperialism; the establishment of such concerns as fits in with the Anglo-American scheme of exploiting the world and drawing India into its war plans.

If this is welcomed by the bourgeoisie it only reveals the narrow and anti-national character of its intentions. But for the mass of the people it only means continuation of feudal exploitation, low wages, no industrial revolution, but continued poverty, unemployment, crisis and famine—the price of tying India to the capitalist order, of collaboration and joint exploitation. That is where the Indian bourgeoisie, and the national leadership which represents it, are taking India, to economic dependence on the Anglo-American, subservience to them and to growing poverty for the people.

The collaboration thus represents an economic and political alliance against the democratic revolutions through which alone the people can liberate themselves from the yoke of the colonial order of landlordism, of the Princes and of foreign and home capitalists. It is directed against the agrarian revolution, against the nationalisation of Industries, a living wage and planning, and against the widespread industrial expansion which can only be realised on the basis of nationalisation. It is calculated to guard the present order with the bourgeoisie playing the role of a junior partner to imperialism...

* * *

Post-War Revolutionary Uprising and New Policies of Imperialism and Indian Bourgeoisie—New Class Alignment

The deep economic crisis and the intensified imperialist exploitation of the war years, which have brought unbearable suffering and starvation to the broad masses of the toiling and common people and sharpened their political consciousness and militancy, continued to operate as a mighty force in the past war-years behind the rising revolutionary fight of the masses.

Despite the secret military plans to crush the struggle which British imperialist statesmen hatched behind the curtain, while they publicly talked of a peaceful transfer of power and of quitting India; despite their backstair intrigues to pitch the Congress and League against each other and provoke a fratricidal war; despite the compromising disruptive and anti-struggle policies pursued by the Congress and League leaderships; the tempo, the sweep and the militancy of the struggles of the workers and employees in the cities, of the peasants and tenant-serfs in the countryside, of the common
people in the feudal autocratic states went on rising steadily in 1945-46.

The tide of the struggle swept even into the armed forces leading to mutinies and rebellions, strikes and hartals in the imperial armies. Gandhi's non-violent India, guarded by the bourgeoisie for more than a quarter century against any militant action, now suddenly resorted to arms. The development of the struggle, into armed clashes signified a new stage of the revolutionary struggle. The final phase when the toiling masses and the common people rise in defiance of imperialism and the victory of the democratic revolution becomes imminent.

The second characteristic feature of the situation was the great role played by the working class in these struggles—economic and political. The strikes of the working class became the great cohesive centralising force when the bourgeoisie was adjourning struggle and the National Congress was withdrawing from it. In fact, many of the glorious struggles took place in the teeth of opposition from national leaders.

The developing strikes for economic demands and the mass participation of the working class in the political protest, the strikes were leading the entire struggle in the direction of an all India general strike, supported by the armed forces and government servants.

India has never seen such a sweep; never seen the armed forces collapsing so easily before popular pressure; never seen the working class fighting with such abandon and courage.

It was the eve of the total collapse of imperialism.

The heroic fighting spirit of the striking worker was shown in the ease with which the workers responded to the call for protest strikes on every national and anti-imperialist issue. It was seen in the rapid spread of strike enthusiasm to other employees, to bank clerks, peons, primary teachers and to government servants.

A similar movement started in the armed forces. In 1945 when it was known that tens of thousands of the captured patriotic INA men were being maltreated in several concentration camps, and when victory made imperialists launched a treason trial against the INA leaders, the whole country rose in flaming indignation and demanded their unconditional release.

In November 1945 the students and the workers of Calcutta became the spearhead of big protest hartals and strike demonstrations. They marched under the joint flags of the Congress, the League and the Communist Party and were fired upon by the police
and the military. It was then that the first martyrs of the post-war period fell.

In January 1946 the British Commander-in-chief had bowed down before the popular storm and released the INA prisoners. Hard on the heels of the Release—INA demonstrations, and powerfully influenced by them, came the discontent in the ranks of the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Indian Air Force.

The naval officers, bewildered and panic-stricken by strike for their demands in the ships and shore establishments (sic). They demonstrated for their demands in the city, demanded the release of INA men and the withdrawal of the Indian troops from Indonesia. They ran up the Congress, League and Red Flags on their ships.

The naval officers bewildered and panic-stricken by the new revolutionary spirit in the navy, sought to suppress them by arrest and bullets (sic). Then it was that these navy men seized their ships and fired back. By their heroic, though short-lived, resistance the navy men of Bombay and Karachi heralded the beginning of a new period of revolutionary upheaval. The revolutionary spirit and united action sent a thrill through the ranks of all branches of the Indian armed forces.

Men of the RIAF struck in several places in fraternal solidarity with the RIN. The Indian troops, wherever they were called out against the revolting men, refused to fire.

The Indian working class, led by the Communist Party, instinctively saw in the naval rising a historic turning point in our freedom struggle and supported it by total protest strikes and hartals in Bombay, Calcutta, Trichinopoly, Madras and Madura.

The total strike and hartal in Bombay on February 22, 1946, which came as an instantaneous counter challenge to Admiral Godfrey’s insolent threat to destroy the revolting navy and despite the opposition of Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel and the Congress leadership, struck panic into the hearts of the imperialists. They called out White troops with tanks and armoured cars to spread terror and murder in the streets. Over 200 citizens fell victims to their bullets in two days.

The naval rising and the great solidarity action staged by the advance guard of the Indian working class in its support were not isolated incidents. They were a flaming signal which announced to the world that a volcanic discontent, an anti-imperialist urge, was smouldering in the minds of the Indian people and their armed forces, ready to be united and harnessed for the final annihilation of the rotten structure of the imperialist feudal rule.

One has only to recapitulate the striking events and mass
actions of the first six months of 1946 to be convinced of the truth of this.

Within a week of the RIN strike more than 300 military sepoys stationed at Jabbulpore struck work and paraded throughout the streets with all the three flags—Congress, League and Red (March 4).

On March 8 the workers and citizens of Delhi observed a protest strike and hartal against the victory celebrations. The Town Hall was attacked and set on fire.

On March 18 the Gurkha soldiers of Dehra Dun revolted in protest against insulting remarks by officers.

Delhi policemen went on hunger strike for wage increase and the military was used to arrest them.

Policemen of Allahabad went on hunger strike in protest against ration cut (March 19).

Ten Thousand Bihar policemen went on strike on April 3.

Side by side with this beginning of insurrectionary atmosphere in the armed forces and the police, a tremendous strike wave was rising among the working class.

This terrific pace of events in the rest of India was producing the first repercussions among the peoples of the feudal autocratic States.

The people of Kashmir launched in May 1946 a movement for the end of the autocracy of the Dogra House and for the immediate introduction of a democratic constitution. The ruler promptly arrested Sheikh Abdullah and unleashed a reign of terror against the Kashmiri people, who, however struck back and performed marvels of heroic resistance.

It was clear that a new round of States people's struggles this time for the final abolition of Princely autocracy, was being heralded by the fighting people of Kashmir, and the people of the rest of India were preparing to support them.

Thus the countrywide movement which grew round the demand for the release of the INA men and the naval rising of February marked the beginning of a new period which was not just of mounting discontent and unrest but one which immediately placed on the agenda the democratic revolution and the task of vanquishing imperialism and its collaborators.

The paralysis of the imperialist system was seen not only in the breakdown of its economic structure, the poverty and hunger it created, but in the disintegration of the armed and the police forces which were no longer able to resist the popular pressure and revolutionary upheaval.
Imperialism saw the writing on the wall and opened negotiations with the two bourgeois parties, the Congress and the League. But it was not only imperialism that was frightened by the menace of the approaching revolution. The bourgeois leaderships of the National Congress and the Muslim League clearly saw that the struggle of the masses was getting beyond control and was bringing to the forefront the working class and the exploited masses. They, therefore, were eager for compromise and began to attack the militant struggles of the people.

The policies pursued by the leaderships of Congress and the Muslim League corresponded to the bourgeois vested interests which they represent and not the anti-imperialist and democratic aspirations of the vast masses that they claim to lead.

Both the leaderships resiled (sic) in panic from the manifestations of mass upheaval against the Imperialist feudal rule and were ready to welcome the Cabinet Mission as soon as it was announced and to seek co-operation with imperialism.

When the Cabinet Mission came with its plan, the Congress leadership turned even more anti-struggle. Its Ministries let loose a wave of repression against the working class and peasant struggles. It set its face against the struggles of the State’s people in order to appease the Princes and betrayed the struggle of the Kashmiri people. Instead of rejecting the plan with its non-sovereign constitution making body and retention of the Princes, as a plan of masked British domination and as one based on the imperialist policy of divide and rule it accepted it with minor criticisms.

The leadership of the National Congress representing the interests of the Indian capitalists class, thus betrayed the revolutionary movement at a time when it was on the point of overthrowing the imperialist order. It only exploited the movement to win the maximum concessions possible for its own selfish interests and disrupted for the time being the growing revolutionary movement. By detaching the Congress from the movement, by isolating these spontaneously developing militant struggles, by repressing them, the national leadership played the game of disrupting the battle against imperialism and pursued a policy of suppressing it.

The leadership of the Muslim League, representing the interests of the Muslim capitalists and landlords, had always played a disruptive and anti-national role through its policy of communalism, its slogan of division of India and its general policy of obstructing the national emancipatory struggle headed by the Congress. The Muslim League Leadership capitalised the backwardness, of the Muslim masses and the failure of the national reformist leadership to draw
the Muslim masses into the common struggle and succeeded in giving the freedom urge of the Muslim masses a distorted expression. The hypocritical talk of Muslim freedom, of saving the Muslim from the Hindus, stood exposed when in connection with the RIN strike in Bombay, Mr. Jinnah came out against the participation of Muslim workers and people in the common demonstration, and betrayed his fear of independent mass action.

Throughout this period the Muslim League did its best to keep the Muslim masses away from the developing revolutionary wave but did not always succeed. It had sometimes to start demonstrations on its own (demonstration in Calcutta for the release of INA prisoner Rashid Ali) to give an outlet to the anti-imperialist sentiment of the Muslim masses. The Muslim League leadership was concentrating only on black-mailing the Congress and through obstruction to secure the separatist demand of Pakistan.

It also, therefore, readily took negotiations on the basis of the Cabinet Mission's plan. The Muslim League leadership thus betrayed the revolutionary movement and revealed itself once more as an agency of upper class interests, out to sell the freedom movement for its own selfish gains.

British imperialism, standing in immediate need of erecting a barrier to the revolutionary movement saw the necessity of placating the Congress leadership against the revolutionary movement so that the imperialist order could be saved.

At the same time, having drawn the Congress into negotiations, imperialism fully exploited the fear of the Congress leaders of revolution, their need for economic help from Britain, their conflict with the League and the independent existence of the Princely autocracy, to make them willingly accept the Mountbatten Plan.

The original Cabinet Mission Plan did not provide for direct partition; this was a concession made to Congress pressure. But as soon as the purely Congress manned Interim Government came into existence the pressure of riots was worked up, taking advantage of the 'Direct Action' launched by the League. Pressure was also worked later through Cabinet members of the Muslim League, when it afterwards joined the Government, making it impossible for the Congress to function the Government. The leaders of the Congress were thus forced to accept partition of India.

REAL FACE OF THE MOUNTBATTEN AWARD

The Mountbatten Award comes as a culmination of the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle by the National Congress and the League Leaderships.
Though the bourgeois leaderships parade the story that independence has been won, the fact is that the freedom struggle has been betrayed and the national leadership has struck a treacherous deal behind the back of the starving people, betraying every slogan of the democratic resolution.

The Mountbatten Plan partitioned India. The National bourgeois leaderships of the Congress and the Muslim League, which had always opposed the solutions of the communal problem on the basis of the just and revolutionary principle of self-determination of nationalities, accepted the imperialist solution of partition on the basis of religion. This enabled imperialism to organise the ghastliest riots and mass butchery of minorities, creating permanent hostility between Hindus and Muslims, and to work up war fever between the two States when required in imperialist interest. The partition is ready-made weapon to organise riots and side-track the revolutionary movement by war appeals. It is one of the biggest attacks on the unity and integrity of the democratic movement and is also used to weaken the bourgeoisie of both the State vis-a-vis imperialism.

Secondly, the plan keeps the Princes, the age-old friends of the imperial order, intact and enhances, their bargaining power, enabling the national leaders to parade their accession as a great triumph for the Princes are now supposed to be independent.

Thirdly, the leading economic strings are still in the hands of the imperialists, who successfully use them to make bourgeoisie move against the masses, crush the democratic revolution and establish a new line up of imperialism, Princes, landlords, and the bourgeoisie.

The Mountbatten Plan is the expression of this alliance against the democratic revolution—an alliance which seeks to drown the revolution in blood. It crowns the process of bourgeois vacillation with final capitulation. It is the fruit of the national leaderships compromising policy, culminating in an avowedly anti-national anti-people and anti-revolutionary policy.

What the Mountbatten plan has given to people is not real but fake independence. Through this award British imperialism partitioned India on communal lines and gave to the bourgeoisie an important share of State power, subservient to itself.

Britain's domination has now ended, but the form of domination has changed. The bourgeoisie was so long kept out of State power and in opposition to it; now it is granted to share of State power in order to disrupt and drown the national democratic revolution in blood.

The supreme organs of the State, the army, the navy, the air force, and the bureaucracy, are controlled by the servitors of imperi-
alism. They are dominated by upper-class elements, officered by them, by old bureaucrats who have pronounced pro-British sympathies and bitterly hate all democratic advance. And the final imperialist control will be registered through military missions and military advisers, willingly accepted by the Indian Government.

The behaviour of the military, the police and the civil service in face of the riot offensive of communal elements clearly demonstrates how anti-popular, anti-democratic and pro-imperialist elements control these organs of the State-elements on which the bourgeoisie safely relies for the law and order of collaboration.

At the same time the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the traditional leaders of the national movement, are handed over the reigns of government, while being dominated by imperialism through trade pacts and an open military alliance which is in the process of formation.

The Mountbatten Award does not really signify a retreat of imperialism but its cunning counter-offensive against the rising forces of the Indian people. This is demonstrated by the communal carnage and the set back to the democratic and anti-imperialist struggles after August 15.

British imperialism was forced to change the forms of its domination as a result of the growing popular upsurge for freedom and democracy during the war and post-war days. Faced with the alternative of quitting India, it has given a share of power to the capitalists and landlords in order to be able to remain. To parade this new status as national freedom or as national advance is to shield imperialist designs and the subservience of the national bourgeoisie.

National Government and the People

The deeds and actions of the ‘National Government’ since August 15 fully prove this understanding of the purpose behind the Mountbatten Plan.

The establishment of the Central Government headed by Pandit Nehru has not solved a single problem of the democratic revolution. Its establishment does not mean that the Indian people have won either freedom or independence, nor does it ensure that they will be moving in the direction of democracy and freedom for the people.

On the contrary, the Government has already made a big move in the opposite direction—against the interests and freedom of the people. It is linking itself with the Anglo-American bloc of imperialist Powers—a bloc which seeks to crush all democratic revolu-
tions and to create satellite States. It is manoeuvring to find an advantageous position for itself in the Anglo-American bloc.

The recent acts of the National Government prove beyond doubt that its policy is to suppress freedom and democracy.

The Constituent Assembly, manned by the same leaders as lead the National Government, is preparing an authoritarian constitution. The working class and the Indian people will not get anything except the right to vote at long intervals and that too only for the provincial assemblies. The constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will be constitution for upper classes to rule the oppressed millions in the interests of joint exploitation by the Indian and British capitalists.

The constitution provides for arrest without warrant and detention without trial; it authorises the provincial Governors to act in their discretion, legislate by ordinance and rule by proclamation, thus usurping the power of the legislature and overruling them in the name of grave emergency.

It includes the reactionary provision for second chambers in provinces and allows for nomination of members to the council by the Governor, thus ensuring that the vested interests and their upper class spokesmen will have a dominant voice in the Chamber.

The model constitution for provinces further does not accept the basic right of linguistic national units to self-determination, thus expressing clearly the reactionary bourgeois interests which set to dominate the different nationalities.

It does not provide for proportional representation, without which the progressive political parties and the various minority groups cannot get fair representation. It does not provide for freedom and self-determination of the tribal and other backward peoples enabling the formation of autonomous regions or provinces, without which these backward people cannot economically and culturally protect and develop themselves.

Under the constitution the basic and fundamental rights of the toilers, such as right to work, right to a living wage, equal pay for equal work, right to old age, sickness and unemployment are denied and do not find a place in the fundamental rights which the new State of India is bound by the constitution to guarantee and protect.

While these rights of the mass of toilers are not guaranteed, the property and the privileges of the vested interests are specifically granted protection by a clause in the fundamental rights that no property of a person or corporation shall be taken over for public use except by payment of compensation, thus preventing through a
constitutional guarantee all plans of nationalisation of industries including foreign concerns.

The Government is carrying out the plan of Indian Big Business to oppose nationalisation, suppress the workers and demand more production through longer hours of work.

Intensification of labour and rationalisation; freezing of wages in the name of stopping the wage price spiral; sabotaging the implementation of gains secured by the workers (railway agreement); holding forth no hope of legislation for a living wage, social security of curtailment of management’s power of dismissal; assuring the capitalists of full freedom to loot the people in the name of building a mixed economy, while slandering the workers for the fall in production demanding an increase in the hours of work; in short, it is passing the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of workers to keep up capitalist profits.

The control of the Government by the national leadership has placed an additional and powerful weapon in its hands to sabotage the revolutionary struggles against Princely autocracy. It has persistently raised illusions that Princely autocracy can be fought through governmental pressure and has utilised them to enter into accession agreements with the Princes which keep autocracy intact. By parading accession as a big triumph, attention is sidetracked from the democratic struggles inside the States. The latest act of betrayal is the Standstill Agreement with the Nizam.

In a number of bigger states the bourgeois leadership has used the popular movements against Princedom to get limited constitutional reforms which do not give power to the people but give a minor share of power to the bourgeoisie. In exchange it has joined hands with the Princes to defend feudal exploitation and oppression of the people and to disrupt and suppress all popular democratic movements.

The policy that the Government follows can only be described as one of supporting feudal reaction and sabotaging the revolutionary anti-feudal, anti-imperialist struggle.

In the matter of civil liberties and democratic rights the provincial Governments, under the guidance of the Central Government, have passed the blackest acts—Public Safety Acts—which are freely used against the rising workers and peasants’ movements and against the students; hundreds are detained without trial, externed or interned. The leadership of the Central Government has applied the brake to the agrarian legislation of the provincial Ministries, which itself was an attempt to cheat the peasant in the name of the abolition of landlordism. Saddled with compensation and with no
provision for land to the tiller, the legislation is not even a mild reform, retains landlordism under different forms, and is an attempt to split the peasant movement and disrupt the growing forces of the agrarian revolution. It is an attempt to broaden the basis of the present bourgeois Government.

In the matter of minorities, the Government follows a communal policy, which is essentially the bourgeois way of inciting majority minority conflict. This leads it to practise discrimination and favouritism against the minorities, depriving them of their fundamental democratic rights, and to retreat before the more ruthless and direct incitement of communal conflict by feudal-imperialist reaction, which has resulted in the mass murder of minorities in certain areas.

The admission of Hindu Sabha leader, Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, into the Cabinet and the retention of Akali leader, Baldev Singh, in the important position of Defence Minister, taken together with the open encouragement given to communal reaction show how the Government itself wanted to use the weapon of communal division, even before the mass massacres had started in the Punjab.

Thus for the Government, the oppression of the minorities is a conscious and deliberate policy.

This policy, carried to its greatest lengths by Sardar Patel with his praise of the openly communal Princes (Patiala, Bharatpur, Nawanagar) and of the RSS, and his viciously communal incitement of Hindus against the Muslims and Pakistan, has lent added strength to these forces. The result is seen in the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi by a leading organiser of the RSS.

So determined are the leaders of the Government to utilise and safeguard their use of this communal weapon that even after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, every effort is made to screen and protract reaction; angry people demonstrating against them are arrested and even shot down, a farce is enacted of arresting some of them while in reality every occasion is utilised to find an excuse to say a good word for the communalists and save them from the anger of the masses.

The arrests of Hindu Mahasabha leaders, etc. took place because the angry masses set the pace and compelled the Government to take steps against these communalists.

Even the banning of the RSS by the National Government has been carried through due to the tremendous mass indignation against it and, is only a cover for its continued policy of shielding and allying with that organisation and the elements behind it.

According to Pandit Nehru's own statement this policy does
not lead to any differences inside the Cabinet; even on this issue, there are no political differences, but only temperamental differences. This should be enough to demonstrate the strong pull of communal reaction on the National Government.

Government's Economic Policy

While refusing to develop the industries of our country by nationalising key and vital industries, the Government, at the same time, is encouraging the export drive in the interests of Indian Big Business and at the expense of the people. This is a part of the plan of collaboration with the Anglo-American bloc, since these export markets can only be secured in collaboration with the imperialists. By securing foreign exchange through these exports, Indian Big Business wants to purchase machinery for new industries with the help of the Anglo-American imperialists. Thus, again, it has to depend on the Anglo-American capitalists for its industries.

This double economic dependence on the Anglo-American capitalists, both for the market for Indian products and for purchasing new machinery, necessitates a servility and abject surrender to them; and Big Business, helped by the Government, is preparing to sell out India's future to the Anglo-American imperialists.

The latter are demanding a number of concessions and fundamental rights—no discrimination against foreign capital, no nationalisation, no tariffs which are not agreed to, joint concerns for the exploitation of the Indian people, full security to them...all of which are embodied in the Draft Trade Charter being discussed at Havana and disclose that Indian Big Business and the Government are mortgaging Indian economy to Anglo-American capital in their selfish interests. The natural result of this is not only economic but indirect political domination so that both the economy and political freedom of India are being mortgaged to the Anglo-American monopolists.

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Government's Foreign Policy

The foreign policy of the Government follows the class interests it represents. From the very beginning Pandit Nehru adopted a line of forming a so-called third bloc—a line which represents the interests of Big Business inasmuch as kept India away from the democratic camp and opened the way to the imperialist camp.
Recent events have torn off the mask of neutrality from the Government's foreign policy. On all crucial issues the Indian delegation has taken an anti-democratic and pro-imperialist stand—Korea, 'Little Assembly,' Ukraine. On the question of Ukraine it allowed itself to be exploited by the U.S.A. and took the hypocritical stand that India stood against Ukraine because South East Asia was not represented.

On the questions crucial for the peoples of Asia in particular, e.g., the American directed Kuomintang war against the Chinese people and the French colonial war in Viet Nam, it has remained silent and refused to act; while on the question of the Japanese Peace Treaty, it has virtually lined up with Anglo-American imperialism, over the American backed Dutch war against the Indonesian people, it has approved of the betrayal of the Indonesian freedom-struggle, achieved through the latest truce, put through by the U.S. sponsored and dominated Good Offices Committee and welcomed by President Truman.

Foreign policy depends on economic policy and India is also rapidly lining herself up with the Anglo-American bloc in matter of foreign policy. Her diplomats are already uttering anti-Soviet slanders, e.g., Sir Maharaj Singh's statement on war propaganda.

The British imperialists are giving open hints about an anti-Soviet bloc including the overseas territories of Britain, indicating that the role that India will have to play is to support the Western bloc economically, especially with her raw materials.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January 22, Mr. Bevin, Britain's Foreign Minister, stated in connection with the formation of a bloc of Western European Powers.

The overseas territories of these countries (Britain, France, Holland, etc.) should be brought within this Union, so that this tremendous co-operation would stretch through Europe the Middle East and Africa to the Far East....The Western organisation of Europe must be economically supported. That involves the closest possible collaboration with the Commonwealth and overseas territories, not only the British, but the French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese territories overseas. These territories are large primary producers and are capable of great development."

Along with this some reports about the alliance of South East Asian countries—embracing India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon and in agreement with Britain, an alliance of an entirely 'defensive' nature the aim of this 'bloc' as openly reported is to 'prevent the spread of communism in South East Asia' which really means suppressing all struggles for freedom and democracy in South East
Asia and bringing these countries directly into the imperialists’ camp. The Indian bourgeoisie, which is playing the role of chief agent of the imperialists for the formation of this bloc, wants all South East Asian countries to fall in line with them, that is, give up the struggle for freedom and join the imperialist camp, because it wants to prevent the Indian people from being affected by the revolutionary struggle in these countries and also because it wants to get some foothold in these markets, with the help of imperialism, by keeping the colonial order intact.

There are also reports about military mission from Britain coming to India to keep her defence properly organised; reports which openly state that British statesmen do not want India or Pakistan to have any defence policy out of the orbit of the British Commonwealth, i.e., independent of British imperialism.

That is where the Government and Big Business are dragging India from the freedom struggle to the Anglo-American camp.

**New Role of the Bourgeoisie**

How is it that a Government headed by the national leaders and one which came to power on the crest of a wave of popular struggles should pursue these policies?

That is so because the national leaders, who headed the popular struggles all these years and who are now in the government, represent the class interests of the national bourgeoisie, the industrial bourgeoisie.

The leaders of the Government including Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel represent the interests of the Indian capitalist class, and the formation of the Government after August 15, after what is known as the transfer of power but which in reality is the sharing of power—has meant an immense change in the position of the national bourgeoisie vis-a-vis the people and their struggles.

Formerly the national bourgeoisie and its leaders had to rely on the masses, mass struggles, etc., to secure concessions, share in power etc. to advance their own interests. The bourgeoisie was excluded from political power, it had not real opportunity to develop industries and had not political power over the people.

The post-war revolutionary upsurge forced imperialism to change its strategy, in order to be able to strike at the democratic forces all the more ferociously.

Imperialism makes big concessions to the bourgeoisie and hands it over governmental power to rule the Indian people in its own narrow selfish interests.
At the same time, the State it has won is dependent on imperialism and is a satellite State.

In the new State, therefore, the national bourgeoisie shares power with imperialism, with the latter still dominant indirectly.

This is the secret behind the reactionary policy of the National Government. The bourgeoisie has ceased to play an oppositional role; it has renounced mass struggles to get concessions from imperialism; it is now depending on the new State and its control over the Indian people to use them as pawns in its bargaining with imperialism, whenever differences and conflicts arise.

These conflicts will be solved at government level by offering new concessions to imperialism through Customs, lowering of tariffs, securing of joint concerns, etc.

The bourgeoisie, therefore, has turned its face away from the masses, and gone over to collaboration. That is why its government consistently adopts an anti-mass, anti-democratic policy.

In the past, the bourgeoisie, and the national leadership which represents it, were in opposition to imperialism; now they have given up that opposition. This is the new change brought about by the transfer of power on August 15.

Henceforward the march of democratic revolution will have to proceed directly in opposition to the bourgeois Government and its policies and the bourgeois leadership of the Congress.

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*Came behind the Root Offensive*

The fact that the Government is manned by popular leaders and that it arose on the crest of a wave of mass struggles has concealed the class character of the Government and the change in the position of its class.

The riot offensive, inspired and engineered by the imperialists and their feudal reactionary agents and their denunciation of the National Government has led many people to believe that the feudal reactionaries were attacking a revolutionary Government and that it was the business of the people to line up unconditionally behind the Government. This is a totally wrong understanding of the situation.

The unleashing of communal riots in the Punjab, U.P. and the Indian States, the massacre of tens of thousands of innocent Hindus, Sikhs and Moslems, the forcible extermination and expulsion of minorities, the terrible sufferings and hardships inflicted on innocent
men, women and children and the economic chaos arising from all this were preplanned and organised by the imperialist feudal counter-revolutionary forces. The object was to disrupt and drown the people's democratic revolution in blood. The main attack was against the people who were moving forward through strikes, armed conflicts and revolts of States peoples to a democratic revolution.

The attempt of the forces of counter-revolution was to sidetrack the revolutionary discontent into communal channels, disorganise the people and through it consolidate a line up of all the vested interests against the mass movement, a line up in which the bourgeoisie will move more to the Right, allying with feudal and communal interests all the more, so that a stronger front against the masses, could be created.

This was to be achieved by strengthening the openly communal elements inside the Government, to appease Hindu communal reaction and surrender to the Princes on the question of maintenance of autocracy, by strengthening the consistent communal policy of Sardar Patel and checking the inconsistent and vacillating policy of Pandit Nehru.

There is no doubt that the deeply laid plot of counter-revolution very nearly succeeded in creating confusion, vacillation and demoralisation in the ranks of the people and of political parties. The main objectives were forgotten and a tendency to line up behind the Government in panic was noticed.

The imperialists and their agents would precisely like such lining up of the working class and democratic forces behind the Government as it would lead to the giving up of all efforts to carry through the democratic revolution and to the doing away with all opposition and criticism of the Government in its policy of combating all national democratic advance.

For such a policy ensures the success of their strategy. Why are riots on a mass scale possible today? Precisely because the national bourgeois leadership has, through its anti-national compromise, disorganised the forces of revolution and allowed the reactionaries to divert the discontent.

Communal riots are the direct result of the imperialists' conspiracy and bourgeois compromise. Imperialism has strengthened the basis of communal riots in four ways: (i) partition which made one community hostile to another; (ii) fixation of boundaries in a manner that roused communal bitterness to its height; (iii) independent position for the States which could manoeuvre between India and Pakistan and play one against the other in a most vicious manner, and (iv) communal poisoning of most of the army chiefs and
bureaucrats, which has resulted in the use of the State machinery for spreading riots.

Imperialism is instigating communal riots in order to create conditions in which the national bourgeois leadership will be increasingly forced to submit to imperialist domination, and the common toiling people will be forced to submit to the leadership of the upper classes. It also aims at smashing people’s unity and crushing all democratic movements.

Fascist elements like the R.S.S., Hindu Moslem Sikh communal reactionaries and bureaucratic administrators trained up by imperialism are the chief agents for provoking riots. The Princes and landrods are at the head of them. But the bourgeoisie, including sections of the leaderships of the Congress and the League, has also played a leading part in communal riots, though certain sections of the Congress and the League leadership have taken a stand against them.

Sections of the national bourgeois leadership also provoke riots as a matter of policy as part of their policy towards the minorities. The policy of compromise with British imperialism, the policy of relying on it in the conflict between the Indian Union and Pakistan leads straight to the massacre of minorities as a weapon of intimidating the Government of the other Dominion. The massacre of Muslims, for instance, is a part of the game of intimidating Pakistan, of replying to anarchy with anarchy—a game which suits the interests of the British excellently. The minorities have become a big pawn in the game of power politics of the compromisers.

A section of the bourgeois leadership encourages and protects communal armed bands for using them against political opponents and democratic movements and for strengthening the Princes and other vested interests; they even incorporate communal armed bands into the police, Home Guard and army.

Another section of the bourgeois leadership, while continuing policy of compromise and thus creating conditions for riots is scared by riots when they actually occur, due to the disorganisation of administration, trade, etc. They take only palliative measures to stop the extreme forms of riots and anarchy.

The workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia are the most determined forces that resist all riots, just because riots smash all democratic movements. In fighting riots, they must make use of all opportunities including the government measure to combat them.

But until the bourgeois policy of collaboration with imperialism and feudalism and its hostility to the principle of self
determination are successfully defeated, riots will take place again and again.

Not only communal riots, but other kinds of riots between one nationality and another, between the advanced castes and backward castes, between the tribal people and others, will also take place until full democracy and self-determination of the people are achieved and the imperialist hold over the organs of the State is completely smashed.

A determined fight against the reactionary policy of the Congress and the League leaderships is, therefore, essential to end the possibility of all riots. An end to these riots can only be brought about by complete elimination of imperialist domination and full democratic progress.

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Unmask the Compromisers and Communalists

The policy of compromise with feudalism and imperialism has already bred riots and will breed more riots. Compromise feeds counter-revolution, and it is so in the case of India also.

