INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM
SELECT DOCUMENTS AND SOURCES

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

VOLUME III

Selected, Annotated, Classified and Edited by
JAGDISH SARAN SHARMA
(Michigan, U.S.A.)

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SHRIMAN NARAYAN

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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
PREFACE

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 areshrined relevant documents concerning our History of Freedom Movement.

New Delhi
October, 1964

Shri
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, along with 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 Bhooman: 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 Movements 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) Bhartiya 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 along with 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.
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 Shrimanji 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, Dec., 1964

JAGDISH SABAN 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, 15th November, 1958.

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Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.


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Bhartiya Jan Sangh:

Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.


Chamber of Princes:

Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.

Communist Party of India.


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Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Radical Democratic Party.
  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Radical Socialist Party.
  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Responsive Co-operative Party.
  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Revolutionary Socialist Party.
  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
  *Indian National Congress: A Descriptive Bibliography*, New Delhi, S. Chand & Co., 1959, p. 816.
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Socialist Party.
  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Swatantra Party.
  Manifestoes, resolutions and other documents.
Swarajya Party.
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*Young India*: A Weekly in English, 1919-33.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Volume III**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources Consulted</td>
<td>xvii–xxii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX—Political and Semi-political Parties (contd.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Indian National Congress</td>
<td>811–1017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Muslim League (See also Pakistan and Partition)</td>
<td>1017–1073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. National Liberal Federation</td>
<td>1073–1078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Praja Socialist Party</td>
<td>1078–1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Radical Democratic Party</td>
<td>1101–1108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Responsive Cooperative Party</td>
<td>1108–1113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Revolutionary Socialist Party</td>
<td>1113–1126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Socialist Party</td>
<td>1126–1172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Swarajya Party</td>
<td>1172–1177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Swatantra Party</td>
<td>1177–1190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX—Politics and Government</td>
<td>1191–1208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI—Press Repression</td>
<td>1209–1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII—Princes and their States</td>
<td>1226–1367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIII—Social Reforms</td>
<td>1368–1390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXIV—Swaraj Bhavan</td>
<td>1391–1392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXV—Taxation</td>
<td>1393–1399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXVI—World Wars—I and II</td>
<td>1400–1448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>1449–1467</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Indian National Congress was an offshoot of many dynamic forces which were driving the people of India from different points of the compass to a common fold and to concentrate their thoughts, ideas and activities to a common focus for the attainment of the political rights and privileges. Among the forces, the eminent were: Violent impact of European culture over India; Religious and cultural revival by social reformers like Ram Mohan Roy, Vivekanand, Dayanand, Ishwar Chandra, Keshab Chandra and others; the rise of Mutiny of 1857 and the growth of the Indian Press.

These forces of the Modern Indian Renaissance forcibly burst into the minds of educated Indians who launched movements by organizing British Association in Bengal, Bombay Association in Bombay, Mahajan Sabha in South India and Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in Maharashtra. The organization of an International Exhibition in Calcutta in 1877 and holding of a Political Conference in Calcutta in 1883 is also something to do with laying the foundation of an all-India organization. Some historians are of the opinion that the idea was first conceived in a private meeting of seventeen men after the Theosophical Convention held at Madras in December, 1884. Some hold that Sir Allan Octavian Hume, who after his retirement from the Civil Service organized the “Indian Union” is instrumental in conceiving the Congress. It is still a disputable point as to who originated this idea of an All-India Congress but this is a fact that India in those days was feeling the need of having some sort of an All-India organization and Sir Allan Octavian Hume took initiative in convening a meeting of the Indian National Union in March, 1885 at Poona. Among other decisions, the Union decided
to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India in Poona during the Christmas of 1885. The venue of the proposed meeting had to be shifted to Bombay because of a few cases of cholera in Poona. So the first session of the National Congress met at 12 noon, on December 28, 1885, in the Hall of the Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit College, under the presidency of Shri W.C. Bannerji.

The objectives of the Congress as enunciated by its first president, Mr. W.C. Bannerji, were:

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

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

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

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

From the objectives mentioned above it is quite clear that the Indian National Congress at its inception was not meant to be anti-British. It was not intended to be a seditious organization. Among its founders there were not only Liberal Britishers like A.O. Hume, George Yule, Charles Bradlaugh, Henry Cotton, William Wedderburn but also loyal Indians like W.C. Bannerji, Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pheroze Mehta. In the early years the resolutions which were passed in the Annual Sessions, were modest, and none of them contemplated the end of the British connection. But as time rolled and as the real character of the British rule became clear to them, they in the interest of the nation identified themselves with the cause of the millions of India's downtrodden, ill-fed, ill-clothed and oppressed people.
The reaction of the anti-partition agitation which raged in Bengal during 1905-11 had a great impact upon the minds of the younger Congressmen all over the country. In 1906 for the first time, under the Presidency of Dadabhai Naoroji, the Congress put forth a claim to Swaraj and subsequently an organized movement to boycott British goods was started as a patriotic move against the foreign Government. Naturally the moderate Congress leaders like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Surendra Nath Banerji whose policy was dubbed as “mendicant” by the extremists, did not like this attitude of the Congress section led by the triumvirate Lal-Bal Pal. The differences between the “Moderates” and the “Extremists” were basically ideological. The well-known “Surat Split” in the 23rd Congress held at Surat in December, 1907 was the inevitable result of these developments.

The extremists who had walked out of the Congress in 1907 re-captured its reins in 1910. During this interval the Congress was purely a moderate body and its activities were devoid of any remarkable achievements. In good faith the Congress helped the British Government in winning the World War I, hoping to obtain “Dominion Status” basing its faith on the War aims of the Allies. But the hopes of the Congress were dashed to the ground and a blow to the injury was provided by the Rowlatt Act, based on the Sedition Committee’s Report, which was passed in 1919. The Jallianwala Bagh massacre had already shaken the faith of Congressmen in the British integrity. At this time when distrust and anger against the British Government was rampant, a frail, gentle, ascetic saint-politician, Mahatma Gandhi, appeared on the political scene of India. He through his philosophy of non-violence, non-co-operation and satyagraha, stirred the imagination of the Indian people as a whole, the educated as well as the dumb and ignorant masses. He gave them honour and self-respect. He virtually picked them up from the dust and made them into men. In him they found their long awaited Messiah and a Liberator from the British Yoke.

Mahatma Gandhi lived up to the expectations of his people. He not only made India, an independent nation but also made it economically, socially and morally stronger. In fact he cured the nation’s own paralysis by rejuvenating its soul by its own efforts. The weapon of moral re-armament which he gave to his people was “Satyagraha”. Against the Rowlatt Bills which were nicknamed as “Black Bills” he launched his first All-India Satyagraha campaign in April 1919.
At the Special Session in Calcutta in 1920, Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in prevailing upon the Congress to adopt his non-co-operation programme with its four-fold boycotts for the redress of the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs and for the attainment of Swaraj. In the 35th Session which met at Nagpur in 1920 the Congress placed herself completely under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and a countrywide boycott campaign was launched. The response to the movement was phenomenal. There was the surrender of titles by the title holders, withdrawal of students from educational institutions, suspension of practice by lawyers in the courts and the boycott by prospective Councillors of the council elections under the reforms. There also went on huge bonfires of foreign cloth as a part of the cloth boycott movement. Meetings of popular demonstrations were held everywhere and Mahatma Gandhi made his triumphal march throughout the country with Ali Brothers by his side. The country was in the vortex of an agitation like which India had never seen. Non-co-operation progressed from stage to stage under the inspiring leadership of men like C.R. Das in Bengal, Motilal Nehru in U.P., Lala Lajpat Rai in the Punjab and the Patel Brothers in Bombay.

Mahatma Gandhi seemed to be within an inch of success. But the unfortunate outbreak of violence of Chauri-Chaura resulting in the loss of lives of 22 policemen made the leader cry a halt. This decision of the Mahatma was approved by the Working Committee meeting at Bardoli. The Bardoli retreat created a rift in the Congress camp and gave birth to the rise of the Swarajist Party which believed in the Council Entry programme. The issue whether the Congress should accept the Swarajists' programme of entering the Councils was discussed at the Gaya Session in 1922. Ultimately after much heated discussion between the followers of Mahatma Gandhi and the Swarajist Party at the Special Session held in Delhi in 1923 was adopted the Council Entry programme without in any way minimising the importance of the Constructive programme. Thus another split in the Congress could be avoided.

At the 39th Session of the Congress held in 1923 at Cooch Behar, the Congress sanctioned Council entry and the question of National Pact with a view to bring about a settlement of the Communal problem. At this very time Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene on his release due to illness and brought out a Pact in Calcutta between the two groups of the Congress.

Since the Calcutta Pact brought unity among the Congressmen, the British Government did not appreciate it. To sabotage the unity efforts, the Government initiated the Communal riots at
Gulbarga, Kotah, Lucknow and other places. Mahatma Gandhi, in order to bring communal harmony, undertook a fast for 21 days by way of penance. At the Belgaum Congress in 1924, which he himself presided upon, he placed before the Nation the Constructive Programme for the attainment of Swaraj by non-violent and legitimate means.

After the Kanpur Congress in 1925 the Swaraj Party decided to carry opposition to the Government in the Assembly but the Gauhati session in 1926 decided against the acceptance of any Government office by any Congressman. The appointment of the Simon Commission disappointed all the Parties, Liberal as well as the Congressmen. An All-Parties Conference was called upon to protest against the Simon Commission and to formulate a scheme of Government of India. The Nehru Committee’s report which based its recommendations on “Dominion Status” as India’s goal appeared on August 14th, 1928, and, was enthusiastically received throughout India. At this stage we should note that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who represented the youth of India and also the Socialist Section of the Congress, passed it for accepting complete independence as its goal at the Madras Session of the Congress in December, 1927. When the All-Parties Conference Report was debated in 1928 at Lucknow he again gave a clear lead and declared the conception of “Dominion Status” as completely out of touch with the realities of those days. Ever since then he had been in the forefront of India’s struggle for freedom. But when Lord Irwin on December 23, 1929 could not assure Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru and other Congress leaders “that the Constitution to be drawn up by the Round Table Conference would grant ‘Dominion Status’ to India the Congress at its Lahore Session on December 31, 1929 endorsing its Calcutta decisions, declared complete independence as the goal of the Congress. It was also decided that January 26th of each year, till India achieves its goal, should be observed “Independence Day” with the hoisting of the National Flag and declaration of independence.

After the Government had rejected Mahatma Gandhi’s “Eleven points” he launched the Civil Disobedience Movement and undertook the historic “Gandhi March” on March 12, 1930 to break the Salt Law. India had rejected the Simon Commission Report and the British in its anxiety to find a way out of the Indian deadlock summoned a Round Table Conference in London. The Congress did not attend its first session but as a result of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact of 1931 the Congress agreed to attend the Second Round Table Conference and nominated Gandhi as its only representative. Mahatma
Gandhi was sadly disappointed at the trend of the Conference and on his return to India he not only found his valued colleagues behind the bars but also saw promulgation of Ordinances meant to suppress the Congress movement. Besides this, the Viceroy refused to discuss with him the political situation. Finding no way out, the Congress Working Committee on January 1, 1932, adopted its resolution for launching the Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhiji was arrested and the Congress Working Committee was declared an unlawful body. The British Government was trying to solve the Indian Constitutional problem in its own imperialistic way and it published the Communal Award as a solution for the Communal problem of India. Against this "Communal Award" Gandhiji began his "fast unto death" on October 20, 1932, which resulted in the Poona part on October 26, 1932. The Civil Disobedience Movement was suspended for a month on May 8, 1933 because he undertook fast for 21 days for the cause of Harijans.

The Swarajist Party which was again revived met at Ranchi on May 2, 1933 and decided to form a Parliamentary Board for the purpose of contesting the ensuing Assembly elections. The All-India Congress Committee which met at Patna in 1933 approved the formation of the Parliamentary Board. But differences of opinion regarding the Communal Award arose and resulted in the resignation of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Shri M.S. Aney from the Congress, and they formed in August 1934, the Congress Nationalist Party.

The final British solution of the constitutional problem came in the shape of the Act of 1935. But it could not satisfy the Congress which had made "Complete Independence" as its goal. However, in 1937 the Congress fought and won the elections. It formed ministries in eight provinces out of eleven, but later resigned on the issue of the World War II because it failed to secure from the British Government a clear declaration of their war aims in relation to India. It launched the "Individual Satyagraha" in 1940. There was complete deadlock. The British Cabinet in their anxiety to secure active co-operation of India in war efforts sent out Sir Stafford Cripps to India with proposals to resolve the Indian deadlock. The Cripps Mission failed on the crucial point of the refusal of a war-time National Government with effective powers. The only redeeming feature of the Cripps proposals was the acceptance by the British Government, of the principle, that the constitutional set up of India should be determined by Indians themselves. The failure of the Cripps Mission thoroughly frustrated the Congress and it launched the "Quit India" movement in August 1942. The "Quit India" resolu-
tion declared "that the immediate ending of the British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom. This open rebellion was in fact a peoples' revolution. It was spontaneous, widespread and at the same time violent.

The Congress organization was declared an unlawful body, and all the eminent leaders were arrested and were put behind the bars. The Government did all in its power to uproot the Congress from the soil of India and retain its regime for all times to come. However, circumstances led the Government to release the Working Committee on 16th June 1945 from the Ahmednagar Fort and the Meerut Session of the Congress met on November 23, 1946 under the Presidentship of Acharya J.B. Kripalani. There had been no Session of the Congress after the Ramgarh Session of 1940.

The "Quit India" movement shook the very foundations of the British Government. They were convinced that one day they will have to leave the country. The unrest among the armed forces also convinced the Britishers that they could not hold on so India any longer. The Labour Party which was in power at that time in England decided to transfer power gracefully. The appointment of the Cabinet Mission was announced on February 19, 1946. It consisted of Lord Pathic Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, and H.V. Alexander, First Lord of Admiralty.

The Cabinet Mission stayed in India for about three months. It met eminent leaders of all the Parties and discussed with them the ways and means of finding out some solution of the Indian problem. Before the Cabinet Mission departed for England on June 29, 1946 they issued a statement on June 27, in which they proposed the formation of a Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government. When this proposal was placed before the All-India Congress Committee on July 6, 1946, at Bombay, it gave its approval by 205 against 51 votes. The Muslim League, however, rejected the proposals and pressed for a separate homeland for Muslims. Its obduracy closed all avenues for solution of the deadlock which was finally solved by the Mountbatten Plan which provided for the partition of India. Statutory form was given to this final settlement by the Indian Independence Act of 1947 and India became independent on August 15, 1947. It is noteworthy that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was the President of the Congress during this most critical period, carried out the negotiations so gracefully and successfully.
After the Indian Independence the responsibility for governing the country fell upon the shoulders of the Congress which was in office at that time. Its most significant achievements since then have been, the making of the Indian Constitution, Integration of the Indian States—the work of the Iron Man of India—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—and the realization of the Social Welfare State in India. The future pattern of India's economic and social life has been clearly defined by the Congress through its resolutions on "Socialistic Pattern of the Society" and Planning. The Congress has fought and won two General Elections, the first in 1952 and the other in 1957. One of the most significant developments which owes much to Congress is the gradual elimination of the Communal Parties from the Indian Political scene. If Mahatma Gandhi guided the destinies of the Congress in the Pre-Independence era, to Shri Jawaharlal Nehru goes the credit of guiding the destinies of the nation in the Post-Independence period.

Only five months after India had achieved independence the Father of the Nation was no more to guide the destinies of the Congress. The responsibility of running the Congress and the Government fell on the shoulders of his "Political heir" Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Although he had some policy differences with his Guru during the later's life-time, yet after his death he made Gandhian Philosophy "the Keynote of his domestic and foreign policy."

A close analysis of Nehru's association with the Congress between 1927 and 1947 and between 1948 and May 27, 1964* will show that next to Mahatma Gandhi, his influence on policies of the Congress is unrivalled. His contribution to the evolution of Congress policies and ideology can easily be appreciated if we study closely the resolution of the Congress on Social Objectives, Planning, Foreign Relations, Agriculture, Land Reforms, and Industries. Specially after independence, Congress policy with regard to Panchsheel, Socialist Pattern of Society, Co-operative Farming, Land Reforms and Heavy Industries and Planning owe their origin to the fertile mind of this great man of India.