The hands of all national leaders are equally tainted with compromise and they are all responsible for the mounting offensive of the communal elements.

Unless their compromising policies are exposed before the people, unless the people see the connection between them and the riot offensive and push their policies back, the feudal imperialist offensive cannot be defeated.

It is, therefore, wrong to draw basic distinctions between different national leaders on the question of their approach to the communal problem. Sardar Patel who takes an openly communal stand, and Pandit Nehru who comes out against riots and for the protection of the Moslem minority also, both move in the vicious circle created by compromise. In the final analysis Pandit Nehru has no independent line and has to fall in line with Sardar Patel.

Pandit Nehru's own stand, which regards Hindu communalist reaction only as a reaction to Moslem communalism, and does not see in it the forces of counter-revolution; his indulgence in threats of reprisals against Pakistan on the Kashmir issue; his failure to take a bold stand against the Hindu Mahasabha and the RSS, even after Gandhiji's assassination; his full acquiescence in the policy of the Central and provincial Governments of utilising this assassination in order to strike at the democratic, revolutionary and
really anti-communal forces in the country—all these only show that Nehru has completely surrendered to Patel's policy.

The party will utilise every opportunity to fight riots and will make use of every measure taken by the Government to stop riots. It will regard riots as an offensive against the revolution but, at the same time, will have no illusion that the National Government can or will fight against riots.

In doing this it is, no doubt, the duty of the Party to utilise every anti-riot utterance of men like Nehru and counteract the openly communal policy of other leaders. Such utterances, acts and propaganda have some importance inasmuch as they enable us to expose more easily men like Patel who are nearest to feudal reaction.

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Patel and Nehru

Not only on the question of riots but also on the question of democratic policies, there exist illusions about Nehru.

Nehru is seen as a fighter against Patel's policies and almost made to appear as the leader of the democratic forces. Every verbal opposition of Nehru to Patel is magnified. It is this that an illusion is created that if Nehru's hands are strengthened against Patel, the Government will be transformed into an instrument of the people's will.

The estimate of Nehru is anti-Marxist and serves to tie down the masses to the bourgeois leadership. It must be clearly understood that Nehru is as much a representative of the bourgeoisie as Patel is. They both defend the class policies and interests of bourgeoisie which is now collaborating with imperialism.

Today, Nehru is following the same policy as Patel. It is so in the matter of foreign policy, of the States, of decontrol, of industrial policy, etc. He often outdoes Patel on vital issues. He denounces strikes of the working class as a stab in the back.

In fact all shades of difference within the bourgeois camp (such as those between Nehru and Patel) are entirely subordinated to the new basic realignment of the class as a whole namely, its role of collaboration with imperialism. Both Nehru and Patel represent this collaborationist class, and all differences between them are being and will be solved within the fundamental framework of the collaborationist policy of that class as a whole. The working class cannot go forward without fighting the policy of this class. That
is why today it is anti-Marxist for the working class to base its strategy on 'differences' within the bourgeois camp such as 'Patel Nehru' differences.

It is thus clear that the Central Government manned by leaders of the National Congress, is the avowed enemy of the national democratic revolution. Marxism—Leninism has always taught that the bourgeoisie cannot lead the democratic movement to victory, that it betrays it and goes over to the opposite camp, and that it is the working class which must lead it.

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National Leaders and the Masses

We must remember that those in charge of the Government are still looked upon by the majority of the people as their leaders and the Government is still looked upon as a National Government in contrast to the previous imperialist Government.

The masses do not yet realise that the National Government is collaborating, that the country is being sold to Anglo-American imperialism, that the policies of the leadership are leading to riots, that the Government is being run in the interests of Big Business; they still believe it to be a free Government and are the victims of national sentiments and national illusions about the Congress leadership. The trusting masses of our country though they are getting rapidly disillusioned with the National Government, have not yet lost their faith in Nehru, their faith in the Congress, and though repeatedly betrayed, they yet cling to old illusions.

Any criticism of the National Government which does not take into account these sentiments about it is likely to defeat its purpose.

If in criticising the policies of the Government, we do not base ourselves on concrete instances, if we do not patiently argue on the basis of a series of such instances and bring the masses to the point at which they can for themselves see the truth about our characterisation of the policies of the National Government; if we do not take into consideration the strong ties of loyalty that still bind the people to the Congress, our criticism will not impress the people and will not succeed in its aim of making them break away from their collaborating leaders.

At the same time, the rapid economic deterioration and disillusionment of the masses have created conditions for the successful
unmasking of these reactionary policies—conditions which did not exist in the past.

To be able to move the masses into action for the fulfilment of the democratic aims, the working class must tear them away from the bourgeois leadership and build a new movement based on a new understanding of national unity.

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Against Imperialist Bourgeois Conspiracy Forge a New Class Alliance

......Programme of Democratic front.........

Masses Fight Back

The establishment of the Congress Ministries and subsequently of the National Government, the communal offensive launched by reaction, and the disruptive role played by the Congress have not diminished the post-war upsurge. Its causes lie deeper than the mere formation of government, for, they directly follow from the exploitation of the Indian masses which has reached unbearable proportions.

Though the Congress leaders in the beginning were successful in creating new hope among the people that things could be remedied through the National Government, the process of disillusionment has been quickened since August 15, and the upsurge is asserting itself more and more. Through their common fights and day to day struggles, through their co-operation for their demands, all these sections more and more come to realise that their poverty and exploitation can be ended only by a triumph of the democratic movement. Never was there so much understanding of the main slogans of the democratic movement; abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller; abolition of autocracy; nationalisation of key industries and a living wage as the cornerstone of any stable life for the people.

But today the people in their disillusionment are learning something more, and that is, that a Government manned by leaders in whom they had utmost faith cannot discharge a single responsibility and cannot give them either land, peace or bread. More and more the people are coming to the conclusion that the National Government is guided by the vested interests; more and more they are seeing the link between the Indian capitalists and the national leaders. Out of this disillusionment will come the demand for another government, and it is the duty of the Communist Party
to consciously guide the people in fight for that demand boldly and decisively.

The programme of the democratic movement can be implemented only when the State power belongs to classes which are interested in full democracy and from whom all opponents of democracy are excluded. Such a State will be based on the alliance of workers, peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the working class and from which all collaborationists and exploiting elements are excluded. It will be based upon direct rule of the toiling people in place of the present bureaucratic system.

The existing correlation of forces, in which every step forward of the popular struggle is to be taken not only in opposition to imperialism but in opposition to the bourgeoisie also, clearly shows that the old phase of the bourgeois democratic revolution is over, a phase in which the bourgeoisie was in the anti-imperialist camp. Today the entire trend of events demands a democratic State of workers, toiling peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie as the only rallying slogan to surge forward to the defeat of imperialism and its bourgeois allies, and emancipation of the people. It means that the people's democratic revolution has to be achieved for the completion of the tasks of democratic revolution and the simultaneous building up of Socialism. This can be assured by establishing firmly the leadership of the working class over the other sections of the toiling people.

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New Class Alliance

To defeat the bourgeois imperialist conspiracy, to defeat the combine of imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie, it is necessary to marshal the forces of the revolutionary people in a new way, that is, to forge a new alliance of all the classes for whom the success of the democratic revolution is vital. The democratic State cannot be realised without such an alliance and unity of the people.

The spontaneous movement of the workers, peasants and middle classes against economic exploitation and political repression itself gives the form of the new front. It is the duty of the working class and the Communist Party to combine this growing upsurge into a new Democratic Front reflecting the unity of the fighting
masses. The basis of this new Democratic Front is the common struggle against exploitation and political subjection. The Front will, therefore, include fighting masses and all those fighting organisations which help it to go forward against the treacherous policy of the national bourgeoisie and the designs of imperialism.

The Communist Party, the working class and the mass organisations led by the Communist Party will be the core of this Front. The militant following of the Left parties and all genuine Leftists in these parties will be important partners in the Front. The Front will grow by drawing inside the entire fighting masses as well as anti-imperialist following of the Congress and the League so that the broadest unity of the common people can be built in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

It must be clearly understood that though the Front will include several political parties, trade unions, kisan sabhas, student and youth organisations and other bodies, it will not be a mere coalition of several organisations. On the contrary, it must become the genuine fighting alliance of the masses against imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie.

For building such a Front the Communists shall seek the cooperation of all Left parties and elements. They will strive to establish unity of action with Left parties. But the cardinal thing for the Communists to remember is that the struggle for building is inseparable from the struggle to establish working class hegemony, that is, to win the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie for the fighting programme and policy of the working class.

It must also be stressed that in course of its development the Democratic Front will have to be directed, through persistent struggle for a common programme and progressive realisation of working class leadership, towards a disciplined and firmly united mass political organisation functioning democratically and based solidly on the unity of the people.

The Democratic Front, therefore, must not be looked upon as an organisation representing a top alliance between left parties. It is a Front based on the masses. It is an alliance between the working class, the peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia. This Front becomes strong and capable of decisive action to the extent that it becomes unified both politically and organisationally under working class leadership, to the extent that the working class secures the confidence of its allies and is able to win them from its programme and policy.

Unless the Communists realise all this, there is every danger of repeating the mistakes of the past, of Right opportunism mas-
querading as Left unity, and making the working class trail behind the vacillating class.

Under the impact of the crisis and as the result of growing disillusionment with the Government larger and larger sections of masses will be set in motion. The process of radicalisation will be hastened even among the most backward strata. It will be the task of the Democratic Front to draw all these sections into the common movement, forge the fighting alliance of the people, coordinate and integrate the various partial struggles and develop them as part of the fight for the ending of imperialist feudal bourgeois domination. Only under the firm guidance of the working class and only by developing as the united mass organisation of the fighting people, the Democratic Front can carry out these tasks.

Ut Aside Front with left Parties

The United Front of the Left parties in the present situation will be a powerful lever to build the new Front, disillusioning and activising the Congress and League masses, the States peoples and other sections, and in building a united movement for the democratic revolution.

The independent strength of the Communist Party of India and the general Leftward swing of the people enhance immensely the strength of Left force and make them the base and spearhead of the new unity.

The Communist Party must, therefore, seek immediate agreements with Left parties for joint action, for common understanding of the problems of the democratic movement and for building a front against the compromisers and their real masters. At the same time, the Party must note that discredited and dishonest elements and groups sometimes come forward as a Left force, exploiting the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist anger of the masses. The Party must and fight such groups especially groups having connections with organisations or professing policies which are internationally accepted as counter-revolutionary.
The Socialist Party

The building up of the united front of the Left involves the winning over of their ranks for the common task of pushing forward the democratic revolution and establishing a democratic State.

But the aspirations and the orientations of the Left ranks must be separated from the leadership and the programme of the Socialist Party. The ranks are being poisoned by the anti-working class theories and formulations of the Socialist leadership, are given a distorted idea about Socialism and the international situation and are continually poisoned against the Communist Party and the revolutionary movement. Sharp exposure of the ‘Socialism’ of the Socialist leaders, their theoretical presumptions, their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist line, and their stand on Indian questions is an integral part of the struggle to build the united front of the Left.

In exposing the Socialist leadership it must be remembered that the leadership, barring the four or five at the top, has no uniform policy. In such cases a differentiated approach should be made.

The programme and policy laid down by the top leaders of the Socialist Party, including Jaiprakash Narain, Achyut Patwardhan, Ram Manohar Lohia and Ashoka Mehta, clearly reveal that behind the talk of Socialism lurks the sinister design to exploit the Left discontent of the ranks to transform the Socialist Party into a bourgeois constitutional party—His Majesty’s constitutional Opposition, so to say. Both their international outlook and their national outlook reveal the same thing.

In its recent programme which is supposed to be transitional programme to Socialism, the first stage in India’s evolution towards Socialism, the party suggests a banal programme of administrative reforms, the high water mark of its democracy not going beyond responsibility of the executive to the legislature. It requires an amazing boldness in these days to allot more responsibility to the legislature as transitional steps to Socialism.

While the programme prattles about India being a republic, of expropriation of private property and enterprise ‘with or without compensation,’ it nowhere mentions struggle as being necessary for it. It pins its faith in constitutional opposition and acts as if the democratic revolution is already complete, the people are in power, and all that remains to be done is to take transitional steps to Socialism.

It openly preaches the illusion that Socialism may be achieved by calling it ‘democratic means’.

In their demands for constitutional rights the Socialist leaders
do not include the right of self-determination of national units like Andhra, Tamilnad, Maharashtra, and reveal that they have learnt nothing from recent Indian history.

In their economic programme they suggest the possibility of compensation before nationalising private property and they do not necessarily demand immediate nationalisation of heavy industries. On the contrary, their demand is immediate or early nationalisation, thus seeking an excuse to postpone nationalisation.

They talk of abolition of landlordism, living wage, etc., but having given up all struggle to change the social order, not having the courage to demand nationalisation at least in their programme, everything else becomes just the words of a bourgeois leadership giving electoral promises.

On the concrete issues of day to day importance, the Socialist Party leaders adopt anti-popular policies, support decontrol and help Big Business to exploit the people. They echo capitalist slanders about the working class not doing its duty, and help the bosses (Jaiprakash's letter to the Railway Board).

Forced by the ranks, they have to go in for strike but generally they oppose and even break strikes. They disrupt the unity of the trade Union Congress and the trade union movement and help the bosses offensive, though their ranks want unity.

They concentrate their fire on the Communist Party,—the mass actions led by it—and shamelessly support repressive measures against it (Ashoka Mehta's statement on the firing on Bombay students). Their members in the legislature support black measures like the Public Safety Bill in Bengal and they oppose and break protest strikes against them.

They are strong opponents of Left unity, of any co-operation with the Communist Party. They thus perform a disruptive role in the interests of the collaborationists.

From time to time the Socialist leaders give it out that they are leaving the Congress. This is an attempt first of all to pacify the ranks with Left talk about secession from the Congress, for the ranks are fed up with the vacillating policies of their leadership and think that they are the inevitable consequences of remaining inside the Congress. The talk of leaving the Congress pleases the Left ranks, for, it opens before them prospects of independent and militant political activity in opposition to the compromising leadership of the Congress. The ranks hate the compromise and want to cut themselves off from the deadening grip of the policies of the Congress leadership and go in for an independent militant political line.
Nothing, however, is farther from the minds of the Socialist leaders. At present the talk about secession from the Congress only serves to keep their Left prestige with their ranks and also it is a weapon of bargaining with the Congress leadership.

When the leadership decides to leave the Congress it will not do it to go in for an independent revolutionary line but when it finds that it can now play the role of an independent bourgeois Opposition party, a parliamentary party for the next elections. The talk about secession from the Congress in the mouth of Socialist leaders is only an advertisement of their future plan to contest elections independently under the new constitution and try their luck at the ballot box. It is the result of their maturing into constitutional bourgeois leaders and has not an iota of revolution in it.

Their statement of Policy reveals that they have drawn their theoretical understanding and appraisal of international events from the extreme Right wing Social Democrats of Europe and America.

They repeat the worst slanders about the Soviet Union calling it a totalitarian State and making it plain that they are opposed to a real socialist revolution.

In their foreign policy they follow the hypocritical Bevin in advocating a ‘third’ group—which is only a cover to conceal their political alignment with American imperialism.

In their Statement of Policy they deliberately omit all reference to American imperialism, which means they will follow its dictates. Instead of concretely pointing out that a conflict does exist between the two camps—the camp of democracy and the camp of imperialism—they pose the conflict as being between Russia and the rest of the nations of UNO, thus screening American imperialism and its designs against democracy and freedom of all peoples and its conspiracy against the Socialist State.

And finally, by a trick of hand, they seek to do away with the main contradiction between capitalism and the working class by saying that the main contradiction is between advanced and backward countries—thus making a crude appeal to bourgeois nationalism and hindering the fact that the struggle of backward countries is part of the struggle for world socialism and against the capitalist order.

This outlook enables them to say that a Socialist of backward countries must be an assertive nationalist, i.e., it draws and lends justification to any cooperation with any imperialist power in the name of nationalism.

The leadership of the Socialist Party is attempting to trans-
form it into a collaborationist party behind the facade of Socialist phrases.

It must be ideologically unmasked and fought, and the ranks must be taught to see it in its real colours.

The ranks themselves do not accept this programme wholly. The Socialist Party is not a unified party but a heterogeneous combination. In winning over the ranks these points must be noted.

Nonetheless, a merciless ideological struggle must be carried on against the leadership. The ranks must be won over on the basis of Marxism, which a large section accepts, and on the basis of concrete issues; but we should have no illusions that the top leaders will ever agree to a joint front unless the ranks do it over their heads or press them to do it.

* * *

Progress of the Democratic Revolution

The programme of the Democratic Front and the Left parties should contain the following:

(1) Complete severance from the British empire and full and real independence.

(2) A democratic government representing the workers, toiling peasants and the oppressed petty bourgeoisie, opposed to collaboration with Anglo-American imperialism, allied to the democratic States working for peace and freedom of all nations.

(3) A constitution based on adult suffrage and proportional representation, guaranteeing full freedom and democracy to the common man and fundamental economic rights.

(4) Self-determination to nationalities, including the right of secession. A voluntary Indian Union, autonomous linguistic provinces.

(5) Just and democratic rights of minorities to be embodied in the constitution; Equality and protection to the language and culture of minorities, all liabilities, privileges and discrimination on caste, race and community to be abolished by law and their infringements to be punishable by law.

(6) Abolition of Princendom and feudal rule in the Indian States and the establishment of full democracy. On the question of accession, exposure of the policies of the Governments of both India and Pakistan of parading accession to the Indian Union or Pakistan as a big triumph and explanation to the common people that the urgent and primary task inside the States is the abolition
of Princedom and feudal rule and the establishment of a people's democratic state. Accession before that is only slavery of the States people both to Princely autocracy and to the bourgeois rulers of the Indian Union. It is only after the people of the States become completely free that they will have real liberty to decide the question of accession. At that stage the question will be decided by the wishes of the people.

(7) Freedom of the tribal and such other backward peoples from economic, cultural and political oppression, extension of full democratic rights to them prompt and adequate State aid for their development, so that they may rapidly catch up with the advanced nationalities. The people of all contiguous, compact, predominantly tribal areas shall have regional autonomy. They may form autonomous areas within the provinces, enjoying full powers regarding general administration within the areas and specially regarding economic and cultural matters of regional importance. The people of such areas in suitable cases, may also form a separate province or provinces. The people of such areas or provinces shall have the right to secede from the State by democratic verdict.

(8) Cooperation between the Indian Union and Pakistan for mutual economic aid in the interest of the toiling people; military and political alliance against imperialist intervention and foreign aggression; democratic foreign policy in cooperation with democratic States against Anglo-American bloc.

(9) Abolition of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land to the tillers of the soil. Abolition of the zamindari system must mean confiscation of Khas lands of the non-cultivating landowners, and ensure land to sub-tenants and share croppers. Liquidation of rural indebtedness and abolition of usury. Living wage for the agricultural labourers.

(10) Confiscation by the State of interests of foreign capital in banks, industrial and transport concerns, plantations, mines, etc. and nationalisation of these concerns.

(11) Nationalisation of big industries, big banks and insurance companies, guarantee of workers control, minimum living wage, eight-hour day etc.

(12) Economic plan to develop India's resources and removal of Big Business from strategic economic points Control of profits in the industries in private hands.

(13) Repeal of all repressive legislation.

(14) Elimination of the Bureaucratic administrative State apparatus and the establishment of a democratic administration with elected officials, guided by people's committees.
(15) General arming of the people and the establishment of a people's democratic army.

(16) The right to free education and compulsory primary education.

(17) Equal democratic rights to women.

The Democratic Front, and the Communist Party in building it up, will fight communal reactionaries, riot-mongers and protagonists of war between the Indian Union and Pakistan as enemies of the people. They will organise Shanti Senas, cooperate with all who stand for communal peace, and, in order to quell riots, will make use of every anti-riot measure of the Government. At the same time, they will expose the policy of national compromise which spreads riots and will call upon the people to defeat the game of the vested interests. They will also expose all communal acts of the members of the Government which abet feudal reaction.

To start with, it is not necessary that there should be a joint front of only those who agree with the entire programme of the Democratic Front. Immediate joint actions may start on specific questions. As joint actions develop and as left cooperation develops, the correctness of the programme will be self-evident to all democratic elements, and the Front will be progressively realised as part of the experience of the Left and the masses as a whole.

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Statement by Pandit Nehru (Extract)*

The Communist Party of India, has during the past year, adopted an attitude not only of open hostility to the Government but one which can be described as bordering on open revolt. The policy has been given effect to intensively in certain limited areas of India and has resulted in violence, indulging in murders, arson, and looting as well as acts of sabotage. The House is well aware of the communist revolts that have taken place in countries bordering on India. It was presumably in furtherance of the same policy that attempts were made in India to incite people to active revolt. Fortunately, these attempts failed because of the strength of popular opinion against them and the action taken by the Government. Nevertheless, a great deal of misery and damage was caused by them in certain parts of India.

*Communist Violence in India. New Delhi, Ministry of Home Affairs, 1949; p. 3.—7.
The House is fully aware that for several months past we have been greatly preoccupied with meeting the serious economic situation which has been causing distress to millions of our people. It was implicit in our programme that there should be rapid movement of commodities throughout the country.

Towards the end of November, the Working Committee of the All India Railwaymen’s Federation met in Nagpur and decided on taking a strike ballot among the members affiliated to it. At this time we had additional confirmation of information which had been coming to us from time to time, that communist elements working in the railway unions were bent on exploiting the proposed strike for political purposes and, in particular, on using violence and sabotage to gain their ends.

Negotiations then took place between my colleague, the Transport Minister and Jayaprakash Narayan, the President of the All India Railwaymen’s Federation, with a view to devising means for averting the strike. It was clear to the Government that a strike in the railway would, particularly at the present juncture, be an unmitigated disaster to the country.

Apart from the fact that dislocation of transportation would nullify the steps that the Government have been taking to meet the serious economic situation facing the country, a famine was developing in Gujrat and Kutch, and a strike would be disastrous to millions of human beings and cattle in these areas. These discussions were conducted in a friendly atmosphere and certain arrangements were agreed to. As a result, the Railwaymen’s Federation decided not to proceed with the strike.

In spite of this decision of the Railwaymen’s Federation, certain communist elements in the Federation proceeded with their programme for a strike. Reports continue to reach the Government, through reliable sources, that a widespread programme of sabotage had been planned and that it was decided to enforce the strike by means of violence. Indeed, many such instances of sabotage have already occurred. Recently there were unfortunate clashes between some students and others and the police in Calcutta, and during these clashes, hand-grenades and bombs were used against the police, and public property, such as buses and tramcars, were destroyed. We have evidence that the same agencies which provided these weapons to the students were exploiting them for similar purposes during the railway strike.

The Communist Party of India has recently concentrated on the issue of a general strike on this railway as well as in other essential services of paramount importance to the community. It
has looked upon these strikes not from the trade union or economic point of view, meant to better the lot of the workers, but as a weapon designed to create a chaotic state in the country which, it is thought, would help the country to gain its other objectives, whatever they might be. It is deliberately seeking to create famine conditions by paralysing the railway system, so that foodstuffs should not be transported, the object being to create a general background of chaos, a breakdown of the administration and mass uprising. A large number of prominent Communist Party members have gone underground and the Government have a mass of evidence in their possession to indicate that organized attempts are being made to conduct a campaign of sabotage, more especially on the railway system. The permanent way was to be damaged, locomotives interfered with, and general sabotage of vital installations, telephones, telegraphs and power stations was aimed at. Honourable Members will remember the destruction of the Calcutta Telephone Exchange some time ago.

Fortunately, the great majority of railwaymen and other workers have declared themselves opposed to the general strike and to such methods. The Communist Party of India, however, appears to be bent on flouting the opinion of the majority of workers and has pursued a technique of terrorizing those who do not agree with its policy. While interfering with the freedom of action of others, it demands full freedom for itself to carry on its own anti-social and disruptive activities. If any action is taken by the Government to check these activities, protests are raised on the ground of civil liberties being interfered with. As a part of this technique, organizations for the ostensible object of protecting civil liberties are started, their real object being to encourage these anti-social activities. The Government are anxious that the civil liberties of the people should be fully maintained. But it is the Government’s conception of civil liberty to permit methods of coercion and terrorism to be practised against the general community. It is the paramount duty of the Government to give security to the people and to prevent the normal life of the community from being interfered with by such methods of violence. No government and no social life would be possible if these methods were tolerated. Hence the Government have been compelled to take all necessary measures to meet this situation. If any strike takes place on the railways by a fraction of the railwaymen or elsewhere, they are determined to deal with it firmly. Such a strike at this juncture, it must always be remembered, has nothing to do with economic questions or the normal activities of trade unions and the like. The Government have already shown
their earnest desire to meet all legitimate demands of their employees and other workers. They will always be prepared to consider any difficulties that their employees face to maintain the well established rights of labour. But they cannot submit to threats of violence and incitement to active revolt from any quarter.

In furtherance of this policy, the Government have arrested a number of members of the Communist Party of India and have taken such other precautionary measures as they deem necessary. They have advised provincial Governments to do likewise so as to ensure that vital installations are protected against sabotage. They have no doubt that in doing so they have the full support of the country and of this House, which is wedded to democratic procedure and is entirely opposed to methods of violence.

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Election Manifesto (1957)*

During the ten years that have passed since the attainment of freedom, the Indian people have been carrying on a ceaseless struggle for the realisation of the noble objectives which the national movement had inscribed on its banner.

They knew that while the removal of the political domination of the British was the most urgent and paramount task before the country, the fulfilment of that task alone was not enough. Political freedom had to be made the instrument for the realisation of social and economic freedom, for the cultural upliftment of the people. It had to be made an instrument for the regeneration of the country and its all-sided advance.

Our people expected the government, which their heroic struggle had raised to power and which was pledged to carry out fundamental transformations, to lead them in this new battle.

But the experience of the years after freedom blighted their hopes.

India remained a member of the British Commonwealth. In the international sphere, the Government of India, while demarcating itself on several occasions from the bellicose speeches and measures of the war camp headed by the U.S.A., pursued a policy powerfully influenced by the British imperialists. This was seen in the utterances of the spokesmen of the government as well as in their practices.

*Text supplied by the Communist Party of India, New Delhi.*
British capital continued to dominate our economy. Although expectations of capital goods from Britain and America did not materialise, heavy concessions were offered to the capitalists of these countries, while the effort was made to build economic relations with the socialist states.

The Government of India shelved the demand for the abolition of princely States and the reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis. The half-hearted measure for agrarian reforms which, assured heavy compensation to landlords, besides leaving them vast areas under 'Personal Cultivation' did nothing to relieve the peasants from the crushing burdens of rents, taxes and debts which, on the contrary, grew steadily heavier. An eviction offensive was mounted by the landlords against the peasants in every part of the country. The deficit in foodgrains assumed menacing proportions compelling more and more reliance on imports. Production in industries stagnated and, in several spheres, declined. Prices rose higher and higher. Blackmarketing, profiteering and corruption were rampant—quite often under the patronage of ministers of various State governments. While the capitalists made fabulous profits, the wages of the workers, middle class employees, teachers and others remained below subsistence level. Education grew increasingly more expensive. Little attention was paid to the needs of the people in the sphere of housing and health.

In this way, solemn pledges were broken with impunity and promises given to the people were treated as scraps of paper. In this way, the glorious unity which our people had forged in the days of struggle against British rule and which they wanted to consolidate and carry forward in the task of rebuilding the country was disrupted.

Anger and indignation grew among the masses. They began to resist the attacks on their miserable standards of life. They rose in defence of their rights and liberties.

With the powerful repressive apparatus which had been built and perfected by the British, the government came down on the people with a heavy hand. Every manifestation of popular resistance was sought to be crushed. The main blow fell on the Communist Party. The most consistent champion of the working people—a party against which a full-scale offensive had been launched as early as the beginning of 1948 and continued unabated for more than three years. But others also who dared to stand by the masses were not spared.

According to official figures, during the first three years of
freedom, 50,000 political opponents of the government were jailed over 13,000 were killed or wounded.

Held in this grim background, the first General Elections of our Republic inevitably assumed the form of vast mass upsurge, especially in States and areas where the people had fought the hardest battles and where repression had been severest. The elections showed the deep resentment of the people against the policies which were being pursued and the methods that had been adopted. The Congress won only 42 per cent of the votes cast—an indication of a heavy fall in its prestige and popularity. A number of well-known leaders of the Congress, including several ministers, were defeated. Parties of communal reaction which had hoped to capitalise on the discontent of the masses secured less than 5 per cent of the votes. Candidates of parties opposing the Congress with a more radical programme secured 25 per cent of the votes. The Communist Party, which the government had striven its utmost to destroy, emerged as a powerful force.

In its Manifesto issued several months before the first General Elections, the Communist Party had appealed to the democratic parties in the country to close their ranks and face the Congress unitedly. Had this appeal been heeded, there can be no doubt that the victories of the people would have been far more resounding.

Thanks to the undemocratic system of elections which prevails in our country, the Congress remained in office and in power. It won far more seats than warranted by the votes it polled. But the monopoly position which it had occupied in the political life of the country was rudely shaken in a number of States. This was a development whose significance the ruling circles could not ignore. They had to reckon with it when carrying out their policies in future.

In the period since the first General Elections, the striving of our people have gone forward—helped considerably by the accession of strength to the democratic forces inside the legislatures and in our political life.

The people's movement for consolidation and strengthening of national freedom, for Asian solidarity, for defence of peace and the building of fraternal relations with socialist and peace-loving states has advanced to a new stage.

The world front of peace, freedom and democracy has surged ahead. Ideas of socialism have spread far and wide. New successes have been won by the resurgent people of Asia and Africa in their struggle for the achievement and consolidation of national freedom, in their struggle against the military blocs by which the
Imperialists seek to draw them into war adventures and nullify their freedom. The danger held out by the imperialist drive towards war to the freedom of every country, especially the countries of Asia, has become increasingly clear not only to the advanced masses but also to leading circles in the ruling party of our country, headed by Prime Minister Nehru. The need for industrialisation in order to place our national freedom on a firm foundation and to create conditions for national advance has become a part of the consciousness of our people.

Under the impact of these and other developments, the foreign policy of the Government of India has undergone a radical transformation.

By upholding the cause of peace, by resisting the war drive of the imperialists and their efforts to draw the countries of Asia into military alliances, by opposing colonialism and helping to build Asian unity, by sponsoring, together with people’s Republic of China, the historic Panch Shila and by establishing relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist, democratic and peace-loving states, India has won an eminent position in the comity of nations.

This is precisely the orientation which the Communist Party of India always advocated. This is precisely the orientation for which the Communist Party of India, in alliance with other patriotic and democratic forces fought.

With this new and ever-improving position in the world, our country has been able to take several measures to consolidate our national freedom and strengthen our national economy. It has been able to establish relations, on terms of equality, with the countries of the socialist world for the development of our industries. This development has also had its impact on some capitalist powers.

It cannot but cause concern to the people that reactionary parties, as well as some influential elements in the ruling party holding positions of authority, are unhappy over the direction of India’s foreign policy and striving to reverse it. Indulging in lies and slanders, they seek to poison our relations with the USSR, the People’s Republic of China and other countries of the socialist world—countries that stand for peace and freedom, countries that have demonstrated their friendship for us in action, countries which unequivocally supported Egypt in the recent crisis. These elements have to be fought and isolated.

Our foreign policy still suffers from a number of weaknesses and vacillations. Much of this is the result of our continued link with
the British Commonwealth. This is evident from the continued facilities that are being given to the British to send Gurkha soldiers to Malaya and from the significant failure of the Government of India to condemn strongly the British atrocities in Cyprus, in Kenya and other parts of their Empire. Even after the blatant British aggression against Egypt, the Government of India has refused to break with the Commonwealth. Our membership of the British Commonwealth, whose leader Britain is one of the leaders of the NATO and SETO, the chief organiser of the Baghdad Pact and the oppressor of the vast masses of the colonial peoples, is inconsistent with our policy of peace, with our anti-colonialism, with our opposition to military blocs. Moreover, in view of the indignities which are heaped on our people in South Africa and several other countries of the Commonwealth, to remain in the Commonwealth violates our national dignity.