Great contribution has also been made in the field of organisational and policy matters in the Post-Independence period by Shri U. N. Dhebar. In this connection particular mention is to be made of the Avadi and the Nagpur Sessions over which he presided and in which the future social pattern of India was outlined by the Congress Party.

* Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, died in New Delhi on May 27, 1964.
Since the resolutions reveal the development of the Congress ideology, it is imperative that we should analyse them briefly and show that the post-Independence policies of the Congress are in a way a rational evolution of its earlier thinking on the various national problems—political, economic and social.

Documents:

These Documents are arranged under the following sub-headings:

(i) AIMS AND OBJECTS
(ii) CONSTITUTION
(iii) MANIFESTOES
(iv) MEMBERSHIP
(v) ORGANIZATION
(vi) SECRETARIAT
(vii) SEVA DAL

Aims and Objects*

Text:

"And now it seemed a fitting occasion for answering a question that had continually been asked in the world outside during the past few weeks, viz., what the objects and aims of this great National Congress really were. He would not pretend to reply to this question exhaustively. The ensuing proceedings would, he believed, do this more effectively than any single speaker could hope to do; but he might say briefly, that the objects of the Congress could for the most part be classed under the following heads:

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

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

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

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

Surely there was nothing in these objects to which any sensible and unprejudiced man could possibly take exception, and yet on more than one occasion remarks had been made by gentlemen, who should have been wiser, condemning the proposed Congress as if it were a nest of consideration and disloyalists. Let him say once for all, and in this he knew well after the long informal discussion that they had all amongst themselves on the previous day, that he was only expressing the sentiments of every gentleman present, that there were no more thoroughly loyal and consistent well-wishers of the British Government than were himself and the friends around him. In meeting to discuss in an orderly and peaceable manner questions of vital importance affecting their well-being, they were following the only course by which the Constitution of England enabled them to represent their views to the ruling authority. Much had been done by Great Britain for the benefit of India, and the whole country was truly grateful to her for it. She had given them order, she had given them railways, and, above all, she had given them the inestimable blessings of Western education. But a great deal still remained to be done. The more progress the people made in education and material prosperity, the greater would be the insight into political matters and the keener their desire for political advancement. He thought that their desire to be governed according to the ideas of Government prevalent in Europe was in no way incompatible with their thorough loyalty to the British Government. All that they desired was, that the basis of the Government should be widened and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it. The discussion that would take place in this Congress would, he believed, be advantageous to the ruling authorities as, he was sure, it would be to the people at large."
Is India a Nation?*

"To detract from the worth and significance of the well-knit, ever-expanding phalanx known as the Indian National Congress, a desultory controversy was raised round the word 'nationality'—a controversy at once learned and unlearned, ingenious and stupid, etymological and ethnological. Now a common religion was put forward as the differentia; now a proved or provable common extraction; and now the presence of the privileges of commensurability and inter-conjugal kingship. These ill-considered and ill-intentioned hypotheses have, one and all, fallen to the ground, and no wonder; for the evident circumstance was lost sight of, that words might have diverse acceptations—each most appropriate for one purpose, and, in a like degree inappropriate for other purpose. In my view the word 'nationality' should be taken to have the same meaning as the Sanskrit Prajah, which is the correlative of the term Rajah—the ruling power. Though, like the term Prajah, it may have various significations, it has but one obvious unmistakable meaning in political language, viz., the aggregate of those that are...... "citizens of one country, subordinate to one power, subject to one supreme Legislature, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens". It is in reality a potential class. In the first place, it has for its central stock—like the trunk of a tree—the people who have for ages and generations settled and domiciled in a country, with more or less ethnic identity at bottom, and more or less unified by being continually subjected to identical environments and to the inevitable process of assimilation. In the next place, it gets added to, from time to time, by the accession of other peoples—like scions engrafted on the central stem, or like creepers attaching thereto—who settle in the country in a like manner, and come under the many unifying influences already referred to, though still exhibiting marks of separateness and distinctness. Affirm this standard and you have an Indian nation. Deny it and you have a nation nowhere on the face of the earth.

A common language, a common religion, interdining and intermarriage are, without doubt, potent auxiliaries. These help, no doubt, by affording facilities for co-operation and by rendering easy the attainment of common objects. But for all that they are (at best) inseparable accidents, and it betrays a grievous obliquity of

*Presidential Address of Mr. P. Ananda Charlu, Indian National Congress, Nagpur, 1891.
judgment to esteem them as constituting the very essence of what is understood by the term 'nation'. We began, proceeded and have persevered up to this day on the tacit assumption that such is the correct doctrine, and let us continue to exert ourselves on that principle at least as a working definition; because, by pursuing such a course, and within the short period of seven years, we have accomplished the great and palpable fact that the Hindu and Mohammedan populations of this country—long separated from one another—long divided by parochial differences—long kept apart and estranged from one another by sectional and sectarian jealousies—have at last recognised one another as members of a single brotherhood, despite the many differences that still linger. This is a magnificent product of the Congress as a mighty nationaliser....

* * *

Resolved—(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating

(a) 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.

(b) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or Non-commissioned officers, according to capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army.

(c) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

(d) The discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.

(e) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest—

(a) Against the scheme of re-organization of the Educational
Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, 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.

(b) Against the present rate of Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(c) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Council, without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

(d) Against the labour laws of Assam, viz., the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893.

(iii) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its conviction

(a) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are Natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jurors of the assessors shall be Natives of India.
(c) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways; and these rules should be amended in the interest of the people.

(d) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

(e) That no satisfactory solution of the question of the employment of Natives of India in the Indian Civil Service is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England.

15 : 1899 : Lucknow : XIV.

* * *

Resolved—(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating

(a) A modification of the rules under the Arms Act so as to make them equally applicable to all residents in, and all 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.

(b) The authorising and stimulating of a widespread system of Volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

(c) The discontinuance of the grant of Exchange Compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.

(d) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest

(a) Against the scheme of reorganization of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from
the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, 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.

(b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorer classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(c) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

(d) Against the labour laws of Assam, viz., the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, amended by Act VII of 1893.

(iii) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its conviction

(a) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.

(b) That this congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are Natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jurors or of the assessors shall be Natives of India.

(c) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and
oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways; and these rules should be amended in the interest of the people.

(d) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act should be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

(e) That no satisfactory solution of the question of the employment of Natives of India in the Indian Civil Service is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England.

16 : 1900 : Lahore : X.

* * *

Resolved—(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating

(a) The raising of the minimum income assessable under the Income-Tax Act from five hundred to one thousand Rupees.

(b) 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.

(c) The authorising and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

(d) The discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.

(e) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest

(a) Against the scheme of re-organization of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which
they have hitherto been admitted, and prays that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(iii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its opinion

(a) That the system of technical education, now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory and prays that having regard to the poverty of the people, the decline of indigenous industries and the necessity of reviving them as also of introducing new industries, the Government will be pleased to introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION and set apart more funds for its successful working.

(b) That having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also to the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdict of juries should be final.

(c) That it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jurors or of the assessors shall be Natives of India.

(d) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways, and that it is necessary that these rules should be amended so as to remedy the grievances of the people in the matter.

* * *

17 : 1901 : Calcutta : XIX.
That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating:

(a) That with a view that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may enjoy greater respect and confidence it is necessary to reconstitute it on a broader basis and that the time is ripe for the appointment of Indian lawyers of eminence as Lords of the Judicial Committee to participate in the decision of Indian appeals.

(b) That the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government should be discontinued.

(c) That the rules under the Arms Act should be modified 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 revocably only on proof of misuse and valid throughout the Provincial jurisdiction in which they are issued.

(d) That a widespread system of volunteering such as obtains in Great Britain should be introduced amongst the people of India.

(e) That a High Court of Judicature be established in the Punjab.