To this day, the Portuguese imperialists continue to occupy parts of Indian territory and the people there groan under bestial fascist rule. The role of the government on this issue has given rise to deep indignation. This was expressed powerfully in the mighty demonstrations held all over the country in protest against the mass butchery of Indian satyagrahis by the Portuguese rulers and their henchmen. Even after this ghastly episode, the Government of India, instead of itself taking effective measures to liberate Goa and other Portuguese-occupied territories, disrupted and disorganised the mass actions which people of all parties, including Congressmen, had jointly organised. It condemned those actions and later struck against the satyagrahis who wanted to enter Goa to render assistance to the freedom movement there. This policy has emboldened the Portuguese fascist to commit untold atrocities. Many of our brothers and sisters, including satyagrahis from India, languish today behind prison-walls, humiliated and tortured.

The Communist Party of India which took a leading part in the organisation of the mass movement for the liberation of Goa and other Portuguese-held territories and a number of whose members fell victim to fascist bullets, condemns the government policy of supine inaction.

Not merely is Goa an integral part of India, not merely do the people there desire to join India, but the continued occupation of these territories by the Portuguese who are allied with the aggressive NATO, constitutes a menace to our national security.

Our people rejoice in the fact that the French-occupied territories in India have been liberated. The role played by the Commu-
nist Party in the achievement of this task is known to all our country-

men and especially to the people of these territories.

Advances have been registered by the patriotic and popular forces in some other spheres also.

In the teeth of opposition by the government and the domi-

nant leadership of the Congress, the democratic movement for the

formation of linguistic States has won signal victories in most areas.
The princely States, those bastions of reaction, have gone. The

nefarious moves for merger and for the reimposition of multi-

lingual States, initiated by the ruling party, have suffered

fiascos.

The national urge for reconstruction of the country has asserted itself so powerfully that the government could not ignore it. This urge has found partial reflection in the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and of life insurance, as well as in the declared objectives, aims and some of the proposals of the Second Five Year Plan.

Hindu law to some extent has been modified, to improve the

social position of women.

Some of the disabilities from which the oppressed castes suffer

have been declared illegal.

In the background of the rapid growth of radical, democratic and socialist ideas among all sections of the people the struggle of the masses have defeated several attacks and won a number of concessions.

In effecting all these changes, the fight waged inside the legis-

latures by the Communists and by other democrats has been a major factor.

However, notwithstanding these advances and notwithstanding the partial improvement of certain aspects of our economy, our country is still far from the objectives which we had proclaimed in the days when we fought against British rule.

The dominant position of Britain in many important and vital sectors of our economy has not yet been liquidated or even seriously shaken.

Our coal and manganese mines, our jute industries, our plantations, our foreign trade, all these and many others continue in the grip of British capital and remain a source of fabulous profits for them, profits which it is necessary to mobilise if the task of national reconstruction is to be speedily carried out. The popular demand for nationalisation of these concerns, which is essential for the building of a powerful public sector, has been rejected by the government. What Egypt, far smaller than our country and
far weaker in every respect, has done our government refuses to do. Even the remittance of profits abroad is not stopped. New opportunities are being offered to foreign capitalists to come in.

Economically we remain backward and dependent—a fact which in the context of the present international situation, constitutes a grave menace to our national security itself. Heavy and basic industries, the real source of a country’s strength and foundation for its development, remain in a rudimentary state. The advance made in the production of consumers’ goods fails to satisfy the elementary needs of the people—and even this advance has been repeatedly slowed down in recent years due to the lack of purchasing power in the hands of the people. Many industries are unable to fully utilise their productive capacity.

The public sector not only remains weak. The concerns it covers are run ineffectively. The bureaucratic bungling, high-handedness and corruption that have come to be associated with them alienate the people and enable reactionary forces to attack the very concept of extension of public sector.

Our agriculture remains primitive, dependent almost entirely on the vagaries of the monsoon and our production per acre one of the lowest in the world.

Poverty and destitution stalk the land. Misery and starvation, lack of clothing and adequate housing, disease and illiteracy are the lot of the common people.

“Half the population of India”, the Plan-frame stated, “spend less than Rs. 13 per month on consumers’ goods and possibly half this amount is consumed in kind or in the form of home-grown food and home-made articles.”

Unemployment, both in cities and villages, among workers, artisans, intelligentsia, agricultural labourers, has become the most alarming phenomenon of our society. Increase in factory production has meant very little increase in employment. In many industries employment figures have actually declined. In a number of state-owned industries, the Government itself has resorted to large-scale retrenchment, thereby further aggravating the problem.

Increase in production has not led to reduction of prices. On the contrary, after a period of steep decline in agricultural prices, which defrauded the peasantry of hundreds of crores of rupees, now with the impetus given by heavy resort to deficit-financing and due to monopolist control over production and trade, prices of foodgrains and of all essential goods are rising steeply—making it increasingly hard for the common man to make both ends meet. The rise in
food prices has not benefited the peasantry but only the landlords and the grain monopolists.

It is, above all, the increased toil of the working class that has brought about increase of production. But the working class has reaped very little benefit from the increase. Their wages have not risen above the 1939 level, while the capitalists have reaped huge profits. The share of workers in the factory income has declined, the share of capitalists has grown. The Government permits them to launch attacks on workers through rationalisation, increase of workload, retrenchment, which lead to strikes and loss in production, harming the country.

The policy of imposing the government-backed INTUC unions on the working class and of denying recognition to other unions even where they have the backing of the mass workers, has hampered the growth of a healthy trade union movement and fostered division in the working class.

All the much-published agrarian reforms have not solved the basic problem facing the peasantry—the problem of land. They have benefited only a small section. The Government has not even guaranteed security of tenure to the vast number of peasants. To this day, only 3 per cent of the households in the rural areas own 37 per cent of the land, while 75 per cent of the households together own only 16 per cent. Rents remain excessively high in many States. The heavy increase in water rates, the arbitrary imposition of betterment levies and of hundreds of kinds of taxes on every conceivable pretext, the violent fluctuations of prices of agricultural goods—all these have had dire consequences for the mass of peasants and increased the burden of debt. They have prevented adequate increase in agricultural production and whatever increase has been achieved rests on an insecure foundation. The eviction offensive launched by the landlords several years ago, has continued unabated, dispossessioning an increasing number of peasants of their land, of their hearths and homes. It is estimated that the total number of evictions in the last few years of Congress rule exceeds the number during the preceding hundred years.

Constituting over 30 per cent of the rural population, the agricultural workers eke out a miserable existence, the vast majority of them having no employment for five months in the year. Little effort has been made to settle them on cultivable waste land owned by the Government—which, on the contrary is being grabbed by landlords through actions organised by the State authorities. The Minimum Wages Act, passed ten years ago, remains on paper practically everywhere.
The middle-class employees, teachers, clerks and others, including those employed in Government services face the same problems as the working class—unemployment, low wages, poor housing conditions, fall in real income through price rise.

The small industrialists and artisans have hardly fared better. Many small industries are closing down. In extending credit facilities and in the allocation of raw materials, favour is shown to the big industrialists. Not only the common man but also shopkeepers and merchants suffer heavily from the continuous increase in sales taxes.

A large number of refugees have not yet been rehabilitated. Hundreds of thousands of them remain without gainful occupation, without adequate shelter.

To our armed forces, the Government denies elementary demands for a better life and improved service conditions. The rank and file in the armed forces are subjected to indignities, harsh treatment and harassment. The lot of rank and file policemen is no better.

Our public health conditions continue to be in an appalling state. Children below five years count for over 40 per cent of all deaths; Maternity and child welfare centres are few and far between. Malaria continues to ravage the countryside. The incidence of tuberculosis, a product of malnutrition and insanitary conditions has grown. There is only one doctor per 5,000 people in the country as a whole and these are concentrated mostly in cities with the result that in rural areas there is only one qualified doctor per 30,000 people. Medicines are costly and in many areas not available. Hospitals are unable to admit a large proportion of patients who need treatment. At the same time, in several States hundreds of qualified doctors are without jobs and their services remain unutilised.

Education has expanded in recent years. But even now vast numbers of boys and girls are unable to go to schools. Further, due to the low salaries given to teachers due to lack of sufficient number of schools and overcrowding in institutions, which makes it impossible for teachers to pay adequate individual attention to students. due to the general poverty in the country, the high cost of education and high price of books, due to faulty educational policies and the continued dominant position of English as the medium of instruction, the condition of education remains unsatisfactory. There has been an alarming fall in the standard of education which is a matter of grave concern for the future of the country. Facilities for technical education are utterly inadequate. The number of technical
institutions is too small to meet the needs of national reconstruction and education in them is so expensive that only the upper classes can afford to send their children to them.

Continuous rise in taxes whose main burden falls on the common people has been a marked feature of the ten years of Congress rule. Simultaneously, the government has made concessions to the richer classes. Their proportion of contribution to the total tax has steeply declined. Besides extracting concessions, they systematically evade income-tax defrauding the state of crores of rupees.

There has been some increase in national income but it has been so distributed that the rich have become richer. Concentration of economic wealth has grown. This is admitted by the Government itself.

The contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many which was one of the most odious features of our society under British rule has grown even more staggering under the regime of the Congress—a revealing commentary on its profession of socialism.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is not merely a negation of social justice. It dampens the ardour of the people for national reconstruction itself. It encourages the growth of corruption and nepotism. It dries up the springs of creative labour and smothers initiative in every sphere.

With the enormous wealth in their hands and the power which wealth inevitably brings, with their connections with many leading figures of the Congress and the government, the big capitalists and landlords wield tremendous influence in our political, economic and social life. They have secured a grip over many public institutions and are able to influence the administration. The bulk of big newspapers in the country are completely controlled by a few multimillionaire houses.

All this constitute a serious menace to democracy.

The Congress asserts that it has strengthened the unity of the nation. This assertion is not based on facts.

The policies of the Congress government have intensified strife and discord not only in the economic sphere but in other spheres as well. One of the most glaring instances of this is the attitude adopted towards the issue of linguistic States.

The formation of linguistic States was a key demand of our national movement. It was considered necessary in order to strengthen the unity of the nation, in order to enable the common man to participate in the affairs of the government and in order to create
conditions for the flowering of the culture of each people. All this was cynically forgotten after the advent of freedom.

Even when forced by popular demand to appoint the States Reorganisation Commission, the government refused to lay down firm guiding principles. Congress leaders in different provinces made fantastic claims to each other's territory, fanning the flames of chauvinism and working up hatred. People's movement for linguistic States was sought to be crushed by terror. Later, in the name of consolidation of national unity, the dominant leadership put forward the plan of merger—a plan which would have perpetuated conflict and disrupted the life of the people if it had materialised.

Even now the democratic demand of the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat remains unfulfilled. The manner in which the plan for a bilingual State was hatched, the manner in which it was imposed in defiance of popular will, reveal the real face of those who never cease to mouth phrases about democracy and non-violence.

A democratic set-up has been denied to the people of Tripura, Manipur, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi and the rest of the Union territories.

National unity has not been strengthened but weakened by such policies.

Moreover, all the declarations against casteism and communalism notwithstanding, little has been done in practice by Congress organisations in most States to fight them. In many areas, the Congress itself is driven by caste. Caste and communal considerations play a big part in the internal policies of the Congress as well as in the selection of candidates for elections and for jobs.

For strengthening of the unity of the nation and for the development of democracy it is essential to bring about radical improvement in the condition of the 70 million scheduled caste and scheduled tribes people. Too little has been done in this respect despite the assurances given in the Constitution and despite the abolition of untouchability by law.

The members of the scheduled castes remain the most oppressed, most exploited and most downtrodden section of our people, impoverished and culturally backward. In rural areas where they are mostly agricultural workers, they suffer from landlessness, low wages, prolonged periods of unemployment and social degradation.

The tribal policy of the government has been marked by lack of imagination and an unsympathetic approach. The tribal people are exploited by the traders, money-landers, landlords and also bureaucrats in whose hands their welfare schemes have been left. The tragic situation in the Naga area where our armed forces are
engaged in virtual war against a section of our own people is a sad commentary on this policy.

Thus, the claims made by the Congress that all-sided advance has been registered by the country in recent years are belied by facts. Some little progress has been made here and there—but the totality of the picture that emerges from a study of the Indian scene is far from what the ruling party would like us to believe. Not merely has very little advance been made but even the foundations of real advance have not been made.

Conditions have not been created for effective utilisation of the vast resources and manpower of the country for national reconstruction. Conditions have not been created for forging that popular unity and for rousing that ardour and enthusiasm without which the gigantic task of rebuilding the country cannot be carried out.

This is not an accident. Nor is it due to factors beyond human control. It is due to the policies of the government in the internal sphere—policies which in vital respects are anti-people and undemocratic.

They are policies of appeasement of foreign capital and of refusal to take determined action for its nationalisation. They are policies of reliance on the profit-motive of the big capitalists, of serving their interests and of succumbing to their pressure. They are policies of concessions to landlords and of opposition to radical agrarian reforms. They are policies of throwing the main burden on the common people, while refusing to introduce an equitable taxation system. They are policies which, under phrases of socialism, enrich the wealthy few and pay little attention to the needs and requirements of the vast majority of our people—workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, teachers, traders and small manufacturers.

Such policies have necessarily meant attacks on civil liberties, restriction of democracy and the strengthening of authoritarianism.

As before, the police and bureaucracy ride roughshod over the liberties of the people. Every popular struggle, every struggle against intolerable conditions of life, the government seeks to crush with an iron hand. Orders are issued to "Shoot at sight" and "shoot to kill". The ghastly massacres which were enacted in Bombay and Ahmedabad are still fresh in public memory. Whenever there is bloodshed, the government lays the blame on the people though in the overwhelming majority of cases irrefutable facts prove the contrary. The guilty conscience of the government is seen in its refusal to conduct any judicial enquiry except in rare cases where it is compelled to do so by public pressure.
Meetings and demonstrations are banned on the slightest pretext. The Preventive Detention Act is used to suppress popular struggles. In a number of areas processions have been prohibited for years. Criminal cases are instituted in thousands against political opponents of the regime, trade union and kisan sabha functionaries and common workers and peasants, with a view to strike terror. In many state concerns, normal trade union activity has been rendered impossible by victimisation, espionage and threats.

A most alarming feature of our political life is the manifestation of authoritarian trends in every sphere and the tendency of the ruling party to equate the interest of the state and the nation with its own partisan interests. Drunk with power, the ruling party shows complete indifference to popular protest in many cases and blatant disregard of democratic practices and conventions.

Decisions on vital national issues, affecting the lives of millions of people, are taken in the coterie of the Congress party and steam-rollered in the legislatures through its brute majority.

Congress ministers abuse their official position and utilise public funds to serve the interest of their party, to bring pressure on public institutions and compel their employees to support the Congress in elections. Even during such catastrophes as flood and famine, the narrow partisan interests of the ruling party are placed above popular needs, offer of cooperation by other parties is not accepted, human misery is sought to be exploited for political ends. A large part of the funds allocated for schemes of national reconstruction are used for providing jobs and patronage to supporters of the Congress, to friends and relatives of local Congress leaders — thus corrupting public life and weakening the moral fibre of society.

With their close links with the administrative apparatus and with their control over official and semi-official institutions, the local Congress leaders in many places establish a tyrannical regime — smothering all criticism, nullifying even many existing rights, hampering the growth of democratic institutions and their functioning. Honest officials who refuse to fall in line with them are subjected to harassment.

Reactionary landlords who had always opposed the freedom movement, big capitalists, their relations and friends, rank careerists have come to control the Congress organisation in many areas. They use its prestige and authority to serve their own ends and fight over the spoils of office. Honest and veteran Congressmen who have grown grey in the service of the country very often find themselves pushed aside by these new donners of the white cap.
Their plea for honest administration and for service of the people fall on deaf ears.

In this situation, even the progressive measures which are enacted by the legislatures, are often not implemented in practice, even the right which the people have won often remain on paper, even grants that are made for the furtherance of the needs of the people are not properly utilised.

The growth of authoritarianism has encouraged the growth of corruption in every area and in every department. Several commissions have revealed the enormity of corruption, wastage and squandering of public funds. The recommendations of most of the commissions have been pigeon-holed.

The charges that were levelled at each other during the selection of Congress candidates reveal the state of affairs that prevails inside the organisation. And when such an organisation wields monopoly power, the degradation of public life becomes all the more inevitable.

The institutions of local self-government which can play a great part in the development of the country and in fostering the growth of democracy and popular initiative remain in a moribund state. They are, in most places, dominated by the richer sections of the people and by the ruling clique of the Congress allied to them. Bureaucracy, corruption and demoralisation which have grown in our public life, find ugly manifestation in the functioning of many of these institutions. They have little power, little authority, little funds. In many cases, officials appointed from above are supreme. They are sought to be transformed into mere instruments for imposition of new burdens on the people and for serving the narrow interests of the ruling party. Quite often they are superseded at will in cynical disregard of democratic principles.

Deep resentment has grown among the people against these policies, against these methods and practices. This resentment is not confined to the masses that follow the parties of the democratic opposition alone, but extends to the masses that follow the Congress and to democratic-minded Congressmen. It has found expression in numerous actions and struggles all over the country. It has found expression in conflicts over policies inside the Congress itself.

But to those who had expected that the experience of the last few years would bring about a radical change in the outlook of the government, the Second Five Year Plan has come as a disappointment.

The declared aims and objectives of the Plan are laudable. Some of the proposals are beneficial, to some extent. But the major
proposals and measures which the Plan contains are not such as would enable the realisation of these aims and objectives.

The Plan does not propose to take any step to dislodge British capital from its powerful position in vital sectors of our economy. The proposals for the extension of the public sector are timid and half-hearted. Heavy concessions have been made to big business, due to which the private sector will continue to predominate in our industrial life.

The allocation to heavy and machine-building industries is extremely inadequate while large-scale consumers' goods industries have been favoured with heavy allocations. A big part of this allocation would go for rationalisation, intensifying the unemployment problem. The sound idea formulated in the Planframe that the needs for consumers' goods should be met as far as possible, through better utilisation of existing industries and through development of small and cottage industries on which millions of our people depend for livelihood, has been virtually abandoned.

The approach of the government to the vital problem of land continues to be powerfully influenced by landlord interests. The basic demand that land must belong to the tiller, a demand accepted by Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee in 1949 has not guided the planners. On the question of ceilings so many concessions have been made to the landlords that very little land will be left for distribution, even if and when the ceiling is imposed. The whole matter of ceilings has been left to those very State governments who sabotaged it in the past and some of whom have already declared they would not carry it out. No effective measures are proposed to prevent fictitious transfers of land, to stop evictions or to restore land to the peasants already evicted.

The plan, while permitting the capitalists to continue their ruthless exploitation, virtually rejects the workers' demand for increase in wages.

The allocations for social services have been increased in the Second Plan. But they are still inadequate. Moreover, in the absence of measures for democratisation of the administration there is no guarantee that these allocations will be effectively utilised for the objects for which they are meant.

On the vital question of resources for financing the Plan, the attitude of the government thoroughly exposes its pretensions about socialism and concern for the masses. The proposals made in the Plan in this respect and which are being implemented, are devoid of all principles of justice and equity. They are also economically unsound. Most of the proposals made by the Communist Party and
other democratic elements for raising the resources from the classes and sections who have minted millions from the toil and sweat of the people, have been turned down. Colossal burdens are sought to be imposed on the common people already groaning under existing burdens through numerous taxes, dues and levies. To this is added reckless resort to deficit-financing whose menacing effect is already visible in the steep rise in prices. Further, reliance is placed on foreign sources despite the tragic experience of the past.

As regards unemployment, the Second Plan promises no improvement in the situation. The planners admit that even after the completion of the Plan, there will be more people without jobs than today.

Above all, the Plan does not ensure social justice and the extension of democracy.

Disparities in income will not only continue but will accentuate. This was admitted in the Second Plan Draft Memorandum issued by the government in December 1955.

Main reliance for the carrying out of the Plan will be placed, as before, on bureaucratic officials.

It was evident, therefore, that in the formulation of the Plan, the narrow interests of the ruling capitalist class have been placed above the interests of the nation.

Hence it is that if the Plan is not radically modified in important respects, its declared objective will not be realised. The public sector will remain weak. The concentration of wealth will accentuate. The peasantry will remain dispossessed. The working class will be ruthlessly exploited. The burden on the masses will grow. The attack on the rights and liberties of the people will continue. All these will not bring socialism nearer, nor make the people the masters of their destiny.

Therefore, the Communist Party will wage a determined struggle for the modification of the Plan in accordance with national interests. Simultaneously, it will fight for the implementation of those proposals of the Plan which are beneficial for the country. It will combat all attempts at sabotaging of these proposals by vested interests, government authorities and bureaucrats.

The Indian people desire peace and friendship with all nations. They desire to strengthen relations with the resurgent countries of Asia and Africa and the countries of the socialist world. They want the People's Republic of China to be accorded its rightful place in the United Nations Organization. They want to extend all possible support to countries fighting for national freedom. They want all help to be given to our brothers and sisters in South Africa who are waging
a heroic battle for human dignity and against racial discrimination. They oppose military pacts and want the withdrawal of foreign troops from all countries. They stand for disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction. They want the liberation of Portuguese-occupied territories on Indian soil.

They want also that while championing the cause of peace, India must strengthen her defences so as to guard against the dangers that may threaten her from outside.

In alliance with all progressive forces, the Communist Party of India has always fought for policies and measures which would enable the realisation of these desires and urges of our people. It will continue to do so. It will combat those reactionaries who try to swerve our foreign policy from the path of peace and opposition to military blocs. It will strive to strengthen our foreign policy still further.

The Party will intensify the struggle for severance of India's relations with the British Commonwealth.

The Communist Party will do all in its power to assist the liberation movement inside Goa and strive to secure effective intervention by the government so that this last vestige of colonial rule on our fair soil is wiped out.

It will strive for the establishment of relations of friendship between India and Pakistan, for increase in trade, cultural and other contacts between the two countries as well as for greater facilities for communication between their peoples.

The Party will demand the development of armament, aircraft and shipbuilding industries with a view to strengthen our security and our national independence.

The Party will strive for the improvement of the condition of the personnel of the armed forces, especially the lower ranks. It stands for the fostering of the spirit of democracy among the armed forces so that relations of friendship grow between the people and the army.

While carrying out these tasks, the Communist Party is conscious that in the ultimate analysis the strength of a country depends on its economy, on its social conditions, on its internal unity and the state of its people. Without the speedy development of industries and the reorganisation of agriculture, without rapid advances in the economic, social and cultural spheres, without substantial improvement in the condition of the masses and the all-round flowering of democracy, our notional freedom cannot be placed on a firm of secure foundation, the threat to it cannot be removed and freedom itself cannot become full and real in terms of the needs and aspirations of the people.
Hence it is that the Communist Party attaches decisive importance to the task of reconstruction of the country.

National reconstruction, in order that it may be effectively carried out, requires the adoption of radical and far-reaching measures.

It demands the breaking of the grip of British capital over important sectors of our economy, the curbing of monopolists and the rapid development of the public sector. It demands the sweeping away of landlordism, transfer of land to the peasants and reduction of the burden on the peasantry. It demands reduction of disparities of income, removal of unemployment and continuous improvement in the condition of the mass of the people so as to rouse their labour enthusiasm and also create an expanding internal market. It demands speedy advance in the sphere of health, housing and culture. It demands radical change in the taxation system so that the burden falls primarily on the wealthier sections of the community. It demands the extension of democracy in order to ensure popular co-operation and the unleashing of popular initiative at all levels.

Guided by these principles, the Communist Party of India puts forward the following programme for whose implementation it will strive.

The Party stands for priority development of heavy and basic industries which should be in the state sector. Location of industries must be such as take into account the special needs of economically backward areas so as to ensure their development.

Pending the development of heavy and basic industries, the demand for more consumers’ goods should be met, as far as possible, by maximum utilization of capacities of existing industries and by encouragement of and aid to small and cottage industries. The Communist Party recognises that in the present stage of our development, patriotic-minded Indian capitalists, can make an important contribution towards the economic development of our country. The Party declares that Indian industries should be protected against foreign competition, that all legitimate rights of the capitalists should be ensured and that their active cooperation should be secured for implementation of the plan of national reconstruction.

In order to augment the resources for national development and create a powerful state sector, the Party demands the nationalisation of banking, general insurance, coal-mining, aluminium industry, manganese, copper, iron and gold-mining, as well as the nationalisation of British controlled jute mills and tea and coffee plantations.
A ceiling should be imposed on export of profits. Profits in excess of ceiling should be taken over as compulsory loan.

A ceiling should be imposed on profits of all big industries and commercial concerns and the excess should be taken over as compulsory loan. These, together with the reserves of large companies, should form a National Development Pool, to be invested in state and private sectors in accordance with national needs.

The state should have monopoly of foreign trade in the principal commodities—which would give it large profits, besides making it possible to diversify our trade and develop it on the basis of natural advantage with other countries. State trade should be developed inside the country also. Import of luxury goods should be drastically reduced.

Heavier taxation should be imposed on corporate profits and on capital gains. There must be a ceiling on personal and family incomes, and a tax on personal wealth.

The payment of compensation to big landlords should be postponed. The privy purses paid to princes should be stopped and their hoarded wealth requisitioned as compulsory loan.

An energetic drive must be launched against income tax evasion.

Salaries and allowances of highly-paid officials must be reduced.

Effective measures must be taken to combat wastage in government undertakings.

All these proposals are eminently practical and can be undertaken within the framework of our Constitution. They would place in the hands of the state vast resources for national reconstruction—besides heightening the morale of the people who would willingly contribute their utmost to make up the deficit that might still continue.

Economic development needs industrial peace and a contented working class. Strife and discord which have become a marked feature of our industrial life, caused immense suffering to our working people, and led to repeated interruption in production and loss of millions of work-days in recent years, can be eliminated only by the adoption of sound and progressive labour policies, and ensuring the working class its just share in the wealth created by its labour.

The present rationalisation drive should be given up.

A national minimum wage should be fixed and workers should be assisted to secure fair wages in all organised industries.

Pending such fixation an immediate increase of 35 per cent should be granted to workers on the basis of already increased pro-
ductivity of labour. Dearness allowance should be amalgamated with basic wages.

A pay commission should be appointed to examine the pay scale, dearness allowance, security of service as also trade union rights of all government employees and workers in the state concerns. Social insurance schemes should be extended to all organised industries and should cover all spheres.

Provision must be made for unemployment benefit.

The housing problem should be energetically tackled through specialised agencies in which the workers themselves may play the decisive role.

Workers and employees through democratically elected committees should have an effective voice in the management and administration of industrial enterprises.

The development of healthy trade unionism, which is essential for industrial peace and for the growth of democracy, is hampered today because of the government's policy of imposing official-backed unions on workers. This policy also hampers trade union unity. The Communist Party, therefore, opposes this policy as also all legislation which facilitates the imposition of particular unions on workers. It will advocate measures which help the workers to unite in one trade union in each industry on the basis of trade union democracy.

The National Security and Safeguarding Rules under which workers in government undertakings are arbitrarily dismissed must be annulled.

All restrictions on the right of collective bargaining, the right to join trade unions of one's own choice, the right of association, strike and demonstrations should be removed.

The middle class has a special role to play in the rebuilding of the nation. But it is denied the necessary opportunities and is tormented by growing unemployment and economic difficulties. The party will fight for expansion of employment and other opportunities so that the economic distress of this class is relieved and its talent and potentialities are fully tapped for the rejuvenation of the country.

Agriculture remains and will continue to be, for a considerable period, the mainstay of our people. Rapid improvement of agriculture alone can meet the raw material needs of our industries and the necessities of our people. Rapid improvement in agriculture alone can improve the condition of our peasantry and create a stable and expanding internal market for industrial goods. This improvement, however, is hampered by the policies of the government—above all, its policies on the issue of land reforms.
The Communist Party demands that the slogan of land to the tiller should be implemented without any further procrastination or delay. Further, there must be substantial reduction of the burden of the rent and taxes.

Ceilings should not exceed three times a family holding and all land in excess of the ceiling should be distributed among agricultural workers and peasants without payment.

Democratically-elected agricultural labourers' and peasants' committees should be entrusted with the work of implementing the agrarian reforms.

All government-owned cultivable waste-land should be distributed among the poor peasants and agricultural labourers and state aid given to bring them under cultivation. Land should be restored to peasants evicted by landlords in recent years and all malafide transfers declared null and void.

There must be substantial scaling down of debts owed by peasants to landlords and moneylenders. Unconscionable debts should be cancelled and arrangements should be made for the liquidation of the remaining debts in easy instalments spread over a number of years.

The peasants must be guaranteed a fair price for their produce.

Agricultural labourers must be assured a minimum wage. The debts owed by them to moneylenders and landlords should be cancelled.

Irrigation works should be expanded by undertaking, in addition to major projects, a large number of smaller projects. Water-rates should be brought down substantially.

There should be wide extension of co-operatives for rural credit, marketing of produce as well as for supply of implements, fertilisers, seeds etc. Existing co-operative laws should be drastically amended so as to curtail the power of officials appointed from above and ensure democratic functioning.

Effective steps should be taken to improve the quality of the livestock and to provide for veterinary treatment in all rural areas.

The Party will demand measures for the speedy rehabilitation of refugees, for enabling them to secure gainful employment.

The cultural level of our people remains at an extremely low level. This hampers the work of national reconstruction. It prevents the vast majority of people from playing their due role in the evolving and implementation of the policies of the government. It encourages arbitrariness, violation of laws by officials and harass-
ment. It restricts the functioning and growth of democracy. The liquidation of cultural backwardness of the people is, therefore, a vital national task.

The Communist Party considers that for this the following measures should be taken immediately.

There must be compulsory and free elementary education up to the age of 14 years. Arrangements must be speeded up for imparting education to adults who are illiterate.

The educational system should be so reorganised as to meet the requirements of scientific and technological advance and conform to the objective of rapid industrial development. Adequate provision should be made for technical and scientific education.

Tuition fees, prices of textbooks and other costs of education should be brought down within the reach of the common people.

Education at all levels, including university education, should be in the regional language of the State concerned. Provision has to be made for the teaching of minorities where they are in sufficient numbers in their mother tongue up to the end of the secondary stage of education.

Adequate protection should be given to Urdu and provision made for imparting education in it to Urdu speaking people.

The study of Hindi should be encouraged in every State as the language of the Union Government and for communication between governments and peoples of different States.

Teachers and students must be ensured their academic rights as well as their democratic rights as citizens.

Adequate salaries must be guaranteed to all teachers.

The flowering of the rich and variegated culture of our people is an essential part of nation-building. Recent years have witnessed considerable growth of cultural activity in all areas. But their development is hampered because of lack of facilities and of adequate help from the government and local authorities.

The Communist Party will advocate that:—

Steps be taken by the government in each State, in consultation with cultural, literary and other bodies, to help the development of works of literature and art, the production of educational and progressive films, dramas, etc.

Facilities for learning music, dance, etc., be introduced in educational institutions.

Theatres and music halls be built in all towns.

Performances by amateur groups not be subjected to entertainment tax.
The Dramatic Performance Act be repealed.
Social benefits and old age pension be provided to disabled and needy writers, artistes, dancers and composers, etc.

The Communist Party will continue to support the struggle of the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat. As regards certain areas in other States about which disputes persist, the Party stands for their being settled by methods of negotiation between the governments of the States concerned.