(f) That inasmuch as the scheme of reorganization of the Education Service is calculated to exclude natives of India, including those who have been educated in England from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, the scheme should be recast so as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(g) That the act of the Secretary of State of India in fixing the limit at two posts beyond which natives of India cannot compete in the Cooper’s Hill College is opposed to the plain words of Act I of 1833 and to Her Late Majesty’s Gracious Proclamation.

(h) That the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.

(i) That it is desirable that the Criminal Procedure Code
should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons who are natives of India the right of claiming in trials by jury before the High Court and in trials with the aid of assessors that not less than half the number of jurors or of the assessors shall be natives of India.

(j) That the existing rules framed by the different Provincial Governments in the matter of the Forest Department are opposed to the Resolution of the Government of India made in 1894, with the object of enunciating the objects of forest conservancy and that an amendment of the rules in conformity with the above resolution is urgently called for in the interests of the inhabitants of rural India.

18 : 1902 : Ahmedabad : XIX.

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\text{Real Meaning of the Movement}^* \\
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"...What is the real meaning of the movement which has brought you together to-day and animates your thoughts and action? It is the consciousness that your organisation is a national one, and that you are working together in the formation of a national movement with common sentiments of interest and patriotism. The different races, the innumerable castes, classes and creeds of India are welded together in your ranks...The unmistakable yearning for nationality finds its utterance through a newspaper Press which has now become a potent factor in your politics.........The growth of a national spirit is the touchstone of your organisation. This assemblage of delegates to an Indian National Congress is the decisive evidence of a national movement. The growth of an Indian nation is the great political revolution that is working before our eyes...."

This Congress begs to record its satisfaction that the interpretation placed by it upon the pledges contained in that "Great Charter of 1858" has been upheld by His Majesty.

This Congress gratefully welcomes the pronouncement made by His Majesty that the time has come when the principle of representa-

*Presidential Address of Sir Henry Cotton, Indian National Congress, Bombay, 1904.
tive institutions, which, from the first, began to be gradually introduced in India, may be prudently extended and that the political satisfaction of the claim to equality of citizenship and greater share in legislation and government made by important classes in India, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British Rule, will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power.

The Congress looks forward with confidence to a steady fulfilment by those in authority under the Crown in letter and in spirit, of the pledges and assurances contained in the Great Charter of 1858 and in His Majesty’s Message of 1908.

23 : 1908 : Madras : II.

* * *

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

(a) refuse to accept ministries or other offices in the gift of the Government and oppose the formation of a ministry by other parties until in the opinion of the Congress or the All-India Congress Committee a satisfactory response is made by the Government to the National Demand;

(b) subject to clause (d) refuse supplies and throw out budgets until such response is made by the Government or unless otherwise directed by the All-India Congress Committee;

(c) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers;

(d) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the advancement of the economic, agricultural, industrial and commercial interests of the country, and for the protection of the freedom of person, speech, association and of the press, and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy;

(e) take steps to improve the condition of agricultural tenants by introducing and supporting measures to secure fixity of tenure and other advantages with a view to ensure a
speedy amelioration of the condition of the tenants; and

(f) generally protect the rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust on an equitable basis the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

41 : 1926 : Gauhati : V

*   *   *

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

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

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

52 : 1939 : Tripura : VI.

*   *   *

**National Demand**

Events happening from day to day and the experience that the people of India are passing through, confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination, even at its best, is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism and the aggression of one nation over another.
Ever since the outbreak of the World War, the Congress has studiously pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its satyagraha ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character, in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment, carried to its logical extreme, would be duly appreciated, and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives, so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It has also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's stranglehold on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold in India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, Congress representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national demand, but to no avail. This frustration has resulted in a rapid and wide-spread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms. The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection. The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign Power.

The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into goodwill and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom of the nations and peoples of the world and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign power whose long record has been to pursue relentlessly the policy of divide and rule. Only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality, and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutually agreed basis. The present political parties, formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and
influence the British Power, will then probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, realisation will come home that princes, jagirdars, zamindars, and propertied and monied classes, derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India which will later evolve a scheme whereby a Constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britian will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression. It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increased pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied Powers. The Congress is, therefore, agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China.

The proposal of withdrawal of the British Power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such withdrawal takes place with goodwill, it would result in establishing a stable Provisional Government in India and cooperation between this Government and the United Nations in resisting aggression and helping China.

The Congress realises that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom and, more especially at the present critical juncture in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils.

While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose, it wishes to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, in so far as is possible, any course of action that might
embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept the very reasonable and just proposal herein made, not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence.

Should however, this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehension the continuation of the present state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and weakening of India’s will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1920, when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of political rights and liberty. Such a wide-spread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji. As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer them to the All India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A.I.C.C. will meet in Bombay on August 7, 1942.

W.C. : July 6—14, 1942 : Wardha : III.

* * *

Congress Manifesto

The Working Committee considered the requisition for a resolution sent in by 25 members of the All India Congress Committee and decided to recommend the following resolution to the Subjects Committee:

“This Congress adopts the principles and programme outlined in the Congress Election Manifesto in regard to the content of Swaraj. In the opinion of this Congress Swaraj cannot be real for the masses unless it makes possible the achievement of a society in which democracy extends from the political to the social and economic sphere, and in which there would be no opportunity for privileged classes to exploit the bulk of the people, nor for gross inequalities such as exist at present. Such a society would ensure individual liberty, equality of opportunity and the fullest scope for every citizen for the development of his personality.

W.C. : Nov. 22, 1946 : Meerut : VI.

* * *
The Congress Policy

"The Working Committee have met at a moment of grave crisis in the history of India. Hardly was Free India born when events happened which have besmirched her fair name and brought death and desolation to thousands of innocent people in circumstances too tragic for words.

The Congress, even while agreeing to the division of the country, never accepted the two-nation theory, advocated by the Muslim League. In spite of the division of India, there have been loot, arson and mass murder of the innocent in large tracts of the two Dominions. The Working Committee cannot find words strong enough to condemn these inhuman acts, by whatever community perpetrated. It extends its sympathy to all those who have been the innocent victims of this colossal and barbarous tragedy.

The present disaster has not made any difference to the fundamental nationalist character of the Congress. India is a land of many religions and many races and must remain so. If she is to fulfil her destiny she can do it only as a democratic State where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State, irrespective of the religion to which they belong. The Constituent Assembly has accepted this as the basic principle of the constitution. This lays on every Indian the obligation to honour it.

The Congress wants to assure the minorities in India that so far as Congress Government is concerned it will continue to protect, to the best of its ability, their citizen rights against aggression. But it expects from them the same allegiance and loyalty to the State as from the "majority community. No State can tolerate the existence within its borders of disloyal elements. Full facilities shall be provided to those who wish to migrate from the Indian Union.

The Congress is further bound to afford full protection to all those non-Muslims from Pakistan who have crossed the border and come over to India or may do so to save their life and honour. It expects of these entrants to accept loyally the democratic and non-communal basis of the constitution of the State which they propose to make their own. Whatever may have been their sufferings in Pakistan, the Congress expects them to live in peace and amity with their fellow-citizens in the Indian Union, to whatever faith they may

*Summary of proceedings of the Working Committee met in Delhi, on September 23, 24, 25, 27 and 1st October, 1947.
belong. Only thus can a powerful nation be built and the Congress dream of Purna Swaraj fulfilled."

* * *

Gandhiji's Speech

After the opening speech of the Congress President, Mahatma Gandhi addressed the A.I.C.C. He dealt with the national traditions and principles of the Congress and said that the duty of every Congressman was to do everything in his power to apply them to the present situation. The Congress was the servant of the whole country and all communities. No Muslim in the Indian Union should feel his life unsafe. All those Muslims who had left India under coercion should be brought back. Indian Union had to do the right thing irrespective of the policy Pakistan adopted. He assured them that if they did their duty Pakistan would find itself obliged to follow suit. Mahatma Gandhi also dealt with communal organisations and their dangerous creed and practice. The proper answer to these organisations, he declared, was the creation of a powerful public opinion by the Congress which would render them ineffective.

He then dealt with controls and expressed his emphatic opinion that they should be abolished if people were to be saved from the grave vices to which controls inevitably led.

After Mahatma Gandhi's speech, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru suggested to the House that the resignation of the President be considered at a later stage after the House had disposed of the business before it. The suggestion was accepted.