The Communist Party will fight for social economic and political measures for the improvement of the condition of the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The Party will demand implementation of the assurance given to them in the Constitution. The period of the assurance should be extended.

The Party will demand practical measures to implement the law against untouchability.

More allocation should be made for schemes that benefit the scheduled castes and tribes. They should be directly associated with the implementation of various plans and projects.

The sixth Schedule of the Constitution should be suitably amended to confer regional autonomy on compact tribal areas so that these areas are democratically administered.

Military operation in the Naga areas should be stopped and peaceful solution of the problem sought.

For many centuries the women of our country have occupied an inferior position in society and suffered from numerous disabilities. Despite certain laws that have been enacted, many of these disabilities continue in practice, preventing women from playing their rightful role in our society.

The Communist Party which has consistently championed the cause of women, will advocate equal rights for women in every sphere and advocate policies and measures which would enable women to improve their social, economic and educational position so that these rights can be exercised.

The Party will demand equal pay for equal work, removal of restrictions in respect of employment of married women, full right of women to inheritance, including land. It will demand maternity leave, maternity benefit and substantial provision in social welfare schemes for cultural and economic advancement of women.

In order to consolidate the unity of the nation, great attention needs to be paid towards the just demands of minorities, whether
based on religion or language. Their rights must be adequately protected. Incitement of hatred against minorities must be severely punished. All discrimination against minorities which, in various forms persists should be ended. Publications which vilify any religion and its teachers should be banned.

These measures are essential for the rebuilding of our country.

But these measures cannot be implemented by mere legislation or by mere decrees from above. What is needed besides suitable legislation, is the unleashing of the creative energies of the people and of their initiative on a vast scale.

This is possible only through systematic and all sided extension of democracy.

Without this, even the best of legislation will remain on paper. Without this, popular cooperation, the most vital factor in the work of national reconstruction, cannot be secured. Without this, corruption and waste which are rampant cannot be eliminated.

With a view to taking of effective steps towards the extension of democracy, the Communist Party puts forward the following proposals.

The Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution have to be speedily implemented and made a part of the fundamental rights of citizens which should be justifiable.

The Upper House in the legislatures should be abolished.

The States should be vested with wider powers, especially in the sphere of finance.

The judiciary should be separated from the executive.

Proportional representation should be introduced in all elections. All elections, including panchayat elections, should be by secret ballot.

The people should have the right to recall those elected members who, in their opinion, have failed to serve them effectively.

The unrestricted rights of the government to attack the civil liberties of the people and the wide powers of the bureaucracy and the police are incongruous in a democratic set-up. These rights and powers have to be severely curtailed.

The Preventive Detention Act must be repealed. Article 21 of the Indian Constitution should be suitably amended so as to prevent enactment of such laws in future.

Laws enabling the government arbitrarily to ban meetings, processions and demonstrations should go.

Radical revision must be made in the Police Code, curtailing the powers of the police to resort to shooting, lathi-charge etc.
In all cases of resort to firing, there should be judicial enquiry and exemplary punishment meted out to officials guilty of excessive violence.

For the growth of a healthy public life effective measures must be taken to end the domination of a handful of monopolists over the Indian press. The recommendations of the Press Commission for weakening this monopoly ownership must be forthwith implemented. The All-India Radio must duly reflect the democratic opinions in the country and for this purpose broadcasting facilities must be extended to all accredited democratic organisations.

Organs of local self-government, like village panchayats, municipalities and district boards, occupy a pivotal position and can play an extremely important role in our political, economic and social life. For this, they must have effective authority. They must be freed from bureaucratic restrictions. They must have adequate funds and source of income. They must have power to control the officials and supervise their work so that the officials act as servants of the people and not as their masters.

Further, all local development work such as Community Projects, National Extension Services, etc., should be entrusted to panchayats and other elected organs of the people.

The speedy and effective implementation of such a programme will enable the country to put an end to the present state of backwardness, poverty and destitution. It will reduce conflict in our political life and unite the people. It will lead to an upsurge of patriotic endeavour in every area for the task of national reconstruction.

It will enable our country to play an ever-increasingly important role in world affairs. It will create favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism and for advance towards that goal peacefully in accordance with the genius of our own people and their great democratic traditions.

Expressing the interests of the toiling people of our country and of all patriotic elements, the Communist Party will work for this programme and will seek to unite all democratic forces for policies and measures which will facilitate its implementation.

The ensuing general elections offer a great opportunity to our people to record their verdict on ten years of Congress rule. It will enable them to express in clear terms the policies which they want the country to adopt in order to put an end to destitution and misery, repression and misrule, denial of democracy and authoritarianism and thus pave the way to all-round progress.

In these elections, the Communist Party will try to forge unity
with all democratic parties and elements with a view to ensure that
the maximum number of seats are won by forces who will fearlessly
champion the cause of the people in the legislatures.

In those States where the democratic movement is especially
strong the Communist Party will strive to create conditions in which
democratic governments, based on a coalition of democratic parties
and individuals, can be formed. Such governments will work on
the basis of an agreed programme and serve the people in the best
of their capacity.

In other States, the Party’s endeavour will be to strengthen
its own position and the position of the democratic opposition in the
legislatures.

A determined effort has to be made in the coming elections to
put an end to the monopoly position which the Congress enjoys.
This position has meant callous betrayal of pledges, defiance of
popular will, stifling of political life.

Through their experience, the masses have come to recognise
the necessity of a strong opposition. Democratic-minded Congress-
men themselves whose sentiments and opinions are often ignored by
the ruling circles, desire such an opposition. They know it will help
their own struggle inside the Congress. They know it will increase
their strength and make their voice effective.

The emergence of a democratic opposition will strengthen
the fight for the rights and liberties of the people. It will strength-
en the fight for popular policies and measures. It will strengthen
the forces of socialism and democracy in our political and
economic life.

But this will be possible only if the Left Parties in the
country and progressive individuals unite in a common front. This
was proved in the last general elections. A number of bye-elections
have also proved this.

Hence, the Communist Party will do everything in its power
to achieve unity among the Left and democratic forces in the
coming elections. Significant successes have already been won in
this respect in some States. These successes will inspire our Party
to intensify its efforts for unity.

The Communist Party will put up its own candidates in areas
where it has a sufficiently strong mass base.

The Communist Party seeks the support of the people not
merely on the basis of its programme but also on the basis of its
work for the country and devoted service to the people.

Ever since its birth, the Communist Party of India, the party
of the Indian working class, has fearlessly championed the cause of
the working people and fought for democracy and national freedom. It is the Communists who first raised the banner of socialism in our country. It is the Communists who laid the foundation of the working class and peasant movements and led their first great struggles. It is the Communists who made the oppressed and exploited masses conscious of the need for unity and organisation in order to win their demands.

Terror has failed to crush our party. Slander has failed to isolate it from the people. Difficulties have failed to arrest its steady growth because it is a party that bases itself on the people and draws strength from them.

In recent years, in the struggle for peace and Asian unity, in the struggle for the liberation of French and Portuguese held territories, in the movement for linguistic States, in every battle of the workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, teachers, students and other suffering sections of our society, our Party has been in the forefront. Scores of our members have laid down their lives, many have suffered imprisonment, but the Party has never wavered.

A number of our candidates were elected to the State legislatures and the Parliament. They have consistently exposed the anti-people policies of the government. They have resolutely defended the people and their interests. They have fought for progressive policies and measures. Backed by the movement of the people, they have been able, on several issues to modify the policies of the government and win important concessions for the people.

We enter the election battle with unbounded faith in the people and in their judgment. We are confident that the men and women of our country whom we have loyally served will give us their support in abundant measure. We are confident that the verdict of our people will strengthen the position of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in our country. We are confident that the great movement of our people for a happy and prosperous life will gain new strength and win new successes and victories.
Election Manifesto, 1962

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the fourteen years of unbroken Congress rule have shown that the path of development the Congress has chosen cannot ensure an all-sided national advance or eliminate poverty, hunger and unemployment. We must seek an alternative path.

The crying need of the hour is that the tiller of the soil must be given land, every job seeker a job and the people food, clothes and other essential necessities at cheap prices.

Congress rule holds out no promise whatsoever that our people will ever get them. The alternative policies and proposals we are outlining below will alone answer this need.

End Foreign Exploitation

The Communist Party stands for elimination of foreign monopolies from our national economy and for securing economic independence. As an immediate step, our Party demands drastic curbs on the profits of foreign concerns and on their remittance abroad. Resources lying with them must be taxed by the State in a greater measure and our foreign trade, which they control should be taken over by the State Trading Corporation. All new private investments by foreign monopolists must be banned. Unjust concessions to foreign monopolies must be withdrawn.

Our Party is not opposed to proper type of foreign economic assistance being obtained from any country provided such assistance is taken for the creation of a modern economy and for other truly nation-building projects. Every effort, however, must be made to ensure that India's foreign liabilities do not needlessly go on increasing. With this end in view, imports should be further cut, exports vigorously stepped up and loans repayable in rupee given preference. These objectives, as experience has shown, can be achieved by greater economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which offer the most disinterested and needed assistance to our country.

But this necessitates the reorganisation of India's trade pattern as well as the removal of other obstructions and inhabitants. Our Party stands for further strengthening of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries as an essential feature of national planning.
Land to the Peasant

The Communist Party has been tirelessly fighting against the anti-peasant policies of the Government. It most emphatically demands radical agrarian reforms and reorganisation of our agriculture. All land transfers made in recent years must be re-examined and fictitious transfers declared null and void. All loopholes in the existing land legislations, particularly in regard to ceilings must be forthwith removed and ceilings to eliminate the concentration of land-holdings and for benefiting the peasants must be introduced in every State and effectively enforced. Land must be distributed to the landless labourer and the poor peasant.

Economic burdens on the peasants such as high rents, high taxes and debts, must be reduced. The peasants must be guaranteed a fair price for their produce and protected against market operations which rob them. Fixation of minimum and maximum prices for this purpose is essential.

Minimum wages for the agricultural labourer must be fixed everywhere and strictly enforced.

To emancipate the peasantry from its age-long bondage is the most urgent task to enable the remaking of the nation. Without this, rapid economic progress is impossible and democracy would be a misnomer. Our Party stands for a radical orientation of the Plans so as to do away with all semi-feudal survivals and bring about an upsurge in our agriculture.

For Rapid Industrialisation

The Communist Party stands for a comprehensive programme of rapid industrialisation in which the public sector must at once be given the leading role and capital goods industries the pride of place. The public sector must be democratically organised and efficiently run and it must be kept free from all influences of big business. Small and medium industries must be given every encouragement and assistance by the State and their promotion must form a vital part of national planning. This is essential for arresting the growth of unemployment.

The Communist Party stands for a special programme of industrial projects for the industrially backward regions in order to reduce regional disparities in the country’s economic development and help the backward regions to catch up with the advanced regions. The Party demands all necessary readjustments in our Plans for such fair deal to the backward regions.
The Communist Party demands nationalisation of banking, general insurance, iron and steel, coal and other mining, oil, sugar, jute, tea-plantations under foreign control as well as export and import trade. To allow any sector of our vital and strategic industries to remain in the grip of foreign monopolies is to put the economy and the country to great risks. The nationalisation of banking, we repeat, brooks not a moment's delay.

**Raise Wages, Respect Trade Union Rights**

The Communist Party stands for a general rise in basic wages and for raising and fixing of minimum wages. It demands a sliding scale of dearness allowance with full neutralisation of rise in prices in all organised industries, trades and professions. The Party would continue its fight against rationalisation or productivity that leads to retrenchment, to greater work-load and no commensurate rise in wages. The Communist Party demands that bonus be treated as a share of the workers in profits. In defence of the vital interests of the working class and for its trade union and democratic rights, the Party will conduct resolute struggles. Trade union rights must be unequivocally guaranteed. The labour policy of the government must be changed to conform to the principles of democracy and social justice.

**Curb Monopolies**

In Parliament and in State Legislatures and more so outside, our Party has been ceaselessly exposing the malpractices of Big Money and fighting it in action. For this, many of our comrades, have had to share along with others dismissals and persecutions at the hands of the bosses of industry and severe repression by the police and Government. It has been our Party's proud privilege to be in the forefront of the struggle against the monopolies and bear the burnt of their fury.

Our Party demands an end to all pro-Big Business, pro-monopoly policies of the Government and far-reaching progressive changes in the State policies. Managing agency system must be scrapped. Concentration through interlocking, take-overs, subsidiaries and similar devices must be firmly checked by the State. The Party stands for higher taxes on Big Business and also for tapping of the resources through compulsory loans. Ceilings must be imposed on profits, as well as on the salaries of high business executives. State policy should be directed towards breaking their economic power
and compelling the monopolistic capitalists to fall in line with the basic principles of social justice and democratic planning.

The vicious grip of the Big Business over the newspaper industry must be broken.

In curbing monopolies, the cooperation of workers and the employees and their trade union organizations is of utmost importance.

**Bring Down Prices**

Our people must be saved from the depredations of high prices. The Party stands for all possible monetary, fiscal and other effective measures to check price rises and hold the price line at a level within the reach of the common man. Strong actions must be taken against the monopolists, profiteers and speculators who hold false stocks, manipulate markets, create artificial scarcities to fleece the consumer. The state sector must be extended to internal trade in essential commodities and state-trading in such commodities must be undertaken on a large scale.

**Plan for the People**

To realise the above urgent objectives and ensure rapid economic and social progress, the Communist Party demands certain fundamental changes in our Five Year Plan. Planning must be first and foremost for the people. The Plans must mobilise to the fullest possible extent India’s vast manpower resources and create labour enthusiasm by constantly improving the living conditions of the working people. To them must go a progressively bigger proportion of our national income. The present yawning disparity in both rural and urban incomes must be reduced. The Plans must strike hard at the out-dated socio-economic conditions that stand in the way of India’s rapid progress. Our Party stands for bigger and bolder plans for a much higher rate of economic growth.

**Make the Rich Pay for the Plans**

The Communist Party demands that the rich be made to pay their due share towards the resources for the Plan. Enormous accumulations lying with the monopolists, big speculators, former princes and big landlords must be fully tapped. Former princes who have huge fortunes locked up in foreign banks and foreign securities must be compelled to surrender as loans these assets to
the State. The payment of privy purses to them is impermissible and this must stop.

The Party stands for raising the direct taxes on the richer classes while, at the same time, reducing indirect taxes that hit the poor. Huge quantities of gold worth over a thousand crores of rupees held in bullion by the monopolists and speculators must be made available for financing the Plan.

Expand State Sector for Raising Resources

The Communist Party demands that the state sector be rapidly expanded in different sectors of our economy to raise resources for the Plan. For this, not only must new undertakings be started by the State, but a number of existing private industries and business concerns, as we have already suggested, must be nationalised. State-trading in our internal market should be developed as a major source of revenue.

Strengthen Parliamentary Institutions, Democracy

The Communist Party of India is deeply interested in the strengthening of our parliamentary system, both in form as well as in content. It stands for bringing the system increasingly closer to the democratic urges and aspirations of the masses. It fights for the extension of democracy in all spheres of the State. It must be expressly and unambiguously provided in the Constitution that the President of the Indian Republic is only a constitutional head and that all his functions are subject to the unquestioned supremacy of the Parliament. The emergency powers of the President must be abolished. The power of the President and the Central Government to dismiss a State Government so long as the latter enjoys the confidence of the State Assembly must be annulled. The Governors must be directly elected.

Proportional representation should be introduced in all elections so that public opinion is duly reflected in the elected bodies and the monopoly of power for any single party based on minority of votes is ended once and for all. All legislators must be subject to recall to ensure their accountability to their electors and to assert the latter's supremacy over those whom they elect. The Upper Houses are superfluous and expensive and these must be abolished.

The Communist Party demands that there must be State Standing Committees in Parliament and in the State
Legislatures with requisite statutory powers so that all parties and groups represented in the Legislature may be directly and actively associated with the initiation and formulation of policies by different Ministries and Government. Such Committees should also have the power to review the implementation of the Government policies and the work of the administration.

Judiciary must be separated from executive in all respects, including appointments and promotions.

The process of reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis must be completed. Hence the Communist Party stands for the reorganisation of the present bilingual Punjab State on a linguistic basis. Where the situation so demands as in the case of Nepali-speaking areas in Darjeeling (West Bengal) or the compact Adivasi area of Chhota Nagpur (Bihar), regional autonomy should be granted. Rights of Adivasis to their distinct culture and self-expression must be fully recognised and respected.

*Give More Power to the States, Democratise Local Bodies*

The Communist Party firmly stands for wider power and authority, particularly in financial and economic matters, being given to the States of the Indian Union. The Seventh Schedule of the Constitution must be revised and amended so as to enlarge the powers of the State and abridge that of the Central Government. Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi must have democratic set up and responsible Government.

Our Party demands greater power for the Panchayats and other local bodies, as well as adequate resources for them. Elections must everywhere be direct and by secret ballot without any bureaucracy interference. Our Party demands adult franchise for municipal elections in Calcutta. It stands for ending all bureaucratic control over local bodies and for raising their status and dignity. The guiding line in all these matters must be decentralisation and democratisation. Masses must be drawn closer to the functions of the State.

*Strictly Enforce Fundamental Rights*

Fundamental rights must be scrupulously respected. The Party stands for revocation of all laws, rules and regulations that conflict with fundamental rights. Directive principles which relate to the fundamental rights of the people must be made enforceable by necessary amendments to the Constitution. All repressive
measures directed against the democratic forces or which are liable to be so used must be withdrawn.

There must be compulsory, independent public enquiry into all cases of police firing. Police administration must be reformed and the existing police codes revised to bring them in line with democratic standards. Except where question of defence of the country or its security is involved, there must be no reference to secret police reports in deciding appointments, promotions and so on. Political witchhunt must stop.

_Release Long-term Political Prisoners_

The continued incarceration of long-term political prisoners who have already spent many years behind prisonbars can now be regarded only as an act of political vendetta. Our Party demands immediate release of all such prisoners and withdrawal of warrants pending in connection with political cases which arose over a decade ago.

_Probe Into All Corruption Charges_

To fight and stamp out rampant corruption in High places and in administration, our Party demands the setting up of independent impartial commissions at the Central as well as the State levels for promptly probing into all cases of official corruption, malpractices and improprieties. Those found guilty must be severely dealt with.

_Promote National Integration_

The Communist Party stands for uncompromising struggle against the forces of communalism, casteism, of narrow provincialism and separatism. In order to wipe out these dark, ruinous forces and promote national integration, efforts must be made in every sphere—economic, as well as political, administrative as well as cultural. The policies that breed these evil trends must be changed.

The Party stands for the creation of permanent minority commissions at the All-India and the State levels whose functions shall be to study the problems of the minorities, examine their grievances and formulate concrete measures and tasks for protection and safeguard of minority rights and interests.
Larger funds must be allocated for the uplift and welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes and these funds must be administered through popular agencies commanding their confidence. All other effective measures should be taken for their uplift and advancement.

Harijans must be given land and relief. The Communist Party stands not only for effective Government actions but a national campaign for the implementation of the Untouchability Abolition Act and the complete removal of all social disabilities.

The language of the linguistic minorities in different States must be fully safeguarded and given their due status. All rights of the Urdu-speaking minorities must be strictly enforced and all legitimate grievances of the Urdu-speaking people of our country should be forthwith removed.

Sindhi should be recognised as a language of our Republic and included in the English Schedule of our Constitution.

The Communist Party is of the view that reduction of regional disparities in economic development is essential for national integration.

The Communist Party advocates effective steps at all levels, including joint campaign by all secular parties, against propaganda and activities which are designed to rouse communal passions, caste feelings. Our Party is totally against intrusion of religion into politics in any form or under any cover. It demands that the administration be rid of all communal elements.

Our Party is prepared to work with all secular forces in the country in order to combat the forces of communalism, casteism and separatism and promote national integration. We are, at the same time, conscious that in the final analysis, the problem of national integration is a problem of democracy and social progress.

Reorientate Education

The Communist Party demands a radical change in the education policy of the State so that our boys and girls are trained to take their rightful place in building of the nation. Education must be infused with a social purpose—with deep love for India’s rich cultural heritage and above all, with a spirit of service to the people and the country.

The Communist Party stands for greater financial allocations of education and extension of opportunities for scientific and technical education.

The change over to regional languages as the medium of
instruction must be expedited and the State must render all required assistance for the purpose. Education must be made cheaper.

Condition of teachers, especially the primary school teachers, must be improved. Bureaucratic interference in education must end. Academic bodies should be under the control of qualified, progressive-minded educationists. The Communist Party demands an all-out national campaign to wipe out illiteracy.

Culture the People

The Communist Party of India stands for the rooting out of all corruption, favouritism, bias against democratic popular ideas and tendencies from all the national vehicles of culture; it demands that the common people of our country should be beneficiaries of all our cultural activities. It stands for the development of a people's democratic culture, for a generous and unbiased help to literary and cultural bodies and organisations; for the establishment of national theatres in all the major cultural centres of our country; for a policy of developing the cinema industry of our country on progressive lines; for drawing in of the largest mass of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia in the manifold field of cultural activities. It stands for rescuing culture from the grip of profiteers and foreign and Indian reactionary influences. It stands for the economic rehabilitation of thousands of our writers, artists and workers in the various cultural fields by providing them with the fullest opportunity, in an atmosphere of freedom and joy for development of their talent and for the effervescence of popular and democratic culture.

Equal Rights and Opportunities for Women

The Communist Party stands for equal rights for women in every sphere of our national life. It demands equal pay for equal work for women and removal of all restrictions irrespective of employment of married women. The State must see that the social reforms that have been passed to uplift the status of women are strictly enforced.

Our Party stands for adequate financial allocations and extra facilities for education of women. The system of maternity benefits must be widely extended and granting of maternity leave must be made obligatory on the part of the employers. Social welfare schemes for women and the organizations engaged in such work must be given State assistance. To raise the status of women in every way
must be regarded as of prime importance for the remaking of the nation.

*Improve Housing*

The Communist Party demands larger schemes and bigger financial allocations for rural housing as well as the speediest implementation of such schemes. As for urban housing, the State must take an increasingly direct part in construction of tenements and buildings for workers and lower income groups in addition to financial assistance given to individuals or to employers. The claims of housing for lower income groups must be given topmost priority and wasteful and luxury constructions for the rich must be prohibited. Urban tenants must be protected against the extortions of landlords and the unconscionably high rents now paid by them must be brought down by law. Larger targets should be set under industrial housing schemes and the employers must be compelled to fulfil their obligations.

*Provide Gainful Employment to Refugees*

The Communist Party demands speedy rehabilitation of all refugees including the partially rehabilitated. They must be provided gainful employment. Our Party is totally opposed to any abandonment of rehabilitation work by the Government before the refugee problem is satisfactorily and finally solved.

*World Peace*

The burning issue for all mankind today is that of peace or war. Peaceful co-existence or a devastating thermonuclear war are the alternative facing humanity.

Our emphatic answer is that a third world war can and must be averted by the joint efforts of the forces of peace. We, Communists, consider it our prime task to work for peace and peaceful co-existence and thus deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear destruction.

Imperialism which brings about war is no longer in its past dominant position. It is on the way on. The socialist system is becoming today the decisive force in the development of society. Many Afro-Asian nations have in recent years shaken off the colonial yoke and emerged into the world arena as free nations.
The breathtaking achievements of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries have been exerting increasing influence in shaping the destiny of mankind. The historic programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which heralds the establishment of a communist society within the life-time of the present generation brings inspiration and strength to the cause of freedom as it deals a staggering blow to the forces that make for war and colonialism. The cause of peace gains new strength with every passing day.

At the same time, it must be recognised that since the end of the Second World War, the danger of a thermonuclear war has never been so grave at any time as at the present moment.

Imperialism headed by the U.S.A. is madly driving the world to the edge of a catastrophe, West Germany under the former Hitlerite generals and the revenge-seekers, has not only been armed to the teeth but it is about to be equipped with nuclear weapons. Once again German militarism, lavishly backed by the U.S.A. and NATO powers has been revived. Once again, it spells war and destruction.

The signing of a peace treaty with both German States and the conversion of West Berlin into a de-militarised free city is essential to lessen this threat and safeguard peace.

Both the Soviet and the German Democratic Republic have made repeated proposals for such constructive steps. But the only answer of the U.S.A. to the Soviet proposal has been heavier military spending, calling up of reserves, further intensification of the war drive and finally a brazen threat of nuclear war against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The Communist Party appeals to our people to heighten their vigilance and redouble their efforts at this critical juncture against US and other imperialist warmongers.

On the occasion of third general elections, our Party renews its pledge to devote all its strength and energy to the cause of preservation of world peace. It extends its co-operation, across the barriers of party and other loyalties, to all those who are dedicated to this noble cause. Let this general election be a mighty demonstration of our people’s resolve to defend world peace.

Our Party attaches the greatest importance to India’s role in the worldwide struggle for peace and against colonialism. It has always worked for enhancing this great role and exposed and fought the opponents of India’s policy of peace and anti-colonialism. We warn our people against those forces within our land who, while paying lip-service to the policy of non-alignment, are in reality trying
to undermine India's foreign policy and push our country towards the imperialist camp.

Our Party seeks the mandate of the people so that India can assume a still greater role in the coming days in defence of world peace, so that our great country becomes most potential of all those fighting against colonialism.

In the recent period, however, the Government of India has shown some unconcerned vacillations, particularly on issues of anti-colonialism. After the Bandung Conference at which India had played so admirable a part, great expectations were aroused above India's contributions to the struggle against colonialism. But today many Afro-Asian nations have feeling that India is backsliding and trying to soft pedal the fight against imperialism. The hesitation of the Government of India to recognise the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic has caused dismay and disappointment and brought no credit to our country.

The Government of India recognises the aggressive militarist Federal Republic of Germany which openly denounces India's foreign policy and even supports the Portuguese over Goa. But the Government of India does not still recognise the German Democratic Republic, which subscribes to Punch Sheel and is fully in agreement with our country over the Goa issue as on all basic questions of peace and anti-colonialism. The discrimination in favour of West Germany is not only inconsistent with the policy of India's non-alignment, but gives comfort to the West German militarists and revenge-seekers. To India's friends abroad, this attitude on the part of the Indian Government has always seemed incomprehensible and it has compromised our country's position in their eyes.

The haste with which the Government of India offered to sell sugar to the U.S.A. when the Kennedy regime stopped buying sugar from Cuba in order to blackmail and punish the Cuban people for their heroic revolution is yet another example of Indian Government's deviation from anti-colonialism.

When President Kennedy pours huge quantities of military hardwares into Pakistan and equips her military machine with supersonic planes, the Government of India, strange as it may seem, indulges in public adulation of the Kennedy administration!

The Congress rulers refuse to call such military aid to Pakistan an unfriendly act, although such a declaration would go a long way to rouse world public opinion against the Kennedy-Ayub arms deal. Evidently the U.S. dollars that are flowing into our country are choking the voice of the Congress Government.

The Communist Party stands for a consistent and unwavering
application of India's broad foreign policy in defence of world peace and national independence.

Our Party stands for vigorous efforts by India to bring Western powers to their senses and make them agree to general, complete and controlled disarmament.

The Communist Party demands that the Indian Government accord full recognition to the German Democratic Republic and the Algerian Provisional Government, as well as render the Algerian freedom struggle every possible assistance. Our Party urges India's full support to a peace treaty with Germany and for the creation of a de-militarised free city of West Berlin.

The Communist Party demands that the Government take all necessary steps so that the newly liberated nations like our own and the socialist world find their due place in the Executive of the U.N.O. and in all its leading bodies.

U.S. military aid to Pakistan must be denounced as an unfriendly act of the U.S.A. towards our country and every effort must be made to rouse world public opinion against U.S. military build-up in Pakistan.

Our Party stands for the abolition of all foreign military bases.

Our Party demands that the Government take a firm stand against U.S. violations of the Geneva Agreements in regard to Indo-China, especially against the U.S. military build-up in South Vietnam.

The liberation of Goa and thereby the completion of the process of national independence must be effected without any further delay. To free several lakhs of our long-suffering brothers and sisters from savagery and violence of the Portuguese imperialists, armed action by the Government is fully justified. Indeed, it has become a pressing necessity. Our party is convinced that such a step will receive wide support throughout the freedom-loving world.

For the cause of world peace and the progress of our nation, friendship and co-operation with the socialist world and all other peace-loving nations is of utmost importance. Our Party stands for the strengthening and consolidation of this friendship.

For a Peaceful Settlement of India-China Border Dispute

Our Party has viewed with grave concern and distress the deterioration of the relation between our country and China—the two great countries between whom bonds of close friendship have always existed and who jointly proclaimed the historic Panch Shila.
We have made it clear that, in our opinion, the frontier of India in the Eastern Sector lies along what is known as the Mac-Mahon Line, that in the Western Sector it is the traditional frontier between the two countries that should be recognised and that the whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan forms a part of India. Our party has made it known time and again that it stands for the territorial integrity of the country. We reiterate these declarations.

We have always urged that this dispute between India and China should be settled through peaceful negotiations and this is in full accord with India's approach in regard to disputes among nations. Indeed, it redounds to the greatness of our nation that India adheres to this only correct approach for the solution of the problems which have arisen between India and China today. Our Party is confident that peaceful negotiations with China, which now need to be carried forward on a political basis and in which the country's territorial integrity and the cause of friendship between the two countries will naturally be given paramount importance will bear fruit and bring the present unhappy chapter to a close.

The Communist Party fervently hopes that the threads of negotiations will be picked up and efforts for a peaceful settlement continued, bearing in mind such vital political considerations as the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity, maintenance of world peace, struggle against colonialism. For the advance of all these noble objectives, the friendship and co-operation between the two great countries of the world—India and China—has become an imperative need of history.
6. Congress Democratic Party

Note:—The Congress Democratic Party which was an offshoot of the Indian National Congress was started in 1920 in Lahore. Immediately after its formation Shri Subhash Chandra Bose sent the following telegram to Mr. C.R. Das: “Circumstances and tyranny of majority forced us to form separate Party, as at Gaya, named Congress Democratic Party. Party spirit of Deshbandhu may guide us and your blessings may inspire us.”

In the official declaration of its policy, the Secretaries stated that:

“The new Party will, without prejudice to the Party’s objective of Complete Independence for India, endeavour to the best of its ability to co-operate as far as possible with the other parties in the country in such programmes, policies and activities as the party may accept for the purpose of attaining its objectives.”

Its leader Bal Gangadhar Tilak, before his death in his manifesto, emphatically declared that the Montagu Reforms were “inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing” and outlined the programme of his party as follows:

“This party (Congress Democratic Party) proposes to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is worth and for accelerating the grant of full Responsible Government, and for this purpose, it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular bill.”

The Tilak’s Programme of the manifesto given below explains further the aim and ideology of the Party.

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Documents:

Tilak’s Programme or Manifesto

“The Congress Democratic Party, as the name denotes, is a party animated by feelings of unswerving loyalty to the Congress and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratic doctrines for the solution of Indian problems, and regards the extension of education and political franchise as two of its best weapons. It advocates the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilities based on caste or custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one’s religion to oneself and the right and duty of the State to protect it against aggression. This party supports the claim of the Muslims for the solution of the Khilafat
question according to Muslim dogmas and beliefs and the tenets of the Koran.

"This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of mankind, but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a sister-State with every partner in British Commonwealth including Great Britain. It insists upon equal citizenship for Indians throughout the Commonwealth and effective relation whenever it is denied. It welcomes the League of Nations as an instrument for enforcing the peace of the world, the integrity of States, the freedom and honour of nations and nationalities, and for ending the exploitation of one country by another.

"This party emphatically asserts the fitness of India for Representative and Responsible Government and claims for the people of India on the principle of self-determination, the exclusive right of fashioning the form of government and determining the most appropriate constitution for India. It regards the Montagu Reforms Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and will strive to remedy the defect by introducing, with the aid of the members of the Labour Party and other sympathisers in the British Parliament, at the earliest opportunity, a new Reform Bill for establishing full Responsible Government in India, including full military control and full fiscal freedom, and an exhaustive Declaration of Rights with constitutional guarantees. To achieve this objects, it contemplates and recommends a resolute and energetic campaign in India and in the countries represented on the League of Nations. In this matter the party's watchword will be 'Educate, Agitate and Organize.'

"This party proposes to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is worth and for accelerating the grant of full Responsible Government and for this purpose it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to constitutional opposition, whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will.

"Apart from the foregoing aims and principles, the party platform will contain the following planks, but it does not profess to be exhaustive:

Imperial

1. Repeal of all repressive legislation e.g. (Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, the Arms Act, etc.,) the introduction of trial by Jury of one's own countrymen, especially in cases of offences against the State; the abolition of rigorous imprisonment for such offences, and jail reform with a
view to placing offenders of all classes on a par with similar offenders in Great Britain.

2. Securing for the labouring classes agricultural and industrial a fair share of the fruits of labour, a minimum wage, relationship between capital and labour on equitable basis, and promoting organisations suitable for the purpose.

3. Control of the export of foodstuffs and other necessaries of life by tariff or by other methods, with a view to reducing the prices thereof and conserving supplies.

4. Promotion of Swadeshism and development of industries by all recognised methods, including State subsidies and protective tariff.

5. Nationalisation of railways and regulation of railway tariffs by legislation, with a view to assist industrial development and to abolish privileges and favouritism in their working.

6. Retrenchment first and foremost in every department, especially in the Military expenditure, and taxation when imperative or desirable, but taxation graduated according to the capacity of various classes, corporations or individuals, so that the burden may be proportionate to the means or wealth of the tax-payers.

7. Creation of a Citizen Army, officered by Indians; naval aerial and military education; Commissions for Indians in all Military services without racial discrimination.

8. Recruitment of all services by open competitive examination in India.

9. Promotion of national unity by such means of as the establishment of a *lingua franca* for all India, betterment of relations between followers of different religions, and especially a Hindu-Muslim Entente.

10. Re-adjustment of Provinces on linguistic basis.

**Provincial**

1. Immediately securing full popular autonomy for the Provinces.

2. Permanent Ryotwari settlement on the basis of an equitable assessment.

3. Village control over reserved and protected forests in regard to pasturage, fuel, dealwood, and sue of minor products.

4. Absolute prohibition of *Veth, Begar* and *Sarbarai*. 
5. Education through the vernacular as high as possible.
6. Free and compulsory education without distinction of sex, special contributions and increased grants in aid from State funds to Municipalities and Local Boards to carry out this object immediately.
7. Restoration of Village Panchayats with administrative and judicial powers.
8. Abolition of drink.
9. Extension of the franchise without sex distinction.
10. Sanitation upon a systematic basis under a Minister of Health.
11. Carrying out of departmental reforms already enunciated and approved by popular opinion, e.g., agricultural development, extension of irrigation, the co-operative movement, industrial and technical education suitable to the needs of the country, organised medical relief, and encouragement to indigenous system of medicine.

"Under this programme, the party appeals for votes and support for candidates pledged to these principles, with the fullest confidence of receiving an enthusiastic response so as to ensure victories in the coming election battles."

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7. Forward Bloc

Note: Like the Swarajist Party, the Liberal Party and the Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc too was an offshoot of the parent body, Indian National Congress. Shortly after, Subhash Chandra Bose, now known as "Netaji" resigned as President at the Calcutta A. I. C. C. meeting in April 1939, he started a new party which he named as the "Forward Bloc." This party was the fulfilment of his long desire of organizing a political Bloc to implement his own programme for the achievement of India's freedom. He organized this party "To serve as a common platform for all the left elements inside the Congress."

The programme of the Forward Bloc was believed to be to eliminate Gandhian mysticism from Indian politics. Its founder believed that it was a historical necessity. He argued that in effect it was an 'antithesis' of action and advance against the 'thesis' of Gandhian inaction and stagnation.

The Congress High Command disqualified Subhash Chandra Bose from August 1939, as the President of the Bengal Provincial Congress and from membership of every elective Congress Committee for three years.
Shri Bose suddenly disappeared from his home in Calcutta in the early hours of January 17th, 1941. After having visited Kabul, Rome, Berlin and other places in Europe he arrived in South-East Asia, and took charge of the Indian Independence Movement on the 4th of July, 1943. Soon after he assumed supreme command of the Indian National Army* at Singapore on 5th July he first uttered his famous battle-cry, “CHALO DELHI”. On the 21st October, 1943, the Provisional Government of Azad Hind was formed.

According to the Netaji Inquiry Committee report published by the Government of India in 1956, Subhas Chandra Bose was killed in an Air Crash on 16th August, 1945, in Taihoku, near Formosa.

Below is given text of the Manifesto of the Forward Bloc for detailed study.

Documents:

Forward Bloc and Its Ideology**

Our critics, opponents and enemies have gone about telling that ours is a party of malcontents and disgruntled and is not wedded to any clear cut ideology and programme of our own. We are dubbed as a band of extreme nationalist Boasts social fascists and even fifth columnists. We do not bother much about what our enemies have to say against us. But it is our task to educate the unwary critics and our people whom we have served with our lives and aspire to serve on the lines of our ideology and programme.

We and our party have not fought and suffered heavily during the past years of stress and storm only for nothing. We shall refuse to speak for ourselves if our past does not do so. We do not mind very much being called extreme nationalist for we believe with Lenin that Socialism in a colonial country is nothing if it is not an imperialism out and out. As for being called Boasts we say we are proud of the same. And the word Fascist has become a fashionable term of the day. Thanks to the Stalinists and Royists in India Fascist is one who does not agree with them. But fascism is a sociological phenomenon and it is to be unjust to science to tear it away from its scientific and sociological definition. Fascism is the social expression of decadent Capitalism and imperialism when it

*For details please see under Indian National Army.
throws bourgeois democracy to the winds and resorts to medieval barbarism with a view to maintain its existence. How can those be fascists who are fighting with their life one of the oldest and the most decadent and ruthless imperialists in the world and its native allies and satellites? How could they be fascists who are fighting against the authoritarianism of their own countrymen? And how could they be fascists who are wedded to the establishment of a Socialist state in India striving to install the peasants at the helm of affairs all over?

Then there are others who contend that the role of the Forward Bloc is played with the launching of the “Quit India” fight by the Congress and that it should be liquidated now. Our reply to them is:—Do they believe that India has achieved freedom, democracy and socialism as a result of the “Quit India Fight”? Or is not the old history being repeated on a higher scale: people’s fight being abandoned and replaced by a Parliamentary programme, same authoritarianism being introduced into the Congress democracy and that too during a period when India with the rest of the world has entered into a new and unprecedented revolutionary epoch, where a new upsurge filled with new revolutionary explosives is seething and stirring the whole people including the Army, the Navy and the Air Force and the objective conditions are getting riper than ever for the next Indian Revolution.

India along with the rest of world is again at the crossroad of history. The second imperialist War, the greatest war yet known to history after six years of unprecedented carnage, wanton destruction and death is ever leaving behind a trail of sorrow and anguish in every heart and the sinister message of atomic bombs and cosmic rays. There are the Stalinists of the so-called Communist Party of India who said that with the termination of the war which according to them was a just and people’s war our nights of sorrows and sufferings were gone and we ushered in the dawn of a freer and happier world. Having followed patiently the whole trend of their arguments along with the march of events we are constrained to say that the war was not and out an imperialist one in all its vital contents and has gone leaving room for yet another war of the nature still deadlier and more ghastly than the one just over. The fundamental causes of the war were the same wild race to save the decaying and dying capitalism by resorting to predatory redivision of the enslaved portion of the earth among the various fascists and imperialist pirates and gangsters (Now Stalin himself has admitted his fact in his recent Eve of Election speech). The war has ended today more or less in the same manner
as the first world war and capitalism and imperialism which are at
the root of all modern wars are not yet destroyed and a great
portion of human population is still languishing in serfdom and
oppression as ever.

Our motherland remains the same vast prison house of
imperialism chafing under all sufferings-indignities and humiliations
aggravated hundredfold by the war. All professions for fight for
freedom and democracy are thrown to the winds. A mad race for
imperialist domination and exploitation is going on unmasked in
Europe, Asia and Africa. Newer subtler and deadlier weapons of
enslavement and oppression are being forged in the armoury of the
gasping imperialism. We must look straight in the face of facts
and recognise, that the existence of imperialism in its present
phase means ceaseless death for us all the dispossessed and dis-
herited people on the earth. The present social structure based
on Capitalism and Imperialism which in the present conditions can
only exist as Fascism whether in Berlin and Tokyo or Washington
and London has more than outlived not only its growth but life
itself.

But imperialism particularly the British though alive appa-
rently victorious has come out of the fire much more shattered than
ever. Its internal contradictions and crisis have accentuated and
sharpened beyond measure. It is obviously standing on its last
legs. Everywhere in the world the oppressed people are stirring
and are on their march. Happenings in Indonesia and Egypt
places like Calcutta and elsewhere point as to which way the
revolutionary wind is blowing.

Completely new revolutionary situations have arisen in India
and elsewhere in the post-war period. In our country the August
revolution and the I.N.A. have wonderfully prepared the revolutio-
ary soil. The Indian Army was so long a close preserve of imperialism
completely isolated from the people and their aspirations. Thanks
to the War and the I.N.A. coupled with disillusionment coming
with the prospect of demobilization the ring of isolation is broken
and the Indian Armed Forces have come very near the patriotic
aspirations of the Indian people. Refusal of a section of the Indian
troops to fight against the Indonesians and the revolt of the brave
boys of the R.I.N. and R.I.A.F. in Bombay, Karachi and elsewhere
mark another landmark in the new revolutionary epoch. Objectively
the revolution is making unthinkable strides. What is wanting is the
subjective preparedness of the people and the leadership and the
revolutionary vanguard without which no revolution can ever
succeed.
The war has ended not in its true sense but just in the way of an armed truce. And a storm in the international arena is again brewing. Existence of decadent Capitalism and imperialism at this stage means perpetual War, permanent war and in the words of Netaji if the oppressed people of the world are not liberated the world war No. 3 is bound to break out within ten years of the end of this war if not earlier.

India, particularly its dispossessed masses, the toilers in the fields and factories are facing an economic blast of unprecedented character in the post-war period. A famine is again staring them in the face. Five millions of war workers and two millions of soldiers of the Indian Army are face to face with retrenchment and demobilization. In them lie the explosives of the coming revolution. Post-war periods have been breeders of revolution and national struggles in the past.

It is actually only now that an epoch of a true people's war has set in all over the world. We are standing on the threshold of great and mighty events both in the National and International spheres of our life. And our National front has an added significance in as much as we hold the world freedom in our hands. India freed means the world saved, so said our Netaji once as the President of the Nagpur session of the All India Forward Bloc. Once we liberate four hundred million people, one-fifth of the entire population of the globe with a hoary and magnificent civilisation at their back, from the imperialist prison we at once shatter the biggest and the most conservative citadel of imperialism which has been the bulwark of the world reaction during the past two centuries. And the end of this imperialism will soon spell the death knell of world imperialism, now tottering and standing on its last legs. Any amount of atomic bombs and cosmic rays will not save it then from its doom. These weapons only expose the progressive hollowness of the system for whose defence they are made.

At such a time a meeting of the Members of the Forward Bloc still under ban from all over India was held at Jabalpur in February last where the question of the ideology and programme of the party was discussed threadbare and ultimately a decision of far reaching importance was taken which reiterates that "Forward Bloc is a Socialist Party accepting the theory of class struggle in its fullest implications and a programme of revolutionary mass action for the final attainment of socialism leading to a classless society."

Ours is now the colossal task of guarding the Indian revolution against possible bourgeois treachery on the one side and social
opportunism on the other and leading it successfully to its supreme destiny.

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Manifesto* (March 1940)

The following is the full text of the historic resolution on War and National Struggle pased by the Anti-Compromise Conference held under the presidentship of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose at Ramgarh (Bihar) in March 1940:

1. The conference affirms the inalienable and indefensible rights of the Indian people to complete sovereign independence. The glorious past, the immense natural resources and the vast and varied population of India entitle her to the position of a great and powerful modern state armed with an Army, Navy and Air Force and standing for the highest ideals of humanity viz., democracy and socialism.

On the banks of the Ravi on the first day of the memorable year 1930 the Indian people through their mouthpiece the Indian National Congress solemnly resolved for the first time that complete Independence was to be their political objective. In a resolution that has since become historic not only was it declared that freedom was the inalienable right of every nation but the all round ruin that had overtaken India as a result of foreign subjugation was also described in clear details. Since then the fight for freedom has been waged with redoubled vigour and intensity though there have been intervening periods of slackness and pause. Since the suspension of the last Civil Disobedience Movement in 1933 while on the one side there has been a drift towards constitutionalism there has appeared on the other side an unexpected and unprecedented mass awakening. Organised masses of Kisans and Mazdoors and youths and students besides the people of the Indian states are as a result more politically conscious today than ever before. The idea has now filtered down into the poorest strata of our society that freedom alone can bring bread and that the masses of India must first achieve their political liberation if they want to rid themselves of poverty and unemployment.

The Indian people are, therefore, hungry for freedom today and the objective conditions are also ripe for the attainment of their

political objective. The outbreak of war in Europe has served to expose thoroughly the hypocrisy under which British imperialism has been masquerading so far while the ideals of freedom and democracy have been trumpeted by the Western Imperialist powers as their war aims the war has meant for India further suppression of civil liberty, ruthless exploitation of the people of both British India and the States leading to further taxation of the people at large and acute distress of the already poverty-stricken Kisans and Mazdoors. Moreover, war conditions have brought about a closer association between British imperialism and its Allies viz., the rulers of Indian States and the big Landlords and the big capitalists in this country. This has resulted in further sharpening of class consciousness and it appears inevitable that with the prolongation of the war this process will continue.

In view of the Indian people the present war between Great Britain and France on the one side and Germany on the other is an imperialist war one of the objects of which is to retain for the western imperialist Power the illgotten gains of the Treaty of Versailles. India has already condemned the action of the British Government in declaring her as belligerent power on the side of Great Britain without the consent of the Indian people. The attitude of the Indian people towards an imperialist war was reaffirmed by the Indian National Congress for the last time in the now famous War Resolutions adopted by that body at its annual session at Haripura in February, 1938.

Judging from our experience of the Great War and also from present day conditions it appears inevitable that as the days roll by civil liberty will be suppressed more and that arrest, imprisonment, internment, externment and similar persecution will continue in an intensified form. It is equally certain that the screw of economic exploitation will be tightened considerably in future. The rise in prices, the increase in railway fare and freight and the imposition of an excise duty on sugar have already given us a foretaste of what is to follow. There is no doubt that the accentuation of the repressive policy of the British Government and the aggravation of poverty and unemployment in future due to increasingly ruthless exploitation will serve to stimulate further the hunger of the Indian masses for political freedom.

While the Haripura session of the Congress in 1938 instructed the Indian nation as to its duty when a war broke out, again the Tripuri session of Congress held in March 1939 reaffirmed the national demand and called upon the people to take adequate
steps to prepare the country for a national struggle for winning Independence. Unfortunately for the Indian nation when the war started in September 1939 doubt and hesitation seized a section of our national leadership. As a consequence valuable months have been lost in carrying on useless negotiation with the British Government and in seeking a clarification of British war aims. Though the Congress Ministries resigned in October 1939 following the unsatisfactory pronouncement of His Excellency the Viceroy no forward step has been taken by the Congress Working Committee since then. On the contrary the steps that they have taken can only serve to confuse and bewilder the mind of the ordinary man. The emphasis once again laid on spinning and constructive work as a political weapon for achieving Independence call for condemnation. Moreover the presentation of a new demand by the Congress Working Committee in the form of a fake constituent assembly as a substitute for the original demand for Purna Swaraj is a dangerous political stratagem calculated to divert men's minds from the path of struggle. The Constituent Assembly as envisaged in previous resolutions of the Congress was not meant to be a constituent assembly under the aegis of the British Government and on the basis of separate electorates and the existing franchise. This conference respectfully warns the Indian people not to be misled or confused by the demand for a fake constituent assembly.

Owing to the mishandling of the political situation by the Congress Working Committee and the wrong moves adopted by it during the last twelve months there is confusion, doubt and hesitation in the minds of many people as to our immediate task. But the situation has to be retrieved at any cost and can be retrieved only if all lovers of freedom stand up boldly and courageously for the ideals of political, social and economic emancipation and line up with all those who will fight for these ideals. Though it may be natural for many people to feel bewildered when faced with such an unprecedented situation and therefore to hesitate and vacillate it would be suicidal to fall a victim to such weakness. The people must, therefore, launch a counter offensive against the imposition of new burdens for prosecuting the war and must also come forward to identify themselves with the toiling masses of Indian Kisans and Mazdoors and join them in the struggle for their economic demands. They must also declare their solidarity with the people of the Indian States who have been carrying on a fight for civil liberty and representative government in their respective areas and actively assist them to the best of their ability. To crown everything we must rally all the anti-imperialist, radical and progressive forces in the
country under a common banner, the banner of liberty and under a common slogan, the slogan of "Freedom and Bread" and resume our march towards the goal of liberty. We have waited long enough for nearly seven months for the timely lead in the matter from the Congress leadership and to no purpose and we find from experience that the longer we wait the greater is the vacillation and the demoralisation in our own ranks. Consequently no further time should be lost.

It is a matter for pride and gratification that during the last six months struggles on various issues like war policy, Kisan and workers' demands, civil liberty etc., have been going on in various parts of the country. Day after day political workers in many provinces have been arrested and imprisoned in this connection and their total number today is by no means small. The time has come to intensify local struggles that have been going on and to start new ones wherever necessary and possible. At the same time these innumerable local struggles should be linked up and pooled together to culminate in one common struggle for the achievement of India's Independence. It is also necessary that politically conscious groups in different parts of the country should merge all their efforts in one common endeavour to emancipate their country. The sixth of April next, the beginning of the national week should be signal for the intensification of local struggles and the commencement of a struggle on an all-India front. This should symbolize the resolve of the Indian people to withdraw themselves from forcible participation in the war and to make the final effort for the achievement of Indian independence. Once this struggle begins there should be no rest and no break, no Chauri Chaura as in 1922 and no Delhi Pact as in 1931—nor should there be any side-tracking of the struggle as happened in 1932 when the Harijan movement was launched.

With a view to launching and directing the struggle this conference resolves to set up an All-India Council of Action and Sjt. Subhas Chandra Bose and Swami Sahajanand Saraswati are requested to take steps to bring this Council of Action into existence.

In conclusion, this conference appeals to the freedom-loving men and women of India to line up in the great struggle for liberty. Their difficulties will be manifold and their suffering immense. But the price of freedom has to be paid if they are to have it. Let them have confidence in themselves and in their national destiny and let them feel confident that India and the world stand today on the threshold of a new age—the age of freedom, democracy and socialism.
Manifesto (June, 1940)*

The following is the full text of the main resolution on national struggle passed by the Second Session of the All-India Forward Bloc held at Nagpur in the month of June 1940.

The All-India Conference of the Forward Bloc views with great concern the kaleidoscopic changes in the war situation in Europe which afford a very clear indication of coming events. In view of what is likely to happen in the immediate future no time should be lost in preparing the Forward Bloc and the country at large for the situation that will soon arise. It regrets that the Congress Working Committee on whom the masses of the Indian people have been accustomed to depend for light and guidance in every emergency does not show any initiative in the matter. The Forward Bloc would have been content to follow the Congress Working Committee if it had given adequate proof of the required leadership. But since that is not forthcoming the Forward Bloc is convinced that in the present emergency it has a definite role to play in leading the Indian people along the path that will bring Purna Swaraj, at an early date the situation that will arise in Great Britain in the near future may lead to transference of power to the Indian people. But it is more probable that the British Government will endeavour to retain its hold over India and even attempt to tighten it in the event of a tragedy overtaking Great Britain. In the latter case the Indian people will be called upon to exert themselves to the utmost for capturing power. And in either case they will have to do everything necessary for preserving their independence when they get it.

For the conquest of power a national effort and a national struggle will be indispensable. Without it the requisite atmosphere will be lacking and even if the Indian people happen to win Purna Swaraj by some change they will not be able to retain it.

In order to retain the independence they will win national unity will be essential. National unity will also be needed to a very large extent if they have to achieve Purna Swaraj through their own efforts.

The Forward Bloc respectfully differs from Mahatma Gandhi in his division of the Indian people into Congress and non-Congress parties. It believes on the contrary that the time has come when the Congress should regard itself as the trustee of the nation and should think and act in terms of the whole nation. The time has also come

when old party divisions should be broken down and there should be broadly speaking two parties in the country viz., those who are against British Imperialism and those who are for it.Unless the Congress can act in the present crisis as the trustee of the nation and as the spearhead of the anti-imperialist forces in the country it will fail in its mission and in its historical role. When the Congress fails the Forward Bloc has to come forward and fulfil that role.

This conference, therefore, resolves that in order to win independence for India as soon as possible and in order to preserve it the following steps be taken:

1) The struggle launched at Ramgarh be intensified locally and further widened in its scope under the slogan “All power to the Indian people”.

2) Steps be taken to promote and develop national unity on as many fronts and in as many directions possible.

3) Steps be taken to organise a Citizen’s defence corps on a non-party basis and independently of the government for maintaining harmony and solidarity among the Indian people themselves during the transitional period.

4) Measures be adopted for forming Panchayat in every locality beginning from the village right up to the centre to function as organs of struggle and later on as organs of administration.

5) The All-India Working Committee of the Forward Bloc is empowered to take all steps necessary to meet any emergency or unforeseen circumstance that may arise in future either in connection with the capture of power or the preservation of Indian independence when it is won.

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Manifesto of the Forward Bloc*

(As amended and clarified by the Working Committee of the All-India Forward Bloc in its session held in Bombay on the 10th June 1946).

The post-war world has been caught in a whirlpool of upheavals and revolutions. The political and social basis of a vast section of mankind is changing.

In India itself a situation fraught with a revolutionary possibilities faces us. The India of 1946 is a country which has awakened

to its historical role of smashing imperialism and ushering in a new era of freedom, democracy and socialism. India stands at the crossroads of history. With correct lead the country can march along the road of revolutionary glory and heroic achievement or else take the wrong path and get lost in the labyrinth of metaphysical and pseudoreligious shibboleth and perpetuation of slavery.

At such a stage of the Indian History the Forward Bloc sounds its clarion call to all progressive, radical and uncompromising anti-imperialist elements in the country at large and in the Congress in particular to gather together under the steadfast banner of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose and in an organised planned manner lead the Indian revolution.

The Forward Bloc armed with a full-fledged revolutionary programme appeals to the workers and peasants, the intellectuals and the students, the men in the army, the Navy, the Air Force and the Police, to rally round the battle cry of Netaji—all power to the Indian People."

The Forward Bloc stands for achievement of Indian freedom by the Indian masses through their own might and not by grace of any power on earth however mighty.

The Forward Bloc stands for no compromise in its aim of immediate attainment of complete independence and condemns all attempts to involve the country into accepting Dominion Status by the front or back door. The Forward Bloc stands for an independent India in which exploitation of man by man will be removed.

The Forward Bloc is a Socialist Party accepting class struggle with its fullest implications which means that the seizure of power shall take place by the workers and peasants and that capitalism and landlordism along with the all remnants of feudalism shall be abolished and all means of production shall be nationalised.

The Forward Bloc is a Socialist Party accepting a revolutionary programme of mass action for the final attainment of complete independence of India and socialism leading to a classless society.

The Forward Bloc stands for undisguised and immediate preparation for the establishment of Azad Governments on the models of Stara Patri Sarkar, Midnapur, Balia and Bihar parallel governments established during 1942-45.

The Forward Bloc stands for the formation of Panchayat in villages and towns, fields and factories which will function as organ of struggle and seizure of power during the revolutionary epoch and as organ of administration when the power has been established.

The Forward Bloc stands for convening a constituent assembly but not a faked one on limited franchise which will install the
Indian vested interest as the legal administration of the land. The constituent Assembly shall be called under the auspices of Provincial National Government freely elected on the basis of Universal adult suffrage of both sexes which will draw up finally the constitution of a free India.

The Forward Bloc stands for rapid industrialisation and planned economy in the interests of the people themselves and under the aegis of a real toilers' government.

Independence and socialism mean nothing if they do not lead to the widest possible expansions of democracy in the life of the people.

The Forward Bloc stands for full cultural, linguistic and religious freedom of all sections of the people. The State as such shall have nothing to do with the church and religion shall remain a private affair of the individual.

The Forward Bloc stands for the freedom of press, freedom of thought, expression and association for all.

The Forward Bloc stands for complete equality of sexes.

The Forward Bloc stands for full opportunity being given for the growth and development of individual genius of every son and daughter of the soil in the service of the Indian society.

The Forward Bloc stands for the fundamental Rights of Man.
8. Hindu Mahasabha

Note: At the time when the Muslim League was pressing the demand for communal electorates, it was strongly opposed by some nationalist leaders. The eminent nationalists who felt the need of starting a Hindu organization in 1906 were Lala Lajpat Rai and Shri C. Y. Chintamani. Both of them pointed out the harmful effects of accepting the principle of separate communal electorate and of larger representation to minorities than their numerical strength warranted. They were supported by some of the patriotic Mohammedans also.

The main programme of the Hindu Mahasabha has been to promote Hindu solidarity and to work for the establishment of a Hindu Rashtra. It seeks to establish a democratic state in Hindustan based on the culture and traditions of the land.

Below are given a few important documents which summarize the aims and objectives of the Hindu Mahasabha.

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Documents:

Hindu Mahasabha and the Cabinet Mission Memorandum by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha to the Cabinet Mission, 14 April 1946*

As all sovereignty in respect of India vests in the Indian people, it is the right of the Indians to be fully and completely free like all the free people in the world.

It is only absolutely unfettered freedom that will enable India to be a front-line nation in the world, and to play her rightful role in the maintenance of world peace and world order. It is independence, coupled with India’s natural resources, man-power and strategic position in the geography of the world, that will enable her to hold the scales even between the West and the East. There are also several other considerations which require that India should be free from external obligations and control.

The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, urges that India should be fully free and independent, and that a declaration to that effect should be immediately made by the British Cabinet through the proper channel.

The Mahasabha is of the opinion that it is alliance on equal terms with, rather than membership of the British Commonwealth

of Nations, that will be in tune with the time-spirit, and will also prove beneficial to both in the long run.

**India's Integrity and Indivisibility**

Be the modes of living and worship of the Indian people what they may, there can be no doubt that geographically, historically, ethnologically, politically, and even culturally India is one whole and indivisible, and it must remain so in future. This integrity and indivisibility must be maintained, whatever the cost and sacrifice be.

No community in India can rightfully claim to constitute a nation, much less a sovereign nation, with a separate homeland of its own. Partition of India into two or more sovereign nations under any guise or disguise will be economically unsound and disastrous, and politically unwise and suicidal.

**Territorial Self-Determination**

The Hindu Mahasabha is opposed to the new-fangled principle of territorial self-determination, as in theory it is vicious and in practice will prove more dangerous than Pakistan itself.

**Indian Union**

India's Constitution should be of a federal type with the Indian Union at the Centre and the Provinces as its federating units.

The Constitution should leave no room for any Province or an Indian State not to accede to the said Union or to secede therefrom.

**Provincial Autonomy and Residuary Powers**

The Constitution should provide for the grant of the utmost possible measure of autonomy to the federating units, but with the residue of powers vested in the Centre.

The Union Government should have the power of superintendence and control in cases where the federating units go wrong in respect of national policy or interest and should be strong to exercise this power effectively.

**Rule of Majority**

The Constitution should contain no provision which will tend, directly or indirectly, to reduce a majority into minority by the
grant of special concessions to minorities, such as weightage, excessive representation, parity and so forth. The governing principle of the Constitution should be democracy, which means the rule of majority. The so-called 'party of representation' should not be recognized even with joint electorates, as it would amount to penalizing the Hindus for no fault of theirs but for the mere reason that they constitute a majority.

The Constitution shall guarantee adequate safeguards for the protection of religion, culture and language for all, including minorities.

**Joint Electorate and Adult Franchise**

The representation both in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures should be on the principle of adult franchise and one man one vote.

The electorate should be joint with reservation of seats for minorities according to the population basis, wherever necessary.

The Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that it will be highly imprudent to frame India’s Constitution of principles other than those as envisaged above, as such a Constitution will not fail to be a perennial source of political irritation and strife.

**Interim Government**

An Interim Central Government should be formed immediately composed of representatives of the political parties willing to shoulder responsibility. The formation of such a Government should not be delayed on the plea of non-co-operation on the part of any particular party. During the period of transition, the Viceroy will act as the constitutional head and will not exercise his power of veto.

There should take place complete transfer of power and authority provide adequate facilities to the Constituent Assembly to carry on its work without let or hindrance.

**Constituent Assembly**

The Constituent Assembly will consist of representatives of all political parties in proportion to their voting strength as shown in the last elections.
The Constituent Assembly will be the sovereign body which will decide the terms of treaty with Great Britain.

The Constituent Assembly will decide all matters by majority vote, and the decisions so taken should be binding on all.

The Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly will be the Constitution of India.

These are broadly the main principles which the Hindu Mahasabha stands far in so far as India's Constitution is concerned.

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Resolution of the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha on the Cabinet Mission Plan, 16 June, 1946

The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha notes that the fundamental principle of the Hindu Mahasabha, viz., the unity and integrity of India has been accepted only in theory by the Cabinet Mission by their proposal for the formation of Indian Union and by their rejection of Pakistan. But the committee regrets that in practice it is whittled down and the apprehension of the communal domination of the Muslims has been exaggerated and the apprehension of the minority in the Muslim majority areas has been totally ignored.

The Mahasabha has opposed Pakistan or the partition of India into two entire sovereign States not on sectional or communal grounds but because with the Cabinet Mission's proposal it will be too weak to put its full weight in the international world.

The Committee reiterates the demand for the formation of a strong Central Government to check and control the disruptive forces in the Indian body politic and to pool all national resources for effective planning in order to prevent the economic exploitation of the poor masses. World security is linked up with the building up and maintenance of a really truncated Centre and a hybrid Constitution based on artificial grouping of Provinces with residuary powers vested in them. These Provinces will then be in a position to put up tariff walls and to clog the progress of India in the social and economic fields. In order to make effective any large-scale economic and administrative planning and prevent the disintegration of India (after the withdrawal of British power from India) it is essential that the Centre should be strong enough and should be clothed with constitutional authority to deal effectively with Customs, Tariff, Currency, Banking and other subjects and should have auth-
ority to intervene in cases of minority oppression or inter-provincial deadlock and to co-ordinate all-India resources to fight famine and pestilence emergency.

The Mahasabha cannot accept any Constitution which negatives in actual practice the salutary principle of India's integrity. It stands for an indissoluble Union of Provinces which may be reconstituted on cultural and linguistic basis. The dominant idea behind the Cabinet Mission's scheme is to appease the Muslim League to the detriment of all other Minorities.

The Mahasabha is opposed to a complicated machinery which seeks to set up a three-decker Constitution and which will place the Hindus of the Punjab, Bengal, Assam, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province as well as the entire Sikh community at the mercy of the Pakistanis and which will not provide any acceptable solution of the communal problem.

We oppose the proposal because the Hindu community as such has no existence in the political picture presented by the Mission and has been lumped together with others under the misleading category of 'General.'

The Working Committee demands that the artificial system of grouping and sub-federation should be withdrawn. The Constitution should be framed on the recognition of the principle of the sovereignty of the people. There should be one Constituent Assembly which will frame the Constitution for the Indian Union and also for the constituent Provinces. We are opposed to introduction of the principle of regionalism based on communalism and to the grant of residuary powers to the Provinces. The Mahasabha is also opposed to the pernicious principle of parity in any shape or form.