* * *

Elimination of Foreign Rule and the Fundamental Policy of the Congress

Pandit Nehru then moved the resolution about the elimination of foreign rule and the fundamental policy of the Congress. It was seconded by Mr. B.G. Kher. Several amendments were proposed but were later withdrawn. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The following is the text of the resolution:

The All India Congress Committee welcomes the elimination
of foreign rule in India and the establishment of a free and independent state and a government responsible to the people of the country. The achievement of freedom is the culmination of the long struggle of the Indian National Congress and outcome of the sufferings and tribulations of the Indian people. Freedom brings responsibility and new burdens and problems.

The freedom achieved was not the kind that the Congress had envisaged during its long history. It has been accompanied by secession of parts of the country and disasters of unparalleled magnitude. Hardly was Free India born when grave crisis overtook it and events happened which have besmirched her fair name and brought death and desolation to vast numbers of innocent people in circumstances too tragic for words. There have been arson and loot and murder on a mass scale in West Punjab, N.W.F. Province, Baluchistan, East Punjab and adjoining areas. The Committee cannot find words strong enough to condemn these inhuman acts by whatever community perpetrated. It extends its sympathy to all those who have been the innocent victims of this colossal tragedy.

At this moment of crises, it is necessary that the Congress should again declare its faith and policy in clear terms and that the people as well as the Government should follow that policy unswervingly. Even though the Congress agreed to a division of the country in the hope, which has thus far proved vain, that thereby internal conflicts might cease, it has never accepted the theory that there are two or more nations in India. It has firmly believed in the whole of India as a nation, bound together by indissoluble cultural and historical links which had been further strengthened in the course of the national struggle for freedom. It was on the basis of this faith that the Congress grew up as a national institution open to all Indians without reference to creed or religion. India is a land of many religions and many races and must remain so. Nevertheless, India has been and is a country with a fundamental unity and the aim of the Congress has been to develop this great country as a whole as a democratic secular state where all citizens enjoy full rights and are equally entitled to the protection of the State, irrespective of the religion to which they belong. The Constituent Assembly has accepted this as the basic principle of the constitution. This lays on every Indian the obligation to honour it.

The Congress wants to assure the minorities in India that it will continue to protect, to the best of its ability, their citizenship rights against aggression. The Central Government as well as the Pro-
vicial Governments must accordingly make every effort to create conditions wherein all minorities and all citizens have security and opportunity for progress. All citizens must also on their part not only share in the benefits of freedom but also shoulder the burdens and responsibility which accompany it, and must above all be loyal to India.

The All India Congress Committee calls upon all Congressmen and the people of India to adhere strictly to these well established principles of the Congress and not to allow themselves to be diverted into wrong channels by passion or prejudice or by the tragic events that have happened. Real good and progress of India have yet to be achieved and this can only be done by adhering to the ideals and policy of the Congress and discarding and opposing all false doctrines which have done so much mischief to India and her people."

Shri Shankarrao Deo then moved the resolution on refugees. It was seconded by Shri Jai Prakash Narain.

_A.I.C.C. : Nov. 15—17, 1947 : Delhi : III._

* * *

"During its long history of struggle for India's freedom, carried on from generation to generation, the Congress experienced both sorrow and fulfilment and many triumphs and defeats. But under the superb leadership of the Father of the Nation, sorrow was made to chasen and purify the people and every defeat was turned into an incentive for redoubled effort and a prelude to victory.

Two years ago the Congress met in Meerut city at a time of trial and difficulty and again under inspiration of Gandhiji gave a lead to the nation. These two years have brought fulfilment in a measure, and the independence, for which generations had struggled and suffered, has been achieved. But the cost of that achievement has been heavy indeed, for the Motherland has been cut in two, and following this ill-fated partition, madness descended upon the people and all the great ideals for which the Congress stood seemed for a moment to be eclipsed. The darkness was illumined by the heartening message of Gandhiji, and innumerable sorrowing hearts drew strength and solace from it. Then came the greatest blow of all the assassination of him who was the embodiment of love and the gentle unconquerable spirit of India.

Thus the very achievement for which the Congress had lab-
oured and which was a culmination of long struggle, brought no
glow of freedom but sorrow and dismay.

In reverent memory of Gandhiji and in homage to his teaching,
the country faced these terrible crises, the greatest of which was the
 crisis of the spirit which had clouded India's mind and made
her forget for a while the great lesson which the Master had
taught.

This Congress, meeting sixteen months after the attainment of
independence and nearly eleven months after the passing away of
him who fashioned it and gave it life, pays its homage to that great
spirit and to his great message, and resolves to continue the service
to the people of India and humanity in the light of that light-
giving message.

Political freedom having been attained through non-violent
action under the leadership of Gandhiji, the National Congress has
now to labour for the attainment of social and economic freedom so
that progress and equal opportunity may come to all the people
of India without any distinction of race or religion. This task re-
quires a dedication to the service of the Motherland in a
constructive spirit.

The people of India have achieved independence: but to
enjoy its fruits, they must discharge their responsibilities and obli-
gations. Congressmen must remember that it has been and should
continue to be their highest privilege to serve the people and
to shoulder these responsibilities and obligations, and those who
hanker after office or power, forgetting their obligations do an ill-
service to the country.

It was the particular teaching of Gandhiji that service should
be directed more specially towards promoting unity and goodwill
between all the people of India, abolishing class distinctions and
those based on birth or caste or religion, and working for a class-
less democratic society in a peaceful manner. Above all, "the lesson
he taught was the adherence, at all costs and in all circumstances,
to the moral values which give meaning to life.

This Congress urges all Congressmen with all earnestness to
face the difficulties and crisis of today, both national and internation-
al, in the light of that message so that India may grow in freedom
and the great objectives for which this Congress has stood may be ful-
filled."

55 : 1948 : Jaipur : IV.

* * *
(a) 1887

That a Committee be appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (enumerated below) to consider that rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant:


3:1887: Madras: I.

"That the rules drafted by the Committee appointed under Resolution I, stand over for consideration till next Congress, but that in the meantime, copies be circulated to all Standing Congress Committees with the request that they will, during the coming year, act in accordance with these rules, so far as this may seem to them possible and desirable, and report thereon to the next Congress, with such further suggestions as to them may seem meet."

3:1887: Madras: IX.

(b) 1894

That this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the constitution of the Congress should be settled, and rules and regulations laid down as to the number of delegates, their qualifications, the localities for assemblage, and the like, and with this view the Congress requests the Standing Congress Committee of
Poona to draw up draft rules and circulate them among the different Standing Congress Committees for their report; these reports together with the draft rules and the report thereon to be laid before the next Congress for its consideration.”

10 : 1894 : Madras : XXVII.

(c) 1895

“That the draft rules in regard to the constitution and working of the Indian National Congress, as framed by the Poona Congress Committee in accordance with the resolution, in that behalf, of the last Congress, be circulated by the Poona Committee to all the Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report to the General Secretary and the Standing Counsel at least three months before the next Congress.”

II : 1895 : Poona : II.

(d) 1899

“That this Congress adopts the following Rules regarding the Constitution of the Congress:

1. The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interests and the well-being of the people of the Indian Empire.

2. It shall ordinarily meet once a year at such time and in such place as shall have been resolved on by the last preceding Congress. Provided that the Indian Congress Committee, as hereinafter provided for, may in case of necessity, change the place or time of the meeting of the Congress; provided also that in case of emergency the Indian Congress Committee may convene an extraordinary session of the Congress at such time and place as may be determined by them.

3. It shall consist of delegates elected by political associations or other bodies, and by public meetings.

4. Its affairs shall be managed by a Committee, styled the Indian Congress Committee, consisting of 45 members elected by the Congress, 40 of whom shall be elected upon the recommendations of the different Provincial Congress Committees, and, in the absence of such committees, by the delegates of the respective Pro-
vinces in Congress assembled, in the manner hereinbelow laid down, that is to say:

- For Bengal including Assam ... 8
- For Bombay including Sind ... 8
- For Madras including Secunderabad ... 8
- For North-Western Provinces including Oudh ... 6
- For Punjab ... 4
- For Berar ... 3
- For Central Provinces ... 3

The term of office of the members of the Committee shall be the period intervening between two ordinary meetings of the Congress.

5. The Indian Congress Committee shall meet at least three times a year, once immediately after the Congress, once during the year between the months of June and October as may be determined upon by the Committee, and once immediately before the Congress, at such place as the Committee may find convenient.

6. The Indian Congress Committee shall have an Honorary Secretary and a paid Assistant Secretary, with suitable office staff, for which a sum of Rs. 5,000 shall be granted annually, one half of which shall be provided by the Reception Committee of the place where the last Congress is held, and the other half by the Reception Committee of the place where the next succeeding Congress is to be held.

The Secretary to the Indian National Congress shall be the Honorary Secretary of the Committee.

7. Provincial Congress Committees shall be organized at the capitals of the different Presidencies and Provinces of India for the purpose of carrying on the work of political education, on lines of general appreciation of British rule and of constitutional action for the removal of its defects, throughout the year, by organizing Standing Congress Committees, holding Provincial Conferences, and by such other means as they may deem proper, in consultation with the Indian Congress Committee for furthering the objects of the Congress. They shall be the responsible agents of the Indian Congress Committee for their respective Provinces, and shall submit annual reports of their work to that Committee.

8. The nomination of the President, the drafting of Resolutions, and all other business in connection with the Congress, shall be done by the Indian Congress Committee. It shall also, subject to the approval of the Congress, frame rules for the election of delegates,
the election of speakers, and the conduct of the proceedings of the Congress.

9. Rules and bye-laws shall be framed by the Provincial Congress Committees for the election of members, the conduct of their own proceedings, and other matters appertaining to their business. All such rules and bye-laws shall be subject to the approval of the Indian Congress Committee.

10. A Committee, styled the British Congress Committee, shall be maintained in England, which shall represent there the interests of the Indian National Congress. The amount requisite for the expenses of the said Committee shall be determined and voted by the Congress, and the amount so voted shall be raised by the Indian Congress Committee in such manner as may be determined upon by that body from time to time.

11. The Indian Congress Committee shall take such steps as they may deem fit to raise a permanent fund for carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress; and such fund shall be invested in the name of 7 trustees, one from each Province in India, to be appointed by the Congress.

Members of the Indian Congress Committee appointed by the Congress under the above Resolution

**General Members**

Mr. W. C. Banerjee  
The Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerjee  
" " P. Ananda Charlu  
" " P. M. Mehta  
Mr. Madhulkar

**Bengal**

Mr. A. M. Bose  
Mr. Kali Charan Banerjee  
Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose  
The Hon'ble Baikunth Nath Sen  
Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar  
Mr. J. Ghosal  
Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt  
Mr. Dipnarain Sinha
The Hon'ble Pandit Bishambhar Nath
Babu Ganga Prasad Verma
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya
Mr. An Nundy
Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar
Mr. Hafiz Abdur Raheem

Bombay

Mr. D. E. Wacha
The Hon'ble G. Chandravarkar
Mr. W. A. Chambers
Mr. R. M. Sayani
Mr. Daji Abaji Khare
Mr. Chimn H. Sitalwad
Mr. R. P. Karandikar
Mr. Tahiram Khem Chand

Punjab

Lala Kanihia Lal
Sirdar Jhenda Singh
Lala Har Kishan Lal
Mr. Jaishiram

Central Provinces

Mr. Bapurao Dada
Mr. Bhagirath Prasad
Mr. H. V. Kelker

Berar

Mr. Deorao Vinayek
Mr. M. V. Joshi
Mr. G. S. Khaparde

Madras

The Hon'ble C. Vijia Raghavaehari
The Hon'ble C. Jambulinga Mudaliar
  "  "  G. Venkataratnam
Mr. C. Sankara Nair
Mr. P. Rangia Naidu
Mr. P. Ram Chandra Pillai
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer
Mr. V. Ryru Nambyar

15 : 1899 : Lucknow : X.

That Rule 4 of the Constitution of the Congress Committee be amended as follows:

"Its affairs shall be managed by a Committee styled the Indian Congress Committee consisting of, besides the Ex-Officio members referred to below, 45 Members elected by the Congress, 40 of whom shall be elected upon the recommendations of the different Provincial Congress Committees, and, in the absence of such Committees, by the delegates of the respective Provinces in Congress assembled, in the manner hereinbelow laid down, that is to say:

For Bengal including Assam 7
  "  Bombay including Sind 7
  "  Madras 7
  "  N.W.P. including Oudh 7
  "  Punjab 6
  "  Berar 3
  "  Central Provinces 3

The Ex-Officio members shall be the President of the Congress and President-elect from the day of his nomination, the Ex-Presidents of the Congress, the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Congress, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Secretary of the Reception Committee to be nominated by the Reception Committee.

The term of office of the Members of the Committee shall be the period intervening between two ordinary meetings of the Congress."

16 : 1900 : Lahore : I.

That the question of the constitution of the Congress be referred for report to a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen:
Bombay

Sir P.M. Mehta.
Mr. D.E. Wacha.
The Hon’ble Mr. G.K. Gokhale.
The Hon’ble Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtoola.

Madras

Mr. C. Shanker Nair.
Mr. Krishna Swami Iyer.
Mr. M. Vir Raghava Chari.
Nawab Syed Mahomed.

Bengal

Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
The Hon’ble Mr. Ambica Charan Muzumdar.
Babu Baikunth Nath Sen.
Mr. Abdul Kassim.

Punjab

Lala Lajpat Rai.
Mr. Dharamdas.
Lala Harkishanlal.

United Provinces

Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.
The Hon’ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.
Mr. S. Sinha.

Berar and Central Provinces

Mr. R.N. Mudholkar.
Mr. M.V. Joshi.
Mr. M.K. Padhye.”

20 : 1904 : Bombay : XIX.
Article I.

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

Article II.

Every Delegate to the Indian National Congress shall express in writing his acceptance of the Objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Sessions of the Congress

Article III.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such town as may have been decided upon at the previous session of the Congress.

(b) If no such decision has been arrived at, the All-India Congress Committee shall decide the matter.

(c) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee, either of its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever and whenever it may deem it advisable to hold such session.

(d) It shall be open to the All India Congress Committee to change the venue of the Congress to some other town, when such change is deemed by it to be necessary or desirable owing to serious or unforeseen difficulties or other contingencies of a like nature.
Article IV.

The Indian National Congress Organization will consist of:

(a) The Indian National Congress;
(b) The Provincial Congress Committees;
(c) District Congress Committees or Associations affiliated to the Provincial Congress Committees;
(d) Sub-Divisional or Taluka Congress Committees affiliated to the District Congress Committees or Associations;
(e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised as Electorates in accordance with clause (3) of Article XX;
(f) The All-India Congress Committee;
(g) The British Committee of the Congress; and
(h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conferences or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

Article V.

No person should be eligible to be a member of any of the Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations or Bodies mentioned in clauses (b), (c), (d) and (h) of Article IV, unless he has attained the age of twenty-one and expresses in writing his acceptance of the Objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Provincial Congress Committees

Article VI.

(a) To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District Conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces:

1. Madras; 2. Bombay; 3. United Bengal; 4. United Provinces; 5. Punjab (including North-West Frontier Pro-

(b) The Provincial Sub-Committees of the Convention shall, in the first instance, form themselves into Provincial Congress Committees.

(c) The Secretaries of the Convention Committees shall take steps to form separate Provincial Congress Committees for Central Provinces, Bihar and Burma.

Article VII

Every Provincial Congress Committee so formed will add to its number;

(a) Representatives elected in accordance with its terms of affiliation by every affiliated District Congress Committee or association referred to in clause (c) of Article IV.

(b) As many representatives of recognised Political Associations or Public Bodies referred to in clause (e) of Article IV as each Provincial Congress Committee may think fit to determine.

(c) Such other persons, in the Province as may have attended as many sessions of the Congress as delegates as may be determined by each Provincial Congress Committee for its own Province.

(d) All such ex-Presidents of the Congress or ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees of the Congress as ordinarily reside within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee and may not have been enrolled as members of the said Committee in accordance with clause (b) of Article VI or by virtue of the provisions contained in any of the foregoing clauses of this Article.