The Committee appreciates that one of the principles for which the Hindu Mahasabha stood, viz., representation on the basis of population strength, has been recognized by the Cabinet Mission in the constitution of the Constituent Assembly which is based on the principle of one representative for one million people. But by allowing the European members of the Bengal and Assam Legislative Assembly to vote for the Constituent Assembly the quota of Hindu members to the Constituent Assembly from these Legislatures will be deprived of their legitimate right of representation according to their population.

The Hindu Mahasabha demands that the sovereign status of the Constituent Assembly should be recognized so that Indians may frame a Constitution for themselves. The majority must not be
allowed to veto the progress of the majority or to retard the building up of a healthy, self-sufficient and prosperous India.

The Mahasabha demands that consistent with the principle of representation on the basis of population strength which has been recognized by the Cabinet Mission in the constitution of the Constituent Assembly the Interim Government must be based on the ratio of population.

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Extracts from Election Manifesto (1952)*

The Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha is approaching the electorate for the first general elections after the transference of power of truncated Bharat by the British to Indian hands. The Hindu Mahasabha has been rendering services to the country for over three decades under the able guidance of illustrious patriots like Lala Rajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Devataswaroop Bhai Parmannand, Dr. B. S. Moonje and Veer V. D. Savarkar, whose lead at every critical stage to the country proved to be correct. The followers of the Hindu Mahasabha have always rushed to the defence, of life, honour and property of Hindus, wherever endangered by Muslim goondaisn with the support or connivance of the ruling power. It was Hindu Mahasabha alone which consistently resisted the policy of Muslim appeasement followed by the Congress to reduce Hindu influence and power as evidenced by the Agreement for communal electorates, Communal Award and the partition of the country.

The Congress Governments at the Centre and in the Provinces have been persecuting the Hindu Mahasabha simply because it had the courage to differ from the Congress ideals and preach its own. But in spite of this persecution by the Congress, Hindu Mahasabha has been functioning as a political body and now Hindu Mahasabha approaches the country with a clear cut ideology and definite political and economic programme for securing the verdict of the electorate.

What Hindu Mahasabha has done?

Some of the services rendered by the Hindu Mahasabha during the last 30 years are detailed below;

*Text supplied by the Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha Party Office, New Delhi.
1. It was only Hindu Mahasabha which created Hindu consciousness in the country, which had lost its national soul by running after the mirage of the pseudo-nationalism propagated by the Indian National Congress and other bodies.

2. It was only Hindu Mahasabha which undertook gigantic task of organising the different sections of Hindu Nation into one organic whole by undertaking such movements as removal of untouchability and reclamation of the lost millions to its fold. A special mention of the Shuddhi movement on mass scale conducted amongst Malkana Rajputs, Goa converts, cobbler in many districts of Bengal and forcibly converted Hindus in all riots, starting with the Moplah riots, in Malabar, may be made here.

3. After the introduction of Montford Reforms, a series of riots by Muslims occurred all over India and Hindu Mahasabha was the only organisation which came forward to defend Hindus in all those riots including those of Kohat, Multan, Saharanpur, Nagpur, Calcutta, Dacca, Bombay, Kanpur, Delhi and many other places. Riots immediately before and after the partition were more or less of the nature of a civil war.

4. Under the leadership of Hindu Mahasabha, big campaigns of Civil Resistance involving imprisonment and other sufferings were conducted on a very large scale. Bhavnagar Civil Resistance in Hyderabad State, the Bhagalpur struggle, Patuakhali Movement in Bengal and the direct action movement in U.P. on the 1st of August 1947 deserve special mention.

5. The Hindu Mahasabha has always risen to the occasion whenever any national crisis arose and undertook humanitarian activities during floods, famine and earthquakes. The relief given by the Hindu Mahasabha during Bihar earthquake and during the famine in Bengal in 1943 deserve special mention. But for the work of the Hindu Mahasabha, millions would have died of starvation in Bengal in 1943.

6. It was only Hindu Mahasabha which called upon the Hindus not to boycott the census as directed by the Congress in 1931 and 1941. Hindus in India and specially in Bengal and the Punjab suffered greatly on account of this boycott in 1931 as the figures in this census were utilised for assigning seats to the Muslims in the Com-
munal Award. Because the Hindus followed the lead given by Hindu Mahasabha and cooperated in the census operation of 1941 in spite of its boycott preached by the Congress, many districts particularly in Bengal were saved from being included in Pakistan.

7. From Montford Reforms up to the negotiations carried on by the Cabinet Mission in 1946, it was only the Hindu Mahasabha which effectively championed the cause of nationalism while the Congress had been abjectly surrendering to the aggressive communalism. A special mention may be made here of the opposition given by the Hindu Mahasabha to the separation of Sind from the Bombay Presidency and granting of reforms to N.W.F. Province. The subsequent events have demonstrated that had the advice of Hindu Mahasabha been followed, Pakistan would not have come into existence.

8. It was only the Hindu Mahasabha which had the wisdom and foresight to give a call to the country to militarise its youth during the war period when the Congress was opposed to it.

9. The work done by the Hindu Mahasabha after the partition of the country in giving relief to and rehabilitating the refugees coming from Pakistan and the vigour with which it has championed the cause of uprooted millions is still fresh in the memory of the people. In the West Bengal, Hindu Mahasabha did its best to rehabilitate thousands of uprooted Hindu families.

Sins of Commission and Omission of the Congress

1. The vivisection of the country was a great betrayal and was the result of a conspiracy between the Congress, the Muslim League and the British Imperialism.

2. The unrealistic and theoretical approach in the sphere of foreign policy has left Bharat friendless in the whole world.

3. The Kashmir issue has been bungled by the Congress Government. The Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs admitted in a recent speech in Poona that reference to U.N.O. of the Kashmir issue was a mistake on the part of the Indian Government.

4. When other countries are arming themselves to the teeth and the situation may lead to a world war and Bharat's
relations with Pakistan are strained, reduction of the army by the Congress Government is endangering the defence of the country.

5. Colossal expenditure, disproportionate to Bharat’s financial resources is undertaken for Foreign Embassies and Trade Commissions.

6. The problem of resettlement of displaced persons has not been properly handled and in spite of pacts between the Congress Government and the Government of Pakistan and declarations made by responsible persons, immigrants who have left large areas of land and very valuable property worth crores of rupees on the other side of the border are faced with starvation here and the settlement of their claim is pending decision for want of a firm policy to deal with this question. The irony of fate is that many of these refugees have not been granted the right of citizenship in the land of their forefathers.

7. Controls of essential goods have not been properly handled but have given rise to nepotism and black market.

8. The vacillating and indecisive policy of the Congress Government in dealing with industry has alienated successfully both capital and labour. It has created a sense of insecurity in the minds of investors and has retarded the growth of industry.

9. Interference of Congress in day to day administration has led to inefficiency and corruption on a very large scale.

10. Government has not even attempted to improve the lot of the middle classes who have nearly reached the breaking point on account of rise in prices all round and growing unemployment among them. The middle class society including petty businessmen and small-scale industrialists has been hard hit by heavy taxation and is in a critical stage.

11. Costly and untimely experiments like prohibition in some states are instrumental in increasing the burden of taxation and have held up necessary development schemes.

12. In spite of the guarantee of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution freedom of expression, association and person has been seriously curtailed already and is in danger of further curtailment due to recent amendment of the Constitution.
13. Misconceived notions of secular democracy and composite culture have given fullest scope to Muslims to consolidate their position in the country to the detriment of the Nation. In spite of the great harm done to the country by its policy, starting from Khilafat Movement to the creation of an Islamic state in Hindustan the Congress is still continuing its game of Muslim appeasement and thereby creating fifth columnists and enemies inside our body politic.

14. The Congress Government has given another 15 years life to the foreign English language without adequate reasons.

15. Attempt by the Congress Government to pass Hindu Code Bill in spite of general protest against disruption of Hindu society is made.

**Ideology of Hindu Mahasabha**

The cardinal creed of the Hindu Mahasabha is loyalty to India's unity and integrity. Hindu Mahasabha is pledged to re-establish Akhand Hindustan by all constitutional means. The Indian National Congress, while agreeing to the partition of the country in a meeting of the A.I.C.C. held in June 1947 stated:—

"That the long course of India's history and traditions bear witness to the essential unity of India. Geography, the mountains and the Seas fashioned India as she is and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny. Economic circumstances and the insistent demands of International affairs make the unity of India still more necessary."

In spite of stating thus the Congress gave up the stand while the Hindu Mahasabha holds the unity of India as an article of faith.

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for establishment of a Hindu Raj in Bharat with a form of Government in accordance with Hindu conception of polity and economy. Hindu Mahasabha intends to develop Bharat as a National home for Hindus where the sublime qualities of Hindu ideology can find place for self-fulfilment.

The Hindus possess a characteristic outlook on life, a well defined cultural background, distinct historical traditions and are thus easily distinguishable from others. The misconceived notion of secular democracy cannot inspire the masses. It is the ideal of Hindu Rashtra alone which can make the people residing all over Bharat and speaking different tongues united in common purpose, strong in combined action and capable of making India a powerful nation.
Hindu Rashtravad is a dynamic and progressive conception capable of absorbing all modern scientific inventions and modern social and economic thoughts.

Programme

1. Amendment of the Constitution

(i) The present Constitution of India is borrowed from the constitutions of America, England, France and other Western countries and is not suited to the genius of the people. The Hindu Mahasabha would undertake the task of amending the Constitution so that it may be consonant with the tradition and culture of the land and make Bharat a truly democratic Hindu state.

(ii) The Hindu Mahasabha wants to discourage all separatist tendencies and hence would amend the Constitution so that Bharat may be a well knit homogeneous state with a strong centre and not loose combination of autonomous states. Bharat itself would be a State and the units would be Provinces and not States.

(iii) The Hindu Mahasabha believes in the policy of formation of Provinces on a linguistic basis and the readjustment of boundaries of the existing Provinces wherever necessary, with due regard to the problem of defence and security, the area, population and economic stability of the Province concerned and the rehabilitation of the refugees.

(iv) The constitution would be amended with a view to guarantee the fullest civil liberties to the citizens of Bharat. The amendments to the Constitution passed by the Parliament in the month of June 1951 would be repealed.

(v) The distinction between States as Parts A, B and C would be removed and all parts of India would enjoy the fullest democratic rights without any distinction.

2. Severance of Commonwealth Relations

The Hindu Mahasabha proposes to come out of the Commonwealth in order to make Bharat a really free Nation. It will enter into treaty relations with the United Kingdom and other countries for mutual help and co-operation.
3. Foreign Policy

India's foreign policy will be guided by the principle of enlightened self-interest and reciprocity. Hindu Mahasabha will adopt the policy of reciprocity towards Pakistan.

4. Defence

(i) The Hindu Mahasabha will endeavour to build up a strong defence in the present disturbed condition of the international situation and with this object in view, will develop the country as a first rate military power in order to make its voice felt in the United Nations Organisation.

(ii) The Hindu Mahasabha will make military education compulsory to all young men between the ages of 18 and 25 who are physically fit for it and special attention will be paid to develop industries connected with war machines and materials of all types. These would have priority.

(iii) The Hindu Mahasabha will relax rigours of Arms Act and issue licences liberally to the inhabitants in border areas.

5. Economic Programme

The Hindu Mahasabha does not believe in catch phrases and mere slogans in determining its economic policy. The Hindu Mahasabha recognises the sanctity of private property and guarantees its possession and inheritance to its owners.

A. Agricultural Policy

(i) Agriculture being the premier industry, it shall receive Hindu Mahasabha's first attention. The essence of the agricultural policy of Hindu Mahasabha will be to maximise production per acre as well as per man. All land reforms will be undertaken to meet the immediate need of developing production of foodstuffs in order to make Bharat self-sufficient and also to produce other raw materials for the growth of industry in Bharat.

(ii) The Hindu Mahasabha stands for ultimate ownership of the land by the State on behalf of the people.

(iii) As the Hindu Mahasabha considers that mere abolition of landlordism will not confer any solid and permanent benefit on the tillers of the soil, it plans to reconstruct
agriculture with minimum interference with agro-economic conditions.

(iv) The Hindu Mahasabha would interfere, with the proprietary interests of the land holders only when they neglect cultivation or allow useful land to remain fallow. Even in this case the Hindu Mahasabha would take over the rights to cultivate and not the ownership rights. In case it becomes absolutely essential to take over the proprietary rights, the Hindu Mahasabha assures them reasonable compensation.

(v) The Hindu Mahasabha plans to reconstruct agriculture so as to improve the living conditions of the tillers of the land throughout Bharat. It will afford full scope to them for development and progress. The steps for these improvements are given below:

(a) Legislation to ensure that the tillers of the land shall enjoy full fruits of their labour.

(b) Encouragement of co-operative farming;

(c) Adequate supply of good seed, fertilisers and mechanised implements for agricultural operations;

(d) Provision for loan and cheap credit;

(e) Establishment of agricultural finance corporations to subsidise agricultural and irrigation projects;

(f) Stoppage of fragmentation and consolidation of holdings to make them economical and steps to prevent erosion of the soil to step up production;

(g) Facilities for marketing produce;

(h) Improving stock of cows, bulls and other animals necessary for husbandry;

(i) Facilities for cottage industries to occupy the spare time of agriculturists; and

(j) Establishment of Research institutes to aid agriculture.

B. Industrial Policy

The Hindu Mahasabha cherishes to make India one of the foremost industrial countries of the world. To achieve such an objective it shall follow the following policy:

(i) All key industries such as electricity, railway, coal and steel mines and industries dealing with war materials and weapons will be owned and controlled by the State. The
remaining industries will remain open for private enterprise. In running these Industries the Mahasabha assures all investors full facilities to start new industries with State aid and partial exemption from taxation in the initial stages.

(ii) The Hindu Mahasabha will attempt to utilise all raw material and indigenous talent in every field to ensure utmost production.

(iii) The Hindu Mahasabha will strive for securing equitable distribution of profits between workers and entrepreneurs, without detriment to consumer's interests.

(iv) The Hindu Mahasabha guarantees to the workers security of employment and minimum wages for maintaining a decent standard of living.

(v) Cottage industries will be specially encouraged independently as well as a supplement to large-scale industries.

C. Controls

The Hindu Mahasabha will follow a policy of progressive de-control as it is convinced that controls without guaranteeing adequate supply of controlled commodities to the public have only a nuisance value and also often actually lead to blackmarketing and corruption. Definite schemes will be formulated for improving the supply of food, cloth and other necessities.

D. Middle Class Unemployment

The Hindu Mahasabha will endeavour to improve the lot of the middle classes and prevent unemployment amongst them. It will also formulate social insurance schemes for them.

E. Trade and Commerce

The Hindu Mahasabha shall guarantee maximum of freedom in trade and commerce and shall interfere only where the national interest so needs. The State shall have a monopoly over that sector of the foreign trade which deals with industries and services exclusively owned by the State.

F. Banking, Credit and Currency

Banking and credit will be effectively controlled by the State so as to direct more capital into real productive channels. Currency
and foreign exchange will be regulated purely in the national interests. The Hindu Mahasabha will not hesitate even to revise the value of the rupees to ensure financial stability and progress of the country.

G. Public Finance

The Hindu Mahasabha will endeavour to reduce the burden of taxation particularly on petty shopkeepers and small industrialists. Irksome taxes like sales tax will be abolished.

6. Refugee Problem

(i) The Hindu Mahasabha will give priority to rehabilitation of refugees and would even levy a special tax, if necessary, for the purpose.
(ii) The Hindu Mahasabha guarantees compensation to all evacuees who have lost their property in Pakistan and will settle the problem of evacuee properties at Government level speedily.
(iii) The Hindu Mahasabha also declares that the refugees will become fullfledged citizens of Bharat.
(iv) The Hindu Mahasabha will take effective steps to recover abducted women from Pakistan.

7. Minorities

The Hindu Mahasabha guarantees just and fair treatment to all the minorities residing in Bharat. All those minorities who will be loyal to India will enjoy the same rights as those enjoyed by the Hindu and will not be discriminated against in any sphere of national life. Special attention will be paid to the development of scheduled castes and tribes throughout Bharat.

8. Education

Primary education will be free and compulsory. Technical and agricultural education will be provided for to ensure development of industry and agriculture. Moral and religious education not sectarian but based on broad principles of Hindutwa will be imparted in all educational institutions and suitable arrangements for teaching Sanskrit in advanced schools will be made on a large scale.
9. Health

Special measures will be adopted to improve the health of the citizens and suitable measures will be taken to provide cheap medical aid to the poor and adulteration of food will be stopped by stern measures.

10. Economy in Administration

(i) Effective economy will be brought about in the administration by fixing minimum salaries and determining higher salaries according to the financial capacity of the country.

(ii) Corruption in the services will be put down with a strong hand.

(iii) Stern measures will be taken against blackmarketing, profiteering and smuggling.

11. Miscellaneous

(i) The Hindu Mahasabha will negotiate with Pakistan for possession and management of temples and Gurdwaras left over in Pakistan.

(ii) The Hindu Mahasabha will follow the same policy in regard to important temples e.g., Vishwanath in Benaras, Ram Jannabhoomi in Ayodhya and Shri Krishna in Saurashtra.

(iii) The Hindu Mahasabha will disintegrate Hyderabad state and attach the three linguistic areas to their adjoining areas in Bombay and Madras States. Bhopal will be merged in Madhya Bharat and other centrally administered areas in neighbouring provinces.

Appeal

In this first General Election to be held on the adult franchise basis the voters have to take a very serious view of the situation confronting the country. The country put implicit faith in the Congress for the last so many decades and the consequences have been disastrous. Even essential requirements like food, clothing and housing are hopelessly in short supply. The food situation is causing us continuous anxiety, clothing is getting scarce and in the matter of housing the position has not eased to any extent. More-
over unemployment is mounting up, the economic position is going
from bad to worse and corruption in administration getting rampant.
Our troubles with Pakistan are nowhere near solution while our
foreign policy has been so mishandled that it has created enemies
all over the world. If the mistake 'committed in 1945 is repeated
even this time doom awaits the country. Congress has the power
of the purse and authority. The Hindu Mahasabha appeals to the
electorate to withstand this power, power of the purse means
temptation and pressure of authority amounts to intimidation.
Fighting against both these evils is essential for true democracy.
The Socialists, the Communists and the Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party
do not differ fundamentally from the Congress in their approach to
the Hindu-Muslim problem and hence cannot deliver the goods.

The Hindu-Mahasabha believes that Hindus have a right to live
as Hindus and rule, legislate and govern themselves in accordance
with Hindu ideals. Hindu Rashtra has to be established and Hindu
ideology must have a homeland for its unfoldment. Let every
citizen help Hindu Mahasabha for the consummation of its lofty
ideas. In the past the people had ignored the mandate of the
Hindu Mahasabha with fatal consequences to the country. There
would have been no Pakistan today, if the people had sup-
ported the policy and programme of the Hindu Mahasabha. Since
1942 Hindu Mahasabha leaders had warned the people against the
inevitable partition of the country if the Congress policy continued
to receive popular support; but for the various reasons the warning
did not evoke the desired response.

The Hindu Mahasabha is not wedded to any ism. It does not
believe that classless society is ever possible. So long as society is
based on division of labour, existence of classes with varying interest
is inevitable.

The Hindu Mahasabha does not believe in class war. It believes
in national coordination of class interests to the mutual benefit
of all.

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Extracts from Amended Constitution of the Hindu Mahasabha*

*Amended according to Calcutta Resolutions of 1949 and passed at the
special meetings of the Akhil Bharat Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at New
Delhi and Nagpur on 2 April and 7 May 1950.*
(1) The Association shall be called the Hindu Mahasabha. Its jurisdiction extends over the whole of ‘Bharat’.

(2) The aim of the Hindu Mahasabha is the protection and promotion of all that contributes to the advancement, strength and glory of the Hindu Rashtra, Hindu culture and Hindu polity and as a means to that end, to achieve Hindu Raj and re-establish the integrity of the ‘Bharat’ State by constitutional means.

(3) The objects of the Hindu Mahasabha are:—

(i) To establish Akhand Bharat;

(ii) To establish a really democratic State in Bharat based on the culture and tradition of the land;

(iii) To organise and consolidate all sections of the people into one organic whole;

(iv) To establish a social order in which all the nationals will enjoy equal rights and opportunities and share equal responsibilities;

(v) To assure to each national, dignity of human values, full freedom of thought, expression, association and worship;

(vi) To revive and promote ancient Indian ideals of plain living and high thinking and the glorious ideals of Aryan womanhood;

(vii) To make ‘Bharat’ politically, economically and materially strong and self-reliant;

(viii) To remove all forms of social inequalities and disabilities.

(ix) To remove gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth and to assure decent standard of living to each national and to secure to the workers and peasants their rightful share in the economy of the country;

(x) To industrialize the country as rapidly as possible;

(xi) To reclaim all those who have left the Hindu fold and welcome others into it;
(xii) To promote cow-protection and to stop cow-killing;
(xiii) To establish Sanskrit Nistha Hindi as the national language and Devanagari as the National Script;
(xiv) To cultivate friendly relations with other nations with a view to maintain international peace and progress; and
(xv) To lay down from time to time suitable programmes with a view to accomplish as soon as possible the above subjects.

_Election Manifesto, 1962*

The All India Hindu Mahasabha is once again approaching the electorate with an appeal to it to vote for its candidates in the forthcoming General Elections, on the basis of its own policy and programme.

_Fourteen Years of Congress Rule_

Fourteen years have elapsed since the attainment of freedom by our country. The people put their implicit faith in the Congress during all the period, as well as in the previous so many decades, but the consequences have been disastrous. More damage has been done to the Hindu nation during these fourteen years of Congress rule than had been done during the one thousand years, when we were not masters of our own destinies.

Even the economic condition of the people has not improved; it has instead been deteriorating from day to day and from year to year. All essential requirements of the people, like food, clothing and shelter, are hopelessly in short supply everywhere. The food situation continues to cause anxiety, clothing is getting more and more scarce and costly, and in the matter of housing also, the situation has hardly eased to any appreciable extent. Moreover, unemployment is mounting up and corruption in administration is becoming more and more rampant all round.

The ruling Congress Party, while making loud professions of non-violence in matters of defence in regard to foreign aggression against our country, is never hesitant in resorting to firings, killing any number of citizens of the country on the slightest of pretexts.

*Text supplied by the General Secretary, All India Hindu Mahasabha, New Delhi.*
Our Border Problems

Our troubles with Pakistan are nowhere near solution, while our Foreign Policy has been so badly handled that it has created for us enemies all over the world. The Congress, by giving recognition to non-existent Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, became a silent spectator to the most barbarous rape of Tibet by Communist Chinese hordes, thereby losing a most vital buffer State between Hindustan and Communist China. It resulted not only in the closure of our age-old sacred places, like Kailash and Mansarowar, for Hindu pilgrims, but also in the loss of thousands of square miles of our sacred land in our north and north-east, at the hands of the Chinese aggressors. In the same way, we have lost many more thousands of square miles in the west to Pakistan as well. In spite of big promises of recovering every inch of the Indian territory from the foreign invaders on both sides, the Congress rulers have so far done nothing to recover any part of these lost areas. Even the small Indian territory in Goa and other Portuguese possessions on Indian soil still continue to remain under the occupation of the alien Power. Even the sympathies of a friendly neighbour like Nepal have been unnecessarily alienated. All this clearly shows that Himalayan bunglers have been committed in regard to all these matters, and if such mistakes continue, as in the past, the nation is doomed.

Rebirth of Muslim Communalism

Muslim Communalism, which had been lying low all through the period since the disastrous partition of the Motherland, was given a ceremonial re-birth by the ruling Congress Party, through the unholy alliance it entered into with the Muslim League in Kerala, to oust constitutionally-elected State Government. This has enabled the Muslim League to spread its fangs all over the country, resulting in serious riots and ugly episodes in Assam, Jubbulpore and Aligarh, and other places, and now a situation has been created in which the danger of fifth-columnist elements sympathetic to Pakistan has developed into a serious menace to the very security and integrity of Hindustan itself.

The Communists, the Socialists, the Praja Socialists, the Swatantratraits and the Jan Sangh, do not differ fundamentally from the Congress in their opposition to Hindu Nationalism, as they are all out to appease anti-national elements, for the sake of securing their votes in the coming General Elections, even at the cost of national interests. As such, none of them can deliver the
goods, so far as the Hindu Nation is concerned. As against all these it is the Hindu Mahasabha alone which has always believed and still believes that Hindus have a right to live in peace as Hindus, as well as to legislate, to rule and to govern themselves, in accordance with Hindu genius and ideals. Hindu Rashtra has to be established and Hindu ideology has to have a homeland of its own for their fulfilment.

Hindu Mahasabha’s Warnings

In the past, the people of the country ignored the warnings and suggestions of the Hindu Mahasabha with fatal consequences for the nation. There would have been no Pakistan today, if the people had paid heed to the policy and programme of the Hindu Mahasabha. The Hindu Mahasabha had been warning the people; ever since 1942, against the inevitable partition of the country, if the Congress policy continued to receive public support; but the people, carried away by high-sounding slogans, did not evince the desired interest in the warnings of the Hindu Mahasabha, and the results are there for everybody to see.

Hindu Rashtra

The Hindu Mahasabha intends to develop Hindustan into a State based on Hindu ideology, which possesses a characteristic catholic outlook on life, with a well-defined cultural background, easily distinguishable from the cultures of all other nations. Such a State alone, which may be conveniently referred to as Hindu Rashtra, can keep the people of Hindustan, irrespective of their religion, caste, creed, and language, united for the purpose of building up a true Democracy, with a dynamic force and progressive conception, capable of assimilating all modern scientific inventions and modern social and economic thoughts.

Akhand Bharat

The cardinal creed of the Hindu Mahasabha is loyalty to the unity and integrity of Hindustan. The Hindu Mahasabha considers it its duty to reiterate once again that it is pledged to the re-establishment of Akhand Bharat by all legitimate means and it shall try its level best to undo the mischief done by the Congress in its lust for power, betraying the whole nation by dividing the country, while shouting slogans of “Bharat Mata ki Jai”. As against
this, the Hindu Mahasabha has never believed in selling the
country for a mess of pottage. For it, the reunification of Hindustan
is an article of faith, and the Hindu Mahasabha stands by it.

Amendment of the Constitution

The Hindu Mahasabha is of the considered opinion that the
present Constitution is altogether unsuited to the genius of the
people of Hindusthan, as it is a mere collection of disjointed frag-
ments from various heterogeneous constitutions of different countries
of the Western world, like the United States of America, Britain
and France, and there is hardly anything Indian about it. The
Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, stands for recasting the entire
Constitution of the country, with a view to bring it in consonance
with the traditions and culture of the Hindus, to make it a truly
democratic Hindu State.

The Hindu Mahasabha feels that the present Constitution of
India suffers from a serious lacuna, inasmuch as it fails to define its
moral and ethical inspiration, thereby leading to a serious decline in
the moral values of respect for the Nation as a whole. The Hindu
Mahasabha, therefore, stands for an amendment of the Indian
Constitution to provide it with an ethical basis, by declaring the
country as a democratic Hindu State, and by making religious
instruction on Hinduism a compulsory subject all through the
period of education.

The Hindu Mahasabha wants the Constitution to be amended
with a view to create a sense of unity throughout the country, and
for this purpose it wants a change in the nomenclature of the
present States into Provinces, as before.

Cow Protection

The Hindu Mahasabha considers it absolutely essential to
amend the present Constitution in such a way as to remove the
provision with regard to the Protection of the Cow and its progeny
from the Chapter on Directive Principles of State Policy, and to
alter it in such a way as to make it binding on the Central Govern-
ment to ban the slaughter of cows, bulls and calves of every age
and condition, under all circumstances, by law.

Civil Liberties

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the amendment of the
Constitution, with a view to guarantee the fullest civil liberty to
all citizens of Hindustan, making it impossible for any political party in power to suppress the opposition parties by taking recourse to the Preventive Detention Act and other laws militating against the Fundamental Rights guaranteed to all citizens.

It also stands for repealing the recent amendment of the Constitution denying reasonable compensation to the citizens for expropriation by the State.

The Hindu Mahasabha also stands for amending the Constitution so as to provide for restrictions to be imposed on the employment of Judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts, as well as Members of the Election Commission, after their retirement from these posts, in any State service as is provided in the case of members of the Union and State Public Service Commissions and the Auditor and Comptroller-General of India, so as to eliminate all chances of their falling a prey to temptations to favour the ruling political party, with an eye on their future prospects, while discharging their responsible duties.

Revision of Anti-Hindu Laws

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for a revision of all laws enacted by the Congress Government affecting the interests of the Hindu alone, with a view to ameliorate the hardships of the Hindus as such. The Hindu Mahasabha declares that it is altogether opposed to the enactment of any sectarian laws for any set of people.

Foreign Policy

The Hindu Mahasabha feels that the recent international events, especially Communist China's aggression against India, have amply proved that this country cannot defend its frontiers single-handed and the ruling Congress Party has failed to secure the implementation of its agreements entered into with foreign Powers in the name of the policy of the so-called Panch Sheel. A dispassionate review of the contemporary international situation leads to the only conclusion that we must shed off our passive neutrality and enter into suitable military pacts with other Powers, both Hindu and non-Hindu, while at the same time militarising the Hindu Nation within the country, both in spirit as well as with arms.

Problems like those of Kashmir, Chinese-occupied territories and Goa, which have been made international issues, as a
direct result of their incompetent handling by the ruling Congress Party, are in fact problems of defence and as such they necessitate a revision of our Defence Policy, particularly in regard to the working of the Ministry of Defence, which is in fact becoming a hotbed of intrigues, subterfuge and nepotism.

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for checkmating the spread of the international movements of Christianity, Islam and Communism in the newly-freed countries of the African continent, as also in erstwhile Belgian, French, Portuguese and Dutch colonies. In the United Nations Organisation also, our role should be to help the newly-freed countries in the revival of their native religions, cultures and languages.

*Chinese Aggression*

With regard to Communist China, the Hindu Mahasabha stands for the complete repudiation of the Indo-Chinese Treaty of April 29, 1954, which accepted Tibet as a region of China, and for giving unequivocal support in the liberation of Tibet from Chinese colonialists. The Hindu Mahasabha is of the definite view that the question of admitting Communist China to the United Nations does not arise, as it has proved that it cannot be treated as a civilised people's government on the basis of modern standards.

*Basic Principles of Foreign Policy*

The Hindu Mahasabha is firmly of the view that the Foreign Policy of any country cannot be based upon catchwords like Non-alignment, Disarmament or Panch Sheel, but that it should be based on the enlightened self-interest of the nation and on the preparedness of the country to defend its frontiers from foreign aggression. The Hindu Mahasabha is, therefore, of the view that our Congress rulers should not indulge in giving sermons on subjects like Disarmament, nuclear or otherwise. On the other hand, our Foreign Policy should be based on the following fundamental principles:—

1. The enlightened self-interest of the nation, without caring as to what other countries have to say about it;
2. Non-involvement in the affairs of other countries in which our country is not directly concerned, like Korea, Laos and Congo, and the withdrawal of all our forces and Commissions from these areas;
3. Reorientation of the country's policy towards Communist China, and opposition to its admission in the U.N.O.;
4. Liberation of every inch of our national territory from the control of all foreigners, whether Pakistan, or China, or Portugal, by all possible means, including the use of military force or police action even, if necessary; and

5. Adoption of a policy of reciprocity towards Pakistan.

Withdrawal from British Commonwealth

But, over and above all these, the Hindu Mahasabha stands for the country's withdrawal from the so-called British Commonwealth of Nations, particularly in view of the recent decision of the British Government to join the European Common Market, and the decision to restrict the immigration of Indian citizens into Britain ignoring the interests of the Commonwealth countries. The Hindu Mahasabha is of the view that it would be only after the country's withdrawal from the British Commonwealth that Hindustan would become a really independent country, free of British influence in our internal and external policies. Our country can, thereafter, enter into Treaty relations with the British Government also, like other countries, for mutual help and cooperation, on an equal basis, as a free and independent nation.