(e) The Joint Secretary or Secretaries of the Congress ordinarily residing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee, such Joint Secretary or Secretaries being added as ex-officio member or members of the said Committee.

Article VIII

Every member of the Provincial Congress Committee shall pay an annual subscription of not less than Rs. 5/-.
Article IX

The Provincial Congress Committee shall have affiliated to itself a District Congress Committee or Association for each District, wherever possible, or for such other areas in the Province as it deems proper, subject to such conditions or terms of affiliation as it may deem expedient or necessary. It will be the duty of the District Congress Committee or Association to act for the District in Congress matters with the co-operation of any Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees which may be organised and affiliated to it, subject in all cases to the general control and approval of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Article X

Every member of the District Congress Committee or Association shall either be a resident of the District or shall have a substantial interest in the District and shall pay an annual subscription of not less than one rupee.

Article XI

No District Congress Committee or Association or Public Body referred to in clauses (e) and (e) of Article IV shall be entitled to return representatives to the Provincial Congress Committee or Delegates to the Congress or to the Provincial Conference unless it contributes to the Provincial Congress Committee such annual subscription as may be determined by the latter.

Article XII

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame its own Rules not inconsistent with the Constitution and Rules of the Congress. No district or other Congress Committee or Association mentioned in Article IX shall frame any Rules inconsistent with those framed by the Provincial Congress Committee to which it is affiliated.
The All-India Congress Committee

Article XIII

The All-India Congress Committee shall, as far as possible, be constituted as herein below laid down:

15 Representatives of Madras;
15 " Bombay;
20 " United Bengal;
15 " United Provinces;
13 " Punjab (including N.W. Frontier Province);
7 " Central Provinces;
5 " Bihar;
5 " Berar
and 2 representatives of Burma;

Provided as far as possible that one-fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mohammedans.

All ex-Presidents of the Congress, residing or present in India and the General Secretaries of the Congress, who shall also be ex-officio General Secretaries of the All India Congress Committee, shall be ex-officio members in addition.

Artiele XIV

The representatives of each Province shall be elected by its Provincial Congress Committee at a meeting held, as far as possible, before the 30th of November for each year. If any Provincial Congress Committee fails to elect its representatives, the said representatives shall be elected by the delegates for that Province present at the ensuing Congress. In either case the representatives of each Province shall be elected from among the members of its Provincial Congress Committee, and the election shall be made, as far as possible, with due regard to the provision in article XIII.

Artiele XV

The names of the representatives so elected by the different Provinces shall be communicated to the General Secretaries. These together with the names of the ex-officio members shall be announced at the Congress.
Article XVI

The President of the Congress at which the All-India Congress Committee comes into existence shall, if he ordinarily resides in India, be *ex-officio* President of the All India Congress Committee. In his absence the members of the All India Congress Committee may elect, their own President.

Article XVII

(a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the dissolution of the Congress at which it comes into existence till the dissolution of the following Congress.

(b) If any vacancy arises by death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining members of the Province in respect of which the vacancy has arisen shall be competent to fill it up for the remaining period.

Article XVIII

(a) It will be the duty of the All-India Congress Committee to take such steps as it may deem expedient and practicable to carry on the work and propaganda of the Congress, and it shall have the power to deal with all such matters of great importance or urgency as may require to be disposed of in the name of and for the purpose of the Congress, in addition to matters specified in this Constitution as falling within its power or functions.

(b) The decision of the All-India Congress Committee shall, in every case above referred to, be final and binding on the Congress and on the Reception Committee or the Provincial Congress Committee, as the case may be, that may be affected by it.

Article XIX

On the requisition in writing of not less than 20 of its members, the General Secretaries shall convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at the earliest possible time.
Article XX

The right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest exclusively in (1) the British Committee of the Congress; (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated as hereinabove laid down; and (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than three years' standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs provided that no such Political Association or Public Body shall be so recognised unless the said Political Association or Public Body, by a Resolution at a General Meeting of its members, expresses its acceptance of the principles embodied in Article I of this Constitution and makes the acceptance of the same a condition precedent to new membership.

Article XXI

All Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall pay a fee of Rs. 20/- each and shall be not less than twenty-one years at the date of election.

Reception Committee of the Congress

Article XXII

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Everyone, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays a minimum contribution of Rs. 25, shall be eligible as a member of the Reception Committee.

(b) No one who is only a member of the Reception Committee, but not a Delegate, shall be allowed to vote or take part in the debate at the Congress.

(c) The Reception Committee shall be bound to provide the necessary funds for meeting all the expenses of the Congress as also the cost of preparing, printing, publishing and distributing the Report of the Congress.
Article XXIII

(a) In the month of June, the Reception Committee shall consult the several Provincial Congress Committees as to the selection of the President for the year’s Congress. The Provincial Congress Committees shall make their recommendations by the end of July; and in the month of August the Reception Committee shall meet to consider the recommendations. If a person be recommended by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If however, the Reception Committee is unable to elect the President in the manner mentioned above, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final:

Provided that in no case shall the person so elected President, belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

(b) There shall be no formal election of the President by or in the Congress, but merely the adoption (in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule 3, clause (b) of the “Rules” hereto appended) of a formal Resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

Subjects Committee

Article XXIV

The Subjects Committee to be appointed at each session of the Congress to settle its programme of business to be transacted shall, as far as possible, consist of:

| Not more than 15 representatives of Madras. |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| " " " " 15 " " | " Bombay. |
| " " " " 20 " " | " United Bengal. |
| " " " " 15 " " | " United Provinces. |
| " " " " 13 " " | " Punjab (including N.W. Frontier Province). |
Not more than 7 representatives of Central Provinces.

" " " 5 " " Bihar.
" " " 5 " " Berar.
" " " 2 " " Burma.
" " " 5 " " British Committee of the Congress.

and additional 10 representatives of the Province in which the Congress is held.

All the above mentioned representatives being elected, in accordance with Rule 9 of the "Rules" hereto appended, by the Delegates attending the Congress from the respective Provinces.

The President of the Congress for the year, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the year, all ex-Presidents and ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees, the General Secretaries of the Congress, the local Secretaries of the Congress for the year not exceeding six in number and all the members of the All-India Congress Committee for the year, shall, in addition be ex-officio members of the Subjects Committee.

Article XXV

The President of the Congress for the year shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Subjects Committee.

Contentious Subjects and Interests of Minorities

Article XXVI

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number; and if, after the discussion it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number opposed to the Resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such Resolution shall be dropped.

(b) The President of the Congress for the year may nominate five delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.
(c) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

_Voting at the Congress_

**Article XXVII**

Ordinarily, all questions shall be decided by a majority of votes as laid down in Rule 21 of the "Rules" hereto appended but in cases falling under Article XXX of this Constitution or whenever a division is duly asked for in accordance with Rule 22 of the "Rules" hereto appended, the voting at the Congress shall be by Provinces only. In cases falling under clause (1) of Article XXX, each Province shall have one vote, to be given as determined by a majority of its Delegates present at the Congress. In all other cases of voting by Provinces, the vote of each Province, determined as aforesaid, shall be equivalent to the number of representatives assigned to the Province in constituting the All-India Congress Committee.

**The British Committee of the Congress**

**Article XXVIII**

The Reception Committee of the Province in which the Congress is held shall remit to the British Committee of the Congress, through the General Secretaries of the Congress, half the amount of the fees received by it from Delegates.

**General Secretaries**

**Article XXIX**

(a) The Indian National Congress shall have two General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall be responsible for the preparation, publication and distribution of the Report of the Congress. They shall also be responsible for the preparation and circulation of Draft Resolutions of the Congress, which they must send to the Provincial Congress Committees at the latest in the first week of December.
(b) The All-India Congress Committee shall make adequate provision for the expenses of the work devolving on the General Secretaries, either out of the surplus at the disposal of the Reception Committee or by calling upon the Provincial Congress Committee to make such contributions as it may deem fit to apportion among them.