Defence Policy

The Hindu Mahasabha realises that these policies cannot be carried out until and unless the country is strong enough in its military potential, and such military potential cannot be built up on the basis of facts like Non-Violence and Panch Sheel. The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the following as its bases for the country's Defence Policy.

1. All talks of Disarmament must be given up in their entirety;

2. The Indian Arms Act must be repealed, thereby giving freedom to every Hindu national to bear arms, with provisions for their confiscation in case of misuse;

3. Compulsory military training for all able-bodied young men between the ages of 18 and 30, for a specified period, so as to develop the entire nation on a Nation-at-arms basis;

4. All male students in schools and colleges must be given N.C.C. training, without exception;

5. Armaments and Defence Industries must be built up on a big scale, under strict State control, with a view to bring
the per capita military strength of the nation on par with the militarily strongest countries of the world, enabling it to defend itself against any aggressor at any time, without any external assistance;

6. Atomic bombs and other nuclear devices, without which military defence has no meaning today, must be made in India, just like other countries, to be used for defence purposes, if and when necessary; and

7. National Economic Plans for the country must be recast in such a way as to provide a sufficient proportion of the national investments for the Defence and Armaments industries, with a view to make Hindustan a strong and powerful country in the modern world, commensurate with her glorious traditions of the past.

National Economic Programme

The Hindu Mahasabha has all through been the most progressive potential party in the country, and this is proved by the fact that as early as December 1944, at the Annual Session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, held at Bilaspur, it had given a lead to the whole country by adopting a most progressive and detailed Economic Programme.

At that time, it had set out in one of its main resolutions the Basic Principles of the National Economic Programme, which said that "in view of the economic plans and the consequent economic development of Hindustan, which the Government of India and others have been engaged in, the All India Hindu Mahasabha hereby resolves that no economic plan would yield the desired results until and unless it is prepared on the basis of the following among other principles:"

1. The Economic Plan must be inspired more by the spirit of achieving the progressive economic development of Hindustan as a whole rather than by a desire to promote the interest of a part thereof, or a section of the people only;

2. Its primary and immediate objective must be to satisfy the most elementary needs of the people of Hindustan, namely, food, clothing, shelter, water, education, health, sanitation and medicine, etc.

3. It must be framed in such a way as to avoid on the one hand the evils of Capitalism, and to secure on the other hand all benefits of Socialism;
4. All industries, commonly known as the key industries of the Nation, must be State-owned, or under State control;

5. The other industries, whether private or under corporate ownership, must form an integral part of the National Economic Plan;

6. No one, who is not a citizen of Hindustan, must be entitled to start or conduct any industry on the soil of Hindustan, except on such terms and conditions as may be laid down in that behalf by the Free Hindustan State;

7. All industries, whether heavy or small, must be spread over the country at different places and in different areas, preferably in the innermost parts of the country, where raw materials are easily available, instead of being concentrated in any one place or within any narrow area;

8. All nascent industries and markets of Hindustan must be provided protection by the State against foreign competition, by raising tariff walls around them, and by providing preferential treatment to imports which would further national economic development;

9. All industries must primarily be for internal use and only secondarily for exchange proposes; and

10. All agricultural improvements must be carried out with a two-fold objective in view, namely, on the one hand to increase the productivity of the soil by improved methods of cultivation, and on the other to leave to peasants and landless agricultural workers the fruits of their toil, sufficient to maintain them on the same level as industrial workers.

The progressive measures to be adopted in agriculture, including the co-operative movement, were also included in this resolution.

Economic Policy

That this resolution of the Hindu Mahasabha was the basic policy of the Hindu Mahasabha and not some momentary decision taken at an annual session of the National Organisation, become clear, when all these Basic Principles of the Economic Development of the Nation were included as an integral part of the Election Manifesto of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, for the General Elections of 1952.
Industrial Policy

This Manifesto clearly stated that the Hindu Mahasabha did not believe in catch phrases and mere slogans in determining its Economic Policy. It went on to give the Economic Policy of the Hindu Mahasabha in precise terms as follows: The Hindu Mahasabha cherishes the hope of making Hindustan one of the foremost industrialised countries of the world.

To achieve this objective, it laid down the following policy:

1. All key industries, such as electricity, railway, coal and steel mines and industries dealing with war materials and weapons, must be owned and controlled by the State. The other industries would remain open for private enterprise, and in the running of these industries, full facilities must be assured to all investors to start new industries with State aid and partial exemption from taxation should be granted to them in the initial stages;

2. Every attempt must be made to utilise all raw materials and indigenous talent in every field to ensure utmost production;

3. Every effort must be made to secure equitable distribution of industrial profits between workers and the entrepreneurs without detriment to the interests of the consumers;

4. Security of employment and minimum wages for maintaining a decent standard of living must be guaranteed to the workers; and

5. Cottage industries must be especially encouraged independently as well as a supplement to large-scale industry.

Agricultural Policy

As regards Agricultural Policy, the Election Manifesto of 1952 went on to say that “Agriculture being the primary industry of the country, it must receive the Hindu Mahasabha’s first attention. The essence of the Agricultural Policy of the Hindu Mahasabha must be to maximise production per acre as well as per man. All land reforms should be undertaken with a view to meet the immediate need of the country for developing the production of food-stuffs, so as to make Hindustan self-sufficient in regard to food as well as other raw materials for the growth of national industry.”

The Manifesto made it clear that:

1. The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the ultimate ownership of land by the State on behalf of the people;
2. The Hindu Mahasabha is of the view that mere abolition of landlordism does not confer any substantial and permanent benefits on the tillers of the soil, and as such it stands for planning the reconstruction of agriculture with minimum interference with agro-economic conditions;

3. The Hindu Mahasabha stands for non-interference with the proprietary interests of the landholders, unless they neglect cultivation or allow useful land to lie fallow. Even in such cases, the Hindu Mahasabha stands for taking over only the rights of cultivation on behalf of the State, and not the rights of ownership of the land. In case it becomes necessary to take over the proprietary rights also, it stands for reasonable compensation being assured to the affected parties; and

4. The Hindu Mahasabha plans to reconstruct agriculture, so as to improve the living conditions of the tillers of the soil throughout Hindustan; and for this purpose it stands for affording full scope to them for development and progress. The steps to be adopted by the Hindu Mahasabha for these improvements shall be:

(a) Legislation to ensure that the tillers of the soil enjoy full fruits of their labour;
(b) Encouragement of the co-operative movement;
(c) Adequate supply of good seeds, fertilizers and mechanised implements for agricultural operations;
(d) Provisions for loans and cheap credit, through co-operative societies;
(e) Establishment of Agricultural Finance Corporations, to subsidise agriculture and irrigation projects;
(f) Prevention of further fragmentation and bringing about consolidation of holdings, so as to make them economical, and to adopt measures for stepping up production, such as prevention of erosion of the soil;
(g) Facilities for the marketing of agricultural produce;
(h) Improving the stocks of cows, bulls, and other animals, necessary for agriculture;
(i) Facilities for cottage industries, to be carried on by the agriculturists during their spare time; and
(j) Establishment of Research Institutes for improving agricultural methods.
The Hindu Mahasabha, while once again approaching the electorate of the country for support, feels no necessity to make any changes in this Economic Policy for the future building up of the country, for which it has stood during the last 17 years. It, therefore, reiterates that it will carry out this Economic Policy whenever it comes into power, as it aspires for the emergence of Hindustan as a well-knit and powerful nation, in which there shall be social and economic justice, with its moorings in the moral and spiritual past of the sacred land. The Hindu Mahasabha shall see to it that all sections of society in the country get an equality of opportunity and are assured a decent standard of living.

**Minimum Guarantees**

The Hindu Mahasabha is of the definite view that no economic uplift has any meaning until and unless the State guarantees:

1. Employment to every able-bodied male, as his Fundamental Right;
2. Social security to orphans, to women without economic support, to the infirm and to the old; and
3. Minimum Wages, increasing in direct proportion to better and larger outturn, and *vice versa*, on the basis of workday norms to be fixed by the State for various jobs in different industries and employments.

But, the Hindu Mahasabha also stands for demanding honesty, diligence and efficiency in work on the part of every employee, whether in State or private service, so that the Nation does not suffer in regard to production in any way and regains its old prosperity in the shortest possible time.

**Planning**

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the planned economic development of the country, but it feels that the planning as carried out by the ruling Congress Party so far, has been wrongly conceived and badly executed, with the result that its first two Five Year Plans have failed to realise their objectives and the general condition of the people, instead of improving, has steadily become worse, and everybody knows that these Plans have only helped to make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and one of the basic objectives of planning, namely, the removal of unemployment, has not only not been achieved, but unemployment has increased much more. Even
the new Third Five Year Plan has failed to evoke any interest in the common man to exert himself to the full for the economic development of the Nation. And the Planners have paid no attention to National Defence whatever. The Hindu Mahasabha stands for a basic change in planning, so that the country might be speedily industrialised, unemployment might be ended and the people's standard of living might be raised to an appreciable extent at an early date, along with strengthening the military potential of the country.

Financial Control

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the State control of Currency and Foreign Exchange, so as to enable it to regulate them in the national interests of the country, including the right to change the exchange value of the rupee, if, as and when necessary, to ensure stability and progress of the country.

Reduction of Taxes

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the reduction of the burden of heavy taxation, particularly on petty shop-keepers and small industrialists. It is opposed to all irksome taxes, like the multiple-point sales tax, and stands for their complete abolition.

Measures against Corruption

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for adopting strong measures for putting down corruption in all spheres of public activity and, for this purpose, it stands for the setting up of a proper machinery for the detection, prosecution and punishment of corrupt Ministers and Legislators in particular, who have wrongfully exploited their public position for self-aggrandisement. The charges made by responsible public men against Congress Ministers, which the ruling Congress Party has refused to investigate into, have established a strong case for the setting up of such a machinery without any more delay.

Language Policy

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for resisting all attempts made to dislodge Hindi from the place it has been given in the Constitution as a Union Language for the purpose of interprovincial com-
munication and for all-India purposes. It stands for replacing the so-called "International Numerals" provided in the Constitution by Hindi Numerals.

At the same time, the Hindu Mahasabha wants that Sanskrit, as the fountainhead of all Indian languages, should be assigned a definite place as a Union Language for certain specific purposes of fundamental importance, such as the medium of Oaths by important State functionaries and legislators, of Credentials presented by Indian Ambassadors in foreign countries, of Certificates and Diplomas issued by the various Universities, as well as the language of important documents of national importance, such as the National Constitution, various statutes of the Government of India which need interpretation in a precise manner, and books of a permanent value.

The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, stands for the study of three languages—Sanskrit, Hindi and one other regional language—for every child all over the country. The adoption of this language policy is sure to bring about emotional integration of the entire Nation as nothing else can.

As regards Urdu, the Hindu Mahasabha regards it as a foreign language, as it was forced down upon the people of Hindustan by the alien Muslim rulers of the country, and as it is dominated by Arabic and Persian languages. Urdu is not the language of any region in the country, and as such it cannot claim to be retained in the Indian Constitution, even as a regional language like the other Indian languages.

**Linguistic Minorities**

The Hindu Mahasabha wants all administrative work to be conducted in languages which the masses speak and understand, and, therefore, it regards the creation of States on linguistic basis as helpful for these purposes, but it is opposed to treating linguistic groups as sub-nations and hence wants a very liberal policy to be followed in the case of linguistic minorities in all States. In fact, the Hindu Mahasabha feels that the phrase "Linguistic Minorities" is itself most unfortunate. The Hindu Mahasabha wants that people who speak a language different from the language of the State, or of the region, should not be made to suffer in the matter of their education or the language of the administration. For this purpose, the Hindu Mahasabha strongly supports that (a) Punjabi should not be thrust on the Hindi-speaking people of the Punjab, (b) Bengali, which is spoken by more than 30 per cent of the people in Assam,
should be given a square deal and Assam should be declared a bilingual State, and (c) all border disputes should be solved on the basis of well-defined principles to be applied uniformly in all cases.

Watch on Anti-National Elements

The Hindu Mahasabha is opposed to the banning of any political party which openly fights elections to the legislatures. It is the privilege and the prerogative of the electorate alone to discard any political party, which it does not consider proper for the country, by throwing it out in the elections, but the Hindu Mahasabha stands for a very strict watch to be kept on the activities of all anti-national elements, whether they are Hindu sympathisers of Communist China, Muslim sympathisers of Pakistan or Foreign Christian Missionaries, so that if any of them acts against the national interests at any time, they may be accorded the same treatment as was meted out to the Germans and Italians by the British Government during the Second World War.

Protection to Minorities

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for just and fair treatment to all non-Hindu minorities, with full opportunities to them to develop their language, religion and culture, but not to permit them to maintain anti-national affinities with any country outside Hindustan, in any shape or form.

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for giving all possible assistance to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, so as to bring them on par with the other sections of the Hindu Nation. It is opposed to reservations in legislatures and services of any kind.

Curbs on Denationalising Activities

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the imposition of effective curbs on the activities of the Foreign Christian Missionaries, who are busy converting tribal and other people in different parts of the country, on a mass scale, by underhand means of monetary and other temptations, with the ultimate objective of denationalising them and reducing the Hindu majority in the country into a minority, with the co-operation and help of other non-Hindu elements, so that Hindustan might cease to be a Hindu Homeland.
The Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, stands for the following steps to be taken to safeguard national integrity:

1. The entry of Foreign Christian Missionaries should be banned in the country by law;
2. Religious education should be banned in Missionary Schools for children not belonging to the Christian faith, in any shape or form;
3. Import of foreign money for carrying on Christian Missionary activities in India should be banned completely;
4. Conversion of children below the age of maturity should be banned and declared illegal; and
5. Every conversion from Hinduism to any other religion should be duly registered with a Registrar of Conversions, to be appointed for the purpose of according recognition to conversions to another faith.

Restoration of Temples

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the restoration of all Hindu temples and for the adoption of the same policy in regard to various Hindu temples like those of Vishwanathji in Varanasi, Shri Ram Janmabhoomi in Ajodhya and Shri Shrikrishna Janmabhoomi in Mathura, in particular as was followed in the case of the Somnath Temple in Saurashtra.

Rehabilitation of Refugees

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for giving priority to the problem of the rehabilitation of the refugees. It stands for guaranteeing compensation to all evacuees and their trusts, whose properties were lost in Pakistan, and stands for the settlement of the problem of evacuees' properties at Governmental level speedily, between our country and Pakistan. The Hindu Mahasabha also stands for the grant of full-fledged citizenship rights to all evacuees.

Support to Ayurveda

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the adoption of special measures for improving the health of the people of the country and for suitable measures for providing cheap and free medical aid to the citizens, on the lines obtainable in Britain. The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the development and practice of the Ayurvedic System of
Medicine all over the country. It also stands for the adoption of strong measures to prevent adulteration of foodstuffs.

The Administrative Services

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for guaranteeing security of service to all Central and State employees and assures non-interference in their work by political parties, provided they are faithful and loyal in the discharge of their duties towards the Nation.

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the restoration in all State Services of the principle of promotion of the seniormost, on the basis of length of service, with the right to reject the unfit, in place of the vague principle of the so-called “efficiency”, as the latter is a mere cloak for the practice of nepotism and favouritism in the services, by the powers that be, resulting in all-round corruption.

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for uniformity in regard to salaries and emoluments for the Central, State, Local Bodies and semi-government services, throughout the country, consistent with differences in price levels prevalent in different areas.

The Hindu Mahasabha stands for the fixation of the minimum salaries of State employees in direct relation with the cost of living indices and the minimum necessities of an average family.

Appeal to Public for Support

It is on the basis of the above policy and programme that the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is once again approaching the electorate of Hindustan for its support, and it has every hope and confidence that the people of the country will give an opportunity to a large number of Hindu Sabha candidates to represent them in the Central and State Legislatures, so that the anti-national trend in Indian politics might be checked in good time and a strong and united Hindu Nation might emerge at an early date.

Bharat Mata ki Jai; Hindu Rashtra ki Jai; Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan ki Jai; Vande Mataram;
INDEX

A

A.I.C.C.
See
All India Congress Committee
A.I.S.P.C., 599, 600, 603, 604
Abbas Tayabji
See
Tayabji, Abbas
Abdul Ghaffar Khan
See
Khan, Abdul Ghaffar
Abdul Kasim
See
Kasim, Abdul
Abdulla, Sheikh, 690
Abha Maiti, 427
Abu Salih Mohammed Akram
See
Akram, Abu Salih Mohammed
Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana
See
Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam
Acharya Kripalani
See
Kripalani, Acharya, J.B.
Achyut Patwardhan
See
Patwardhan, Achyut
Aden, 559
Adult Education, 86, 144
See also Educational Reforms
Adult Franchise, 778
Advani, T.M., 449
Afghanistan, 10, 178, 265
Africa, 174, 182, 186, 188, 191, 200,
201, 202, 204, 209, 210, 223, 227,
228, 244, 256, 269, 269, 260, 261, 262,
263, 279, 721, 734
African Union, 248
Agha Khan, 536
Agra, 240
Agrarian Programme, All India, 18, 19,
577
Agrarian Reforms, 68
Agricultural Finance Corporation, 28,
29, 804
Agricultural Policy, 787, 803
Agriculture and Agrarian Reforms, 41
Agriculture and Gardening, 101
AGRICULTURE AND LAND REFORMS—See Vol. I, 1—55
Ahmad, Z.A., 468
Ahmed, Fakhruddin Ali, 427, 428
Ahmedabad, 93, 170, 246, 292, 307,
321, 380, 389, 393, 398, 401, 575,
730
Ahmedabad Congress, 179
Air Force, 666

Aiyar, Ramaswami, 160
Aitchison, C., 304
Ajmal Khan, Hakim, 403
Ajmer, 62
Akalgahr, 374, 378
AKALI PARTY, 416, 579, 580, 593,
594, 595, 596, 607
Akbar, 475, 488, 492
Akbar Ali Khan, 427, 428
Akram, Abu Salah Mohammed, 550
Algeria, 203, 210
Algerian Provisional Government, 758
Algerian Republic, 757
Aligarh, 101, 133, 152, 153, 518, 589,
795
All India Agrarian Programme
See
Agrarian Programme, All India
All India Congress Committee, 17, 18,
36, 37, 39, 50, 54, 57, 58, 63, 70,
71, 179, 181, 193, 196, 203, 204,
205, 211, 212, 213, 223, 226, 228,
230, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 239, 240,
244, 253, 255, 256, 258, 263, 265,
272, 293, 298, 357, 410, 412, 418,
424, 425, 466, 487, 542, 544, 545,
577, 664, 763, 785
All India Council for Elementary Education,
159
All India Council for Secondary Education,
151, 159
All India Council for Technical Education,
159
All India Council of Action, 771
All India Education Board, 86
All India Federation, 512
All India Federation of Educational
Associations, 159
All India Muslim Conference, 492
All India Muslim Educational Conference,
135, 141
All India Muslim League, 487, 505,
525, 526
All India National Educational Conference,
85, 101
All India Railway Federation, 717
All India Spinners' Association, 106
ALL INDIA STATES PEOPLES' CONFERENCE, 598-605
All Parties Conference, 277, 281, 400
All India Trade Union Congress, 406
Allahabad, 90, 94, 197, 178, 294, 304,
306, 391, 392, 393, 457, 475, 574,
576, 600
Allied Forces, 187, 323
Allied Powers
See
Allied Forces
INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Ambala, 490
Ambedkar, B. R., 527
America
See
United States of America
Amritsar, 91, 163, 178, 183, 241
Amrit Kaur, Raj Kumari, 134, 143
Amritsar, 91, 173, 176, 199, 202, 235,
236, 269, 292, 300, 303, 370, 371, 374, 377, 391, 401, 416, 586, 589
Andamans, 326
Andhra, 586, 592, 622, 671, 712
Andrews, C.F., 376, 383
Anglo-American Loan Agreement, 683
Anglo-Italian Agreement, 239
Anne, Queen, 278
Ansari, A.Q., 427, 428
Ansari, M.A., 402, 403
Anthony, Frank, 467
Anti-Compromise Conference, 768
Anti-Separationist League, 216
Arbital Tribal, 562
Armitage Agreement, 240
Arms Act, 761, 787 See also Vol I.
56-57
Armstrong, W.H.F., 134, 143
Arya Pradeshi Pratinidhi Sabha, 588
Arya Svaadhisht Sabha, 588
Aryachakalam, 85, 86, 100, 101, 133, 222
Asaf Ali, 270, 355
Ashad, Smt., 85, 102, 133
Ashraf, K.M., 665
Asian African Conference, 294, 282, 283
Asiatic Nations, 184
Assam, 404, 416, 425, 458, 494, 512,
536, 545, 553, 577, 587, 688, 689, 692, 697, 708, 808
Assam Separation Council, 561
Attaullah, A, 143
Attaullah Khan, 134
Atma Nand, Swami, 588
Attlee, 581
Aung San, 220, 221
Australia, 246
Avadi, 86, 172, 173, 176, 198, 200
Ayer, S.S, 338
Ayodhya, 701, 808
Azad Hind Fauj, 333, 334, 337, 338,
343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 358, 351,
352, 354
Aziz Ahmed, 338
Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam, 26

B
Baghdad Pact, 203, 723

Bahadurjee, K.N., 320
Bahawalpur, 494, 518
Bahl, Karcha Narayan, 152, 157
Baji Rao, Peshwa, 335
Baldev Singh, 697
Balas, 774
Baluchistan, 213, 490, 506, 512, 517,
545, 566, 568
Banaras, 96, 98, 153, 176, 247, 377,
495, 576, 701
Bandung Conference, 290, 295, 234,
757
Bansen, Surendra Nath, 303, 305
Bangkok Conference, 322, 352, 361
Bangalore, 50
Bankipur, 85, 97, 250, 308
Banerjee, W.C., 305
Barrow, A.E.T., 419
Basic Craft, 107
Basic Education, 45, 61, 85, 86, 87, 100,
122, 126, 161, 162, 165, 244
See also Educational Reforms
Basic National Education Committee, Report of, 162
See also Educational Reforms
Basic Principles, 102
Basu, Bhupendra Nath, 7
Beasants, Annie, 276, 290
Belgium, 213, 252, 293, 417
Belgium Congress, 83
Belgium, 603
Belgrade, 567
Bengal, 99, 178, 290, 335, 394, 398,
433, 456, 458, 497, 502, 512, 517,
518, 519, 522, 536, 539, 541, 550,
551, 553, 557, 597, 630, 669, 671,
672, 682, 712, 751, 761, 782, 783
Bengal partition, See Vol I, 66-75
Bengal Legislative Council, 561, 564
Berar, 518, 520
Berlin, 753, 704
Borubari, 640
Bhagalpur, 782
Bhagat, N.S., 338
Bhagwan Das, 462
Bhagwat, Y.G., 665
Bhasa, Nagaul, 63
Bhardwaj, R.D., 665
BHARATIYA JANA SANCH, 695, 640
Bhavanagar, 434, 450
Bhise, S.R., 132
Bhonsale, Appa Sahib, 335
Bhonsale, J.K., 338
Bhopal, 496, 645, 791
Bhownipur, 95, 96
Bihar, 494, 505, 512, 541, 622, 670, 751,
765, 774
Bikaner, 512, 603
Bilaspur, 801
Birkenhead, Lord, 280
Biswa, C.C., 550
Board of Education, 121
INDEX

Borneo, 326
Bose, Nand Lal, 133
Bose, Rash Behari, 327, 333, 338
Bose, S.C.
See
Bose, Subhash Chandra
Bose, Sarat Chandra, 356
Boundary Commission, 550, 551
Brahmanism, 475
Britain
See
Great Britain
British Colonial Office, 224
British Colonies, 182, 249
British Commonwealth, 552, 666, 723, 735, 761, 766, 800
British Crown, 178, 248, 249
British Empire, 81, 179, 245, 248, 249, 330, 553, 602, 674
British Exchequer, 8, 242
British Forces, 559
British Foreign Policy, 181
British Goods, Boycott of, 293
British Government, 81, 90
British Guiana, 259
British Imperialism, 170, 180, 181, 276, 322, 609, 773, 783
British India, 530, 531, 534, 537, 558, 559, 555, 566, 569, 640, 650, 654
British Indian Empire, 241
British Indian Provinces, 310, 511
British Indians, 247
British Parliament, 6, 168
British Rules, 670
British Settlements Acts, 559
British Treasury, 2
British War Office, 11
Brussels Conference, 2
Buddha, Lord, 471
Buddhism, 475
Burdwan, 679
See also Constitutional Reforms
Cabinet Mission, 542, 543, 544, 554, 552, 583, 584, 604, 649, 651, 691, 776, 779, 780, 781, 783
Cabinet Mission Plan, 552, 637, 692
See also Constitutional Reforms
Cairo, 205
See
Cairo, 205
Canada, 199, 221, 251
Canton, 326
Capitalism, 764, 765, 766, 767, 801
Central Advisory Board of Education, 133, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 161, 162
Central Bureau of Information, 139
Central Institute of Indian Education, 122
Central Institute of National Education, 121
See also Educational Reforms
Central Planning Commission, 36
Ceylon, 221, 222, 675, 699
Ceylon Indian Congress, 222
CHAMBER OF PRINCES, 640
Chandernagore, 679
Charles I, 278
Charlu, Ananda, 305
Chatterji, A.C., 338
Chatterjee, G.C., 160
Chaudhry, Rambooj Dutt, 338
Chaudhuri, Ram Kali, 303
Chauri Chaurs, 771
Chelmsford, Lord, 371, 377, 402
Chhandogyas, 472
China, 8, 173, 176, 179, 184, 199, 208, 211, 226, 530, 589, 595, 606, 625, 638, 672, 674, 676, 677, 768, 759, 795, 796, 799, 808
Chinese Aggression, 799
Chintamanis, C.Y., 311, 776
Chitale, Y.D., 665
Chittore, 495
Choudhury, Ananda Prasad, 37
Chowdhury, J., 7
Christian Catholic Church, 231
Christian Missionaries, 808, 809
Christianity, 497, 493
Chuhan Kana, 374
Churchill, Sir W., 224
Civil Disobedience, 253, 272, 294, 336, 358, 664, 708
Civil Disobedience Movement, see Vol. I
Civil Liberties, 593, 797
Civil Lists, 646
Civil Medical Service, 319, 320, 321
Civil Resistance, 782
Civil Services, 34
Coinage, 516
Colombo Conference, 200
Colombo Plan, 667
Colonial Domination, 258, 261
COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, see Vol. I.
Communal Award, 529, 580, 581, 781
COMMUNALISM, 242, 490, see also
Vol. I
Communications, 501, 516, 654, 658, 658
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, 614-615
Community Projects, 61, 63, 67, 71, 72,
74, 743
Conciliation Committee, 531, 532
Congo, 799
Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee,
733
Congress Committees, see
All India Congress Committee
CONGRESS DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 760-763
Congress, Economic Policy, of, 53
Congress, Foreign Policy, 173
Congress High Command, 500, 525,
534, 703
Congress Party, see
Indian National Congress
Congress Working Committee, see Indian National Congress
Constantinople, 403
Constituent Assembly, 543, 548, 585,
605, 657, 695, 779, 780
Constitutional Advisory Committee,
651
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, see
Vol. I.
CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME, see
Vol. I.
Co-operation, 35
Cooperative Better Farming Societies,
43
Cooperative Community, 105
Cooperative Farming, 595
Cooperative Multipurpose Enterprises,
28
Cooperative Spinning Mills, 614
Cottage and Small-scale Industries, 43
Cow Protection, 797
Criminal Law Amendment Act, 296
Criminal Tribes Act, 296
Cripps Mission, 581, 642
See also Constitutional Reforms,
Vol. I.
Cripps, Stafford, 543
Crown Colonies, 183
Cunha, Tristoo Braganza, 227
Currency Bill, 14
Currency Committee, 6
Currency Question, 2
Customs, 516
Cyprus, 210, 723
Czur, 278
Czechoslovakia, 524
Daman, 235, 625
Darjeeling, 456, 751
Das, C.R., 373, 375, 379, 760
Das Commission, 587
Das, Deb Nath, 338, 360, 361
Deccan Block, 495, 496
DEFENCE, 501, 514, 516, 654, 658,
see also Vol. I
Defence Policy, 799, 800
Delhi, 50, 101, 113, 153, 155, 175, 178,
183, 219, 332, 339, 376, 402, 409,
410, 411, 449, 450, 468, 470, 497,
518, 519, 541, 548, 549, 556,
571, 576, 579, 729, 751, 782
Delhi-Lucknow Bloc, 494, 498
Democratic Front, 708, 709, 710, 714,
716
Denmark, 603
Deo, Shankar Rao, 26, 36, 37, 410
Depressed classes, 420
Desai, Bhalabhai, 270, 355, 357, 533,
535
Desai-Liaquat Pacts, 538
Dhebar, U.N., 160
Din, U. Kyaw, 215
Direct Action, 539
Directive Principles, 67, 71
Disarmament Commission, 200
District Development Board, 48
Din, 235, 625
Din Muhammad, 551
Dominion Status, 277, 278, 279, 280,
281, 553, 556
See also Constitutional Reforms,
Vol. I.
Doverton, Captain, 379
Dramatic, Performance Act, 741
Dravid, V.V., 428
Duff, J.F., 152, 157
Dufferin, Lord, 170
Dumraon, 335
Durgapur, 451
Dutt, Romesh Chander, 6
E
East African Indian National Congress,
223
East India Company, 81
East Pakistan, see
Pakistan
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND
PLANNING, 1-80
Economic Planning Conference, 40
Economic Policy, 61, 67, 71, 698, 802,
805
Economic Programme Committee, Report of,
36, 37, 38, 76, 412,
631, 787
Economic Progress, 59
Education, 45, 61, 85, 86, 87, 100, 101,
121, 133, 135, 141, 144, 151, 159,
161, 162, 165
Dacca, 98, 99, 782
INDEX

See also Educational Reforms
Education, Act of 1870, 7
Education Board, 100
Education Commission, 92
Educational Code, 99
EDUCATIONAL REFORMS, 81-166
Educational Service, 91
Egypt, 180, 186, 204, 205, 206, 257, 279, 280, 622, 722, 724
Ehsan Qadir, 338
Election Manifestoes
See
Under Various Political Parties
Elementary Education, 96
Elementary Education Bill, 82, 97
Emigration Act, 166
Emotional Integration, 461
Emotional Integration Committee, 424
See also National Integration
England, 4, 6, 91, 155, 279, 280, 304, 305, 306, 317, 393, 493, 588, 600, 603, 786
Epidemics, 168
Ethiopia, 174
Europe, 155, 201, 205, 560, 713, 764, 772
European Common Market, 800
Exchange Compensatıon Allowance, 2, 3
Expenditure Commission, 4
Export and Import Policy, 49
External Affairs, 514, 516, 657, 658, 662

F
Faizpur Congress, 18, 171, 180, 184, 276, 406, 578
Famine Code, 167
Famine Commission, 168
Famine Insurance Fund, 167
FAMINES, 167-172
Faridkot, 518
Fascism, 764, 766
Fascist Powers, 239
Fateh Singh, Baba, 592
Fazlul Rehman, 427
Fazlul Haq, 373
Federal Assembly, 514
Federal Centre, 601
Federal Court, 542, 543, 544, 545, 560
Federal Legislature, 513, 514, 516, 557, 571
Federal Police Force, 432
Federal Scheme, 510, 511
Federal Union, 605
Federal Units, 601, 603
Finance, 172
Financial Control, 806
Five Year Plans, 50, 54, 55, 58, 58, 60, 61, 64, 66, 67, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80, 413, 414, 483, 607, 608, 724, 732, 749, 805, 806
Flood Control and Protection, 171
Flood Control Boards, 172
Florida, 153
Food shortage, 172
Foreign Affairs, See Foreign Relations
Foreign Christian Missionaries
See
Christian Missionaries
Foreign Policy
See Foreign Relations
FOREIGN RELATIONS (General), 173-213
FOREIGN RELATIONS (Country-wise), 213-271
Formosa, 361, 362
Forward Bloc, 763-775
Fowler, Henry, Sir, 6
France, 204, 225, 600, 769, 786, 797
Fraser, Andrea, 676
French Establishments, 198, 225, 226
French Republic, 226
Frontier Policy
See
Foreign Relations
Fundamental Rights, 17, 751, 784, 798
Fundamental Rights & Economic Programme, 16
Fyzeec, A.A.A., 449

G
Gandhi, Indira, 424, 427, 428, 434, 449, 450, 464, 481
Garth, Richard, 396
Gauhati, 173, 177, 184, 209, 581
Gaya, 401, 402, 406, 576, 760
Gaya Congress, 179
Geneva, 202
Geneva Agreement, 176, 199, 758
George, Lloyd, 280
George, P.S., 427, 428
German Democratic Republic, 756, 758
Germany, 252, 333, 336, 364, 758, 769
Ghana, 174
Ghaznavi, M.D., 356
Ghose, Motilal, 303
Gillani, G.Q., 327
Girdhari Lal, 370
Goa, 201, 202, 210, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 639, 724, 725, 737, 757, 758, 792, 795, 798
See also Foreign Relations
Goa Problem
See
Foreign Relations
Godfrey, Admiral, 689
INDIA’S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Gohatya Virodh Samiti, 622
Gokhale, 52, 97, 251
Gold Coast, 177
Grant, Charles, 155
Great Britain, 720, 761, 762, 772, 797, 809
Great Britain, Imperial Policy of, 2
Great Powers, 176, 185, 194, 203, 306
Grow More Food Campaign, 46
Gungadhar Rao, Rao Sahib, 303
Guineas, 210
Gujranwala, 374
Gujarat, 374, 378, 380, 496, 497, 717, 729, 741
Guizar Singh, 338, 361
Gurdwara Act, 580
Gurmukh Singh Musafir, 427, 428
Gurudat Singh, Baba, 292
Gwallor, 512

H

Habibur Rehman Khan, 361, 363
Hachiyi, H.E., 362
Hafizabad, 374
Hafizka, A.K., 427, 428
Haider Ali, 335
Haikerwal, B.S., 449
Hamil Ali, 300
Handloom Industry, 614
Hardwar, 495
Harijans
See
Constructive Programme, Vol. I
Haripur, 87, 358, 359, 769
Haripur Congress, 180
Harkishan Lal, 7, 370
Hasrat Mohani, Maulana, 403
Hassan, A., 361
Havana Trade Pact, 685
Health and Hygiene
See
Constructive Programme Vol. I
Hellermann, K.M., 133
Horsell Committee, 2
Hewett, John, 311
High Powered Commission, 504, 508
Higher and Technical Education, 97
Higher Education, 90, 98
Hikari Kikan, 360, 362
Himachal Pradesh, 729, 751
Hindu Code Bill, 56, 57, 785
Hindu Cultural Zones, 497
HINDU MAHASABHA, 776, 810
Hindu Muslim Question
See
Communalism, Vol. I
Hindu Nation, 798, 808, 810
Hindu Nationalism, 795
Hindu Raj, 785
Hindu Rashtra, 776, 792
Hindu State, 797
Hindu Succession Act, 595, 622, 634
Hinduism, 797, 809

Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh, 408, 409, 410
Hindustan Seva Dal
See
Labour and Labour Classes
Hindustani Talimi Sangh, 80, 139, 142
Hoare, Samuel, 218
Hobhouse, Lord, 326
Hongkong, 326
House of Commons, 2, 3, 10
Howrah, 679
Human Rights, 255
Hungary, 174, 177, 204, 205, 206, 622
Hunter Committee, 372, 374, 375, 385
Hunter, Lord, 368
Hyderabad, 37, 54, 176, 495, 496, 506, 518, 521, 671, 782, 791

I

I.N.A.
See
Indian National Army
I.N.C.
See
Political Parties—Indian National Congress
I.N.T.U.C., 410, 726
Ikrumullah, 656
Ihabi Bakhsh, 134, 135, 143
Imperial Congress, 563
Imperial Council, 356
Imperial Exchequer, 5, 10
Imperial Nippon Army, 338, 339, 340, 341
Imperial Services, 316
Imperial Treasury, 5
Imperialism, 766, 764, 766
Independence Act, See
Independence Day Pledge, 282
INDEPENDENCE PLEDGES, 272, 288
Independence Resolution, 277
INDEPENDENCE, SUPPRESSION OF, 289, 297
INDEX


INDIA (Periodical), 298-301
India Act, Defence of, 289, 290, 377, 571
India Act, Government of, 4, 308, 309, 510, 522
India—Administration
See
Politics and Government
India Annuity Fund Act, 309
Indian Arms Act, 800
India-China Border Dispute, 758
India—Constituent Assembly
See
Constitutional Reforms, Vol. I
India—Constitution
See
Constitutional Reforms, Vol. I
India, Constitution of, 40, 797
India—Constitutional Reforms
See
Constitutional Reforms, Vol. I
India—Defence
See
India—Dominion Status, 528, Vol. I
India—Economic Conditions
See
Economic Conditions and Planning, Vol. I
India—Foreign Relations
See
Foreign Relations
India—Frontier Policy
See
Foreign Relations
India—Health and Hygiene
See
Constructive Programme—Vol. I
India—Judiciary
See
Judiciary
India—Legislation
See
Constitutional Reforms—Vol. I
India—National Flag
See
National Flag
India—Nationalism
See
Civil Disobedience Movements—Vol. I, 78-142
India—Parliament
See
Constitutional Reforms, Vol. I
India, Republic of, 188
India—Social Reforms
See
Social Reforms

India—Armed Forces, 559, 766
Indian Army, 516, 558, 766, 767
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, 303-321
Indian Code, 390, 391
Indian Congress Committee
See
Political and Semi-Political Parties—Indian National Congress
Indian Constituent Assembly
See
Constitutional Reforms, Vol. I
India Dominion, 553
Indian Empire, 219, 220, 305
Indian Exchequer, 6, 11
Indian Expenditure, 6
Indian Expenditure, Royal Commission, 4, 6
Indian Federal Conference, 492
Indian Federation, 214, 218, 219
Indian Frontier Army, 492
Indian Independence Act, 505, 656, 661, 665
Indian Independence Bill, 551, 552
Indian Independence League, 324, 325, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 333
Indian Independence Movement
See
Civil Disobedience Movements, Vol. I
Indian Medical Service, 319
Indian Mines Bill, 404
INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY (I.N.A.) 322-366
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 18, 53, 173, 174, 186, 223, 238, 276, 324, 335, 358, 400, 487, 500, 579, 550, 599, 760, 763, 768, 769, 782, 785, 811
See also Political and Semi-Political Parties—Indian National Congress
Indian National Council, 330, 335
Indian Penal Code, 432, 452, 454
Indian Princes, 219
Indian Republic, 750
Indian States, 559, 609, 604, 642, 649, 653, 659, 661, 701, 769, 770
Indian Statute Book, 289
Indian Union, 198, 225, 228, 230, 714, 715, 716, 751, 777
Indian Youth Congress
See
Political Parties—Indian National Congress
India's Struggle For Independence
See
Civil Disobedience Movements, Vol. I
Indo-China, 186, 196, 197, 199, 237, 326
Indonesia, 186, 237, 238, 239
Indonesian Republic, 238
Indo-Pakistan Agreement, 243
See also Pakistan and Partition
Indo-Pakistan Problems, 191
See also Pakistan and Partition
Indo-Pakistan Relations, 192
See also Pakistan and Partition
Indore, 53, 173, 358
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J</th>
<th>J</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jabalpur, 589, 767</td>
<td>Jacob, K.K., 449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagat Narayan, Pandit, 513</td>
<td>Jagjiwan Ram, 36, 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jai Parkash Narain, 28, 711, 712, 717</td>
<td>Jain, Ajit Prasad, 427, 428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaipur, 175, 182, 189, 202, 239, 267, 414, 454, 767</td>
<td>Jaipur Congress, 223, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jaisalmer, 512</td>
<td>Jaji, Shrikishandas, 85, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jalalpur Juttan, 378</td>
<td>JALLIANWALA BACH, 388-389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jonas, Mulha Isma, 133, 152</td>
<td>Jamat-ul-Ulama-i-Hind, 403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu, 176, 191, 518, 618, 628, 759</td>
<td>Jamma Das Dwarka Das, 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan Sangh</td>
<td>See Political and Semi-Political Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, 326, 329, 331, 382, 383, 384, 364, 365, 530, 603</td>
<td>Java, 237, 326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenkins, W.A. 134, 143</td>
<td>Jha, Anilth, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jha, Bradanand, 427</td>
<td>Jhansi, Rani of, 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jind, 518</td>
<td>Jinnah, M.A. 383, 487, 521, 526, 530, 531, 532, 533, 538, 549, 554, 555, 566, 656, 692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jodh Singh, 449</td>
<td>Johnson, Col. 378, 379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnston, Alexander, 165</td>
<td>Joint Defence Council 550, 563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint Electorate 778</td>
<td>JUDICIARY, 390, 399</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Junagadh, 496

K
Kabir, H., 472, 488
Kabul, 764
Kaka Kalelkar
See Kalelkar, Kaka
Kalelkar, Kaka, 85, 133
Kairon, Partap Singh, 580
Kallenbach, 251
Kalyani, 183
Kangra, 497
Kangyalal, Lala, 303
Kanpur, 490, 482, 664, 782
Kanpur, Congress 179
Kapurthala, 518
Karachi, 17, 18, 81, 203, 221, 242, 250, 294, 296, 328, 404, 417, 541, 766
Karachi, Congress 16
Karachi Congress Resolution, 274
Karim Ghani, 338
Karnatik, 518, 520, 521, 622
Kashipershad, Munshi, 303
Kashmir, 176, 191, 203, 390, 497, 502, 506, 512, 518, 603, 618, 619, 620, 627, 628, 629, 672, 673, 678, 690, 704, 759, 783, 798
Kasim, Abdul, 383
Kasur, 374
Katju, Kailash Nath, 355
Kazi, S.G. 427, 428
Kennedy, President, 757
Kerala, 262
Khadi
See Commerce and Industry, Vol. 1
Khairpur, 494, 506, 518
Khalistan, 385
See Muslim Political and Semi-Political Parties - Akali
Khan, Abdul Ghaflar, 133
Khan, D.M., 338
Kharak Singh, 580
Kher, G.B. 133, 134, 143
Kher Committee, 135
Khilaful Conference, 403
KHILAFAT MOVEMENT, 496
Kiana, M.Z., 338
Kidwai, Rafi Ahmed, 36, 37, 356
Kisan Agitation
See Civil Disobedience Movements, Vol. 1
Kisan Sabha, 731
Kitchlew, Saif-ud-Din, 370, 376, 377
Kohat, 782
Korea, 175, 176, 190, 191, 194, 199, 239, 240, 241, 267, 268, 672, 679, 699, 799
Kripalani, Acharya, J.B., 356, 467, 468, 469, 538
Kripalani Committee, 618
Kumarappa, J.C., 26, 37, 85, 133
Kurwar Singh, Maharaj, 335
Kunzru, H.N., 468
INDEX

Kutch, 717

L
Labh Singh, 373
Labour and Housing, 48
LABOUR AND LABOUR CLASSES, 404-415
Labour Party, 280, 761
Labour Policy, 407, 637
Labour Unions, 405, 615
Ladakh, 482
Lahore, 92, 169, 245, 319, 358, 374, 378, 394, 400, 404, 526, 760
Lajpat Rai, 170, 269, 776, 781
Lakshmi, Mrs. 338
Land Policy, 61
Land Reforms, 65
Land Revenue
See Agriculture and Land Reforms, Vol. I
Language Policy, 806
Language Question
See National Language, 415
Laos, 799
Lawrence, Pethie, 584
Legislation
Legislation Procedure
Lenin, 764
Liaquat Ali Khan, 538
Liberal Party, 763
Linguistic Minorities, 807
Linthgow, Lord, 219
Liverpool, 170
Local Self Government
See Politics and Government
Lohia, Ram Manohar, 711
London, 170, 183, 185, 223, 559
Louis XVI, 278
Lucknow, 81, 99, 152, 153, 169, 178, 289, 290, 297, 321, 494, 497
Lucknow Congress, 17
Lyallpur, 374, 378

M
Macaulay, Lord, 81
MacDonald Award, 580
Maclagan, Edward, 380
McMahon Line, 483, 759
Mae Rae, Col., 379
Madhya Pradesh, 622, 791
Madras, 90, 91, 92, 94, 152, 155, 175, 183, 184, 242, 244, 245, 246, 248, 251, 276, 289, 293, 306, 308, 320, 391, 394, 396, 399, 405, 470, 475, 495, 612, 652, 669, 689, 791
Makaraj, Mehar Chand, 551
Maharaj Singh, 699
Maharashtra, 335, 712, 729, 741
Mahmudul Hassan, Maulana, 463
Maitra, S.N., 365, 366
Majithia, Surjit Singh, 586
Malabar, 292, 502, 518, 519, 671, 682, 782
Malakwal, 374
Malviya, K.D., 467, 468
Malviya, Madan Mohan, 7, 368, 370, 376, 377, 731
Malaya, 220, 238, 241, 322, 326, 355
Malier Khetia, 518
Malik, Sibib Khan, 378, 379
Malwa, 496
Manchuria, 186, 364
Manchukuo, 326
Mandatutory Power, 180
Manipur, 671, 729, 751
Markby, William, 396, 397
Martial Law
See Civil Disobedience Movement, Vol. I
Marxism, 714
Mashruwala, Kishorlal, 85, 133
Mathura, 809
Maulana Azad
See Azad, Abul Kalam
Medical Education, 312
Medical Mission, 220
Meerut, 182, 229, 238, 253, 409, 518
Mehdi, S.A., 427, 428
Mehta, Ashok, 449, 711, 712
Mehta, Hansa, 134, 143
Mehta, Mohan Singh, 160
Mehta, P.M., 305
Menon, K.P.S., 327
Menon, Krishna, 180
Menon, V.P., 656
Merwandi Sikkina Mandel, 84
Mesopotamia, 179
Meyer, William, 13
Midnapur, 774
Military Medical Service, 321
Mill, 278
Minimum Wages Act, 726
Minorities, 416, 529
Minority Commission, 594
MINORITIES, 416-423
Minto-Morley Scheme, 416
Misra, Ram Narayan, 132
Moderates
See Political and Semi-Political Parties
Mohammed Iqbal, 487, 536, 537
Mohan Lal, 327
Mohan Singh, 327
Mohanpae, D.R., 122
Montagu Chelmsford Reforms
Montagu, M.S., 292, 402, 405
Montagu Reforms Act, 760, 761
Mookerjes, Peary Mohan, 303
Moonja, M.S., 309
Montford Reforms, 782
Morgan, A.E., 152, 157
Moscow, 467
INDIA’S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Mountbatten, Lord, 554, 654
Mountbatten Plan, 692, 693, 694
See also Constitutional Reforms
Vol. 1
Muddaliar, A.L., 152
Muddaliar, B.D., 167
Muhammad Munir, 551
Mukerji, Asanosh, 98
Mukerjea, Bijan Kumar, 550
Mukherjee, Hiren, 449, 468
Mukherjee, Jayasimhaprasad, 697
Mulan, 400, 782
Munich Pact, 181, 239
Muslim Communalism, 795
Muslim Cultural Zones, 494
Muslim League, 400, 416, 468, 525, 538, 539, 540, 544, 545, 546, 549, 550, 558, 579, 580, 582, 583, 691, 692, 778, 789, 783, 795
Muslim University, Aligarh, 101
Mussolini, 530
Mussoorie, 437
Mustafa Faki, 427, 428
Mysoore, 495

N
N.A.T.O., 423
N.C.C., 800
N.E.F.A., 483
N.W.F. Province, 512, 545
Nabha, 518
Naga Land, 592
Nagpur, 83, 90, 98, 173, 177, 210, 717, 751, 767, 772, 782
Nama Sahib, 335
Nanak, Guru, 292, 472
Nanda, Gulzar Lal, 26, 37, 409, 410, 441
Naoroji, Dadabhai, 82, 178, 303, 304, 305
Narendra Dec, 500
Naraji, Khushrud, 356
Nailk, 175
Nailk, Congress, 189, 268
National Anthem, 348
National Congress, See Indian National Congress
National Constitution, See Constitutional Reforms, Vol. 1
National Defence, 627, 806. See also Defence, Vol. 1
National Defence Council, 627
National Development Council, 70, 74, 633
National Development Pool, 737
National Economic Plans, 801, 802
National Economic Programme, 501
National Education, 96, 100. See also Educational Reforms
National Extension Service, 55, 57, 61, 67, 71, 72, 74, 743
National Extension Services Scheme, 63
National Flag, 297, 332, 334
National Health Service, 638
NATIONAL INTEGRATION, 424, 486, 594, 752
National Integration Committee, 416, 417, 424, 427, 434, 450, 451, 452, 467
National Integration Conference, 472, 481, 482
National Integration Pledge, 481
Nations, League of, 180, 761
National Liberal Federation, 579
National Plan, 89, 51, 63, 64, 68, 69, 70
National Script, 794
Nehru Committee, 490
Nehru Committee Report, 272, 400
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 26, 36, 37, 173, 179, 222, 237, 276, 355, 356, 416, 500, 530, 545, 599, 600, 665, 694, 697, 698, 700, 702, 704, 705, 706, 716
Nehru, Motilal, 272, 370, 373
Nepal, 521, 606, 639, 668, 675, 795
Netaji Inquiry Committee, 764
See also Indian National Army
Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, 249
New York, 685, 686
Nigeria, 261
Nishtar, Abdur Rab, 656
Niyogi Committee, 611
Nizamabad, 374
Non-alignment, 799
Non-violence, 800
North-East Bloc, 494
North-East Zone, 506
North-West Bloc, 494
North-West Frontier, 498, 499, 494
North-West Frontier Province, 506, 517, 522, 566, 780
North-West Zone, 506
North Brook, Lord, 3
Nuclear Test Ban Agreement, 211

O
O’ Brien, Col., 379
Orange River Colonies, 245, 246
Orissa, 512
Ottoman, 403
Oudh, 394

PAKISTAN AND PARTITION, 175
176, 182, 190, 211, 242, 243, 244, 269, 457, 573, 582, 589, 590, 595, 598, 606, 618, 619, 629, 640, 656, 657, 666, 673, 675, 678, 679, 680, 692, 697, 699, 702, 703, 714, 716, 735, 757, 777, 779, 783, 784
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
<th>Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>790, 791, 792, 795, 800, 808, 809</td>
<td>Palestine, 180, 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Pan-Asiatic Federation, 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173, 177, 199, 200, 205, 207, 209, 263, 757, 758, 799, 900</td>
<td>Panchayat, 751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Pandra, R.B., 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>591</td>
<td>Panjab Enquiry Committee, 591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>561, 564, 592</td>
<td>Panjab Partition Committee, 561, 564, 592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>665</td>
<td>Panjab, 292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>665</td>
<td>Part, Govind Ballabh, 665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Partb, K., 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671</td>
<td>Patiala, 494, 518, 671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Patna, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, 357, 711</td>
<td>Patwardhan, Achyut, 26, 357, 711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409</td>
<td>Patwardhan, P.H., 409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>670</td>
<td>Pay Commission, 670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace Committee, 670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>698</td>
<td>Patel, Vallabhbbhai, 220, 356, 499, 555, 563, 657, 665, 869, 700, 702, 705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>781</td>
<td>Permanand, Bhai, 781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>357</td>
<td>Partap Singh, 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>563</td>
<td>Partition Council, 563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>698</td>
<td>Patel, Vallabhbbhai, 220, 356, 499, 555, 563, 657, 665, 869, 700, 702, 705</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>781</td>
<td>Parmanand, Bhai, 781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>671</td>
<td>Patna, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26, 357, 711</td>
<td>Patwardhan, Achyut, 26, 357, 711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>409</td>
<td>Patwardhan, P.H., 409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>670</td>
<td>Pay Commission, 670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace Committee, 670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Philipson, Gerda, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>665</td>
<td>Planning Commission, 665, 69, 70, 74, 633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>Polak S.L., 251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>524</td>
<td>Poland, 199, 524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>742</td>
<td>Police Code, 742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>575</td>
<td>Police Commissioners, 575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>574, 578</td>
<td>POLICE REFORMS, 574, 578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>579-810</td>
<td>POLITICAL AND SEMI-POLITICAL PARTIES, 579-810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>Pondicherry, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>306, 394, 538, 665, 783</td>
<td>Poona, 91, 244, 306, 394, 538, 665, 783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212, 222, 227, 231, 235, 595</td>
<td>Portugal, 177, 202, 212, 222, 231, 235, 595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>Portuguese Possessions, 236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134, 143</td>
<td>Powell-Price, J.C., 134, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Power Blocs, 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601</td>
<td>Praja Mandal, 601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601</td>
<td>Praja Socialist Party, See Political and Semi-Political Parties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Pramath, Pandit, 303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>761</td>
<td>Press Act, 761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>743</td>
<td>Press Commission, 743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>611</td>
<td>Press obstructiona Matters Act, 611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>711, 731, 742, 798</td>
<td>Preventive Detention Act, 611, 711, 731, 742, 798</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>Primary Education, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>See also Educational Reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>598, 599</td>
<td>Princely States, 598, 599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361</td>
<td>Privy Council, 361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>493</td>
<td>Privy Seal, 493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Problems, Economic, and Industrial, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Provincial Autonomy, 510, 777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Public Commission, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>Public Instruction, Director of, 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>696</td>
<td>Public Safety Act, 611, 630, 696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>712</td>
<td>Public Safety Bill, 712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305, 508, 609</td>
<td>Public Service Commission, 305, 508, 609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Public Services, 60, 317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q

Qalat, 518

"Quit India", 182, 264, See also Civil Disobedience Movements, Vol. I

Quran, 489, 493

R

RSS, 697 See also Political and Semi-Political Parties

Racial Discrimination 258, 261, See also National Integration

Radhakrishnan, S., 152, 157, 416

Radical Democrat Party, see Political and Semi-Political Parties

Raghuvaran, N., 327

Raghunandan Saran, 355, 356

Rahman, H. 133

Rahman, S.R. 350

Raja Maharaj Singh, 224

Rajgopalachariar, C., 222

Rajendra Prasad, 368, 410, 522

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, See Amrit Kaur, Rajkumari

Rajnandgaon, 679

Rajputana, 496, 497, 512

Ramananda, 472

Ramanuja, 472

Ramchandra, 222

Ramgarh, 768, 773

Ramgarh Congress, 181

Rannagar, 374, 378

Rampur, 494
Ram Rajya Parishad, 586, See also Political and Semi-Political Parties
Ram Sahal, 427
Ram Subhag Singh, 427
Ranade, 7
Ranga, N.G., 26, 36, 37, 411
Rangoon, 98, 169
Rao, V.K. R.V., 467
Rashid, Captain, 357
Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, 386
See also Political and Semi-Political Parties
Reconstruction Committee, 144
Red Flag, 681
Reform Bill, 761
Reforms Act, 291
Regional Boards, 506
Regional Labour Boards, 35
Regional List, 513
Research Institutes, Establishment of, 804
Responsive Co-operative Party, See Political and Semi-Political Parties
Revolutionary Socialist Party, see Political and Semi-Political Parties
Reynolds, H.J., 396, 397
Reza Ali Khan, Nawab, 303
River Valley Commission, 172
Robertson, Benjamin, 251
Rohilkhand, 518
Rome, 764
Round Table Conference, 187
Rownall Act, 375, 378, 380, 761
Rownall Bills, 179
Roy, B.C., 220, 453
Royal Air Force, 559
Royal Commission, 498
Royal Indian Air Force, 689
Royal Indian Navy, 689
Rural Credit, 68
Rural Development Board, 47
Rural Development, Machinery for, 47
Rural Development, Programme, of 45
Russia, 278, 360, 444
S
Sadiq Ali, 427, 428
Saha, Mughnad, 152
Saharanpur, 782
Sahay, A.M., 338
Saigon, 361, 362
Sajjad Ziaheer, 665
Salt Tax, 273, 275
Sampurnanand, 435, 449
Samuel, M.H., 449
San Francisco Conference, 190, 265, 266
Sangla Hill, 374
Santhanam, K., 373
Sapru, Tej Bahadur, 355
Saraswati, Sahajanand, 771
Sardessi, S.S., 665
Sargent, John, 143
Sargodha, 374
Sarkar, A.N., 338
Satyapal, 376, 377
Saurashtra, 791, 809
Sayani, Rahimatulla, 303
Savarkar, V.D., 781
Scott, John, 396, 397
SEATO, 203, 723
Secondary and Higher Education, 96
Secondary Education, 95
Secondary Education Commission, 151, 157
Security Council of U.N., 640
Sen, Guru Prasad, 303
Sergeant, Charles, 306, 397
Shah, H.M., 223
Shah, K.K., 428
Shah, K.T., 85, 101, 500
Shah Nawaz Khan, 338, 365, 366, 427, 428
Shahabad, 400
Shanti Sena, 716
Sharma, Karyanand, 665
Sheik Abdulla
See Abdullah, Sheikh
Sheikhupura, 374, 378
Shirromani Akali Dal
See Akali Dal
Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, 587
Shraddhanda, Swami, 370, 400
Shrimati, K.L., 160
Shyam Singh Attariwala, 335
Siddiqui, W.H., 133
Siddhanta, Nirmal Kumar, 153, 157, 467
Sidney, Philip, 220
Sikander Hyat Khan, 509, 531, 535, 536
Sikh State, 584
Simla, 154, 312, 536, 545
Simla Hill States, 518
Simon Report, 491
Sind, 490, 506, 512, 517, 566, 582, 780
Singapore, 213, 322, 361, 764
Sinha, Laxminikshwar, 122
Sino-Japanese War, 174
Sitaramayya, Pattabhi, 36, 37, 40
Smith, Bosworth, 379
Smuts, Field Marshal, 187, 253
Smyrna, 403
Social and Economic Programme, 55
Social Democrats, 713
Socialism, 708, 711, 764, 801
Socialist Party, 579, 711, 713, 763, 767, 774
See also Political and Semi-Political Parties
Socialistic State, 713
Soekarno, Dr. 238
Sohan Singh Josh, 665
South Africa, 8, 201, 245, 250, 251, 253, 255, 258, 255, 256, 257, 259
INDEX

South African Colonies, 244
South Africa, Union of, 186, 187, 210, 212
South East Asian Defence Organisation, 199
Soviet Union
   See U.S.S.R.
Spain, 180, 239
Speculation, Control of, 50
Sri Ayer, 361
Sri Prakasa, 356
Srinivas, M.N., 449
Stalin, 765
Standstill Agreement, 696
State Duty Bill, 56
State Insurance, 57
State Policy, Directive Principles of,
   742, 797
State Standing Committee, 750
State Trading Corporation, 746
State Treasury, 129
States Reorganisation Commission,
   585, 729
Statutory Commission, 216
Stuart, John, 278
Sudan, 174, 176, 201
Suez Canal, 204
Suhrawardy, 541
Sumatra, 326
Swaraj, 178
Swaraj Party,
   See Political and Semi-Political
   Parties
Swaran Singh, 428, 586
Swatantra Party, 579
Syed, Abdul Latif, 494
Syed Hassan Imam, 570
Syed, Zafarul Hassam, 517
Sylhet, 517, 551, 567
Syonan, 352
Syria, 180

T

Tagore, Rabindranath, 333
Taihoku, 362, 363
Taiwan, 363
Tajammul Hussain, 122
Tamland, 712
Tanganyika, 223
Tantia Tope, 335
Tara Chand, 152-157
Tara Chand Committee, 151
Tara Singh, 582, 584, 593
Taran Taran, 374
Tariff Board, 32
Tariq, A.M., 427, 428
Tayabji, Abbas, 373, 379
Technical Education, 92, 95, 148
   See also Educational Reforms
Tehran, 203
Teja Singh, 551
Telangana, 670, 682
Termonde, Dinant, 386

Thailand, 326, 332, 333
Thivy, J., 338
Thakur, Phool Singh, 427
Thomas, F.W., 155
Thompson, F., 279
Tibet, 265, 453, 799
Tibetan Expedition, 10, 265
Tigert, J.J., 153, 257
Tilak, B.G., 7, 576
Tippu Sultan, 335
Tojo, General, 330
Tokyo, 354, 364
Tokyo Conference, 323, 330
Tourane, 362
Track and Commerce, 789
Trade Union, 615
Transitional Federation, 505
Travancore, 495, 512
Trichinopoly, 689
Tripura, 239, 338, 671, 729, 751, 769
Tripuri Session, 181
Truman H., 699
Tunisia, 265
Turkey, 400, 402, 493
Two Nation Theory
   See also Pakistan and Partition
Tyagi, Mahavir, 468

U

U.N. Charter, 639
U.N.O.
   See United Nations
UNESCO, 443
U.P., 701
U.S.A.
   See United States of America
Uganda, 223
Umar Buksh, 7
Union Constituent Assembly, 542
Unitary State, 611
United Front, 710
United Kingdom, 3, 175, 188, 219, 220,
   354, 559, 568, 569, 571
United Kingdom, Defence Realm Act
   of, 239
United Nations, 174, 175, 176, 177,
   186, 188, 190, 194, 195, 199, 200,
   201, 207, 208, 211, 212, 226, 237,
   240, 253, 254, 255, 258, 263, 264,
   268, 619, 672, 673, 713, 734,
   787, 799
United Nations General Assembly, 204
United Provinces, 404, 505, 508, 512
United States of America, 176, 179,
   182, 213, 269, 507, 613, 699, 719,
   766, 757, 758
United States Pakistan Military Pact,
   176
Universities Bill, 93
University Commission Report, 92
University Education Commission, 151
University Grants Commission, 159, 466
Untouchability, 596
U.S.S.R. 613, 664, 722

V

Varanasi, 809
Varkey, C.J., 134
Varma, Ganga Prasad, 7, 303
Versailles, Treaty of, 769
Victoria, Queen, 81
Vienna, 358, 359
Viet Nam, 672, 690, 758
Vigilance Committee, 432
Vimoba Bhave, 85, 133
Viragram, 380
Vocational Education, 133

W

Wage Board, 637
Wardha, 84, 101, 133, 225, 229, 241, 408, 409
Wardha Conference, 105, 129
Wardha Education Scheme
   See Educational Reforms
Wardha Educational Conference, 103
Wavell’s Address, 647
Wazirabad, 374
Waziristan, 270
Weedburn, William, Sir, 6, 396, 397
Welfare State, 57, 58, 60
Western European Powers, 699
William, 398
Wilson, R.K., 396, 397
Winston, Lord, 280
Wood-Aubert Report, 133
World Peace Congress, 180
World War I, 178, 179
World War II, 181, 196

Y

Yagnik, B.M., 428
Yakub Hassan, Maulana, 292
Yarkey, C.J., 143
Yellapa, A., 328
Yugoslavia, 199

Z

Zakir Husain, 85, 86, 100, 102, 133, 134, 135, 139, 140, 143, 152, 157
Zonal Boards, 502
Zonal Councils, 460
Zubairi, B.H., 133