Changes in the Constitution or Rules

Article XXX

No addition, alteration or amendment shall be made (1) in Article I of this Constitution except by a unanimous vote of all the Provinces, and (2) in the rest of this Constitution or in the "Rules" heretofore appended except by a Majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the Provinces, provided, in either case, that no motion for any such addition, alteration or amendment shall be brought before the Congress unless it has been previously accepted by the Subjects Committee of the Congress for the year.

Transitory Provisions

Article XXXI

(a) The Committee appointed by the Convention at Surat on 28th December, 1907 for drawing up a Constitution for the Congress shall exercise all the powers of the All-India Congress Committee till the formation of the latter at the next session of the Congress.

(b) The Secretaries of the said Convention Committee shall discharge the duties of the General Secretaries of the Congress till the dissolution of the next session of the Congress.

(c) The President and Secretaries of the Convention Committee should, in consultation with the Secretaries of the several Provincial Sub-Committees, arrange for the holding of a Session of the Congress during Christmas next in accordance with this Constitution.

(d) For the year 1908, the Reception Committee may, in electing the President, consult the Provincial Congress Committees in the beginning of October, before the end of which month, the Provincial Congress Committees, on being so consulted, shall make their recommendations, and the rest of the procedure prescribed in Article XXIII should
be followed and completed as far as possible before the end of November.

"That the Constitution and Rules of the Indian National Congress as amended by the Sub-Committee appointed at the last session of the Congress be adopted." 26 : 1911 : Calcutta : V.

"That the All-India Congress Committee be asked to consider the report to the next Congress what further modifications may be made in the Constitution and Rules with a view to promote the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of the Constitution, keeping that Article intact." 26 : 1911 : Calcutta : XVI.

"The Constitution and Rules of the Indian National Congress organisation as amended by the All-India Congress Committee be adopted." 27 : 1912 : Bankipur : XVIII.

(As amended at the 30th Indian National Congress, 1915, Bombay).

Component Parts of the Organisation

Article IV

The Indian National Congress Organisation will consist of:
(a) The Indian National Congress;
(b) Provincial Congress Committees;
(c) District Congress Committees;
(d) Sub-divisional or Taluka Congress Committees, affiliated to the District Congress Committees;
(e) Political Associations or Public Bodies recognised by the Provincial Congress Committees;
(f) The All-India Congress Committee;
(g) The British Committee of the Congress, and
(h) Bodies formed or organised periodically by a Provincial Congress Committee, such as the Provincial or District Conferences or the Reception Committee of the Congress or Conference for the year.

Article V

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the Provincial or District or other Congress Committees unless he has attained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his acceptance of the objects of the Congress as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and his willingness to abide by this Constitution and by the Rules of the Congress hereto appended.

Provincial Congress Committees

Article VI

To act for the Province in Congress matters and for organising Provincial or District conferences in such manner as it may deem proper, there shall be a Provincial Congress Committee with its headquarters at the chief town of the Province in each of the following nine Provinces:


For this purpose Coorg and the areas administered by the British Government in the Nizam’s Dominion, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, shall belong to Madras; similar areas in Baroda and Kathiawar and Southern Maratha States to Bombay; Assam to Bengal; Delhi, Ajmer, Merwara, and the areas administered by the British Government in Rajputana to the United Provinces; British Baluchistan to the Punjab; areas administered by the British Government in Central India to the Central Provinces.

Article VII

Every Provincial Congress Committee will consist of:

(a) Such persons in the Province as may have attended as many sessions of the Congress as Delegates as may be determined by each Provincial Congress Committee for its own Province;

(b) Representatives elected in accordance with its terms of
affiliation by every affiliated District Congress Committee;

(c) As many representatives of recognised Political Associations or Public Bodies referred to in clause (e) of Article IV as each Provincial Committee may think fit to determine;

(d) All such ex-Presidents of the Congress or ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees of the Congress as ordinarily reside within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee and may not have been enrolled as members of the said Committee in accordance with clause (b) of Article VI of the Constitution of 1908 or by virtue of the provisions contained in any of the foregoing clauses of this Article;

(e) The General Secretary or Secretaries of the Congress ordinarily residing within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Congress Committee, such General Secretary or Secretaries being added as ex-officio member or members of the said Committee.

The All-India Congress Committee

Article XIII

The All-India Congress Committee shall, as far as possible, be constituted as hereinbelow laid down;

15 Representatives of Madras;
15 " Bombay;
20 " Bengal;
15 " United Provinces;
13 " Punjab (including N.W. Frontier Provinces);
7 " Central Provinces;
15 " Bihar and Orissa;
5 " Berar; and
2 " Burma;

provided, as far as possible, that one-fifth of the total number of representatives shall be Mohammedans.

All ex-Presidents of the Congress, residing or present in India and the General Secretaries of the Congress who shall also be ex-officio members in addition.
Article XVII

(a) The All-India Congress Committee so constituted shall hold office from the date of its appointment at the Congress till the appointment of the new Committee.

(b) If any vacancy arises by death, resignation or otherwise, the remaining members of the Province in respect of which the vacancy has arisen, shall be competent to fill it up for the remaining period.

Electorates and Delegates

Article XX

The right of electing Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall vest in (1) the British Committee of the Congress, (2) Provincial or District or other Congress Committees or Associations formed or affiliated as hereinabove laid down, (3) such Political Associations or Public Bodies of more than two years' standing as may be recognised in that behalf by the Provincial Congress Committees of the Provinces to which the Political Association or Public Body belongs, (4) Political Associations of British Indians resident outside British India of more than two years' standing recognised by the All-India Congress Committee, (5) Public Meetings convened by the Provincial or District Congress Committees or other recognised bodies, and (6) Public Meetings convened under the auspices of any Association which is of not less than two years' standing on the 31st December 1955 and which has, as one of its objects, the attainment of self-government by India on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional means;

Provided

(a) That the said Association by a special resolution accepts Article I of the Congress Constitution and notifies to that effect to the Provincial Congress Committee of the Province to which it belongs.

(b) That the said Association makes the acceptance of the said Article I a condition precedent to new membership.

(c) That the total number of the delegates to be elected by such public meeting shall not exceed 15 in number and no such Association shall be entitled to call more than one
public meeting for the said purposes for any one session of the Congress.

But this, however, will be subject to the right of the All-India Congress Committee to disqualify any such Political Association or Body at any time.

Explanation: No person elected as a Delegate need be a member of any Congress Committee if he is otherwise qualified.

Article XXI

All Delegates to the Indian National Congress shall pay a fee of Rs. 10 each and shall be not less than 31 years of age at the date of election.

Reception Committee of the Congress

Article XXII

(a) The Provincial Congress Committee of the Province in which the Congress is to be held shall take steps to form a Reception Committee for the Congress. Everyone, who ordinarily resides in the Province, fulfils the conditions laid down in Article V of this Constitution and pays such contribution as may be determined by the Provincial Congress Committee, shall be eligible to be a member of the Reception Committee.

(b) No one, who is only a member of the Reception Committee but not a Delegate, shall be allowed to vote or take part in the debate at the Congress.

(c) The Reception Committee shall be bound to provide the necessary funds for meeting all the expenses of the Congress as also the cost of preparing, printing, publishing and distributing the Report of the Congress.

Article XXIII

(a) The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidentship of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible in the first week of July submit to all the Provincial Congress Committees the names as suggested for their final recom-
mendation, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one, but not more, of such names, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is accepted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or, in case of emergency by resignation, death, or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee, whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case, the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected President belong to the province in which the Congress is to be held.

(b) There shall be no formal election of the President by or in the Congress but merely the adoption (in accordance with the provisions in that behalf laid down in Rule 3 clause (b) of the "Rules" hereto appended) of a formal resolution requesting the President, already elected in the manner hereinabove laid down, to take the chair.

Subject Committee

Article XXIV

The Subjects Committee to be appointed at each session of the Congress to settle its programme of business to be transacted shall, as far as possible, consist of:

Not more than 15 representatives of Madras.

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Not more than 2 representatives of Burma;

5 British Committee of Congress;

and additional 10 representatives of the Province in which the Congress is held.

All the above-mentioned representatives being elected, in accordance with rule 9 of the "Rules" hereto appended, by the Delegates, attending the Congress from the respective Provinces;

The President of the Congress for the year, the Chairman of the year, all ex-Presidents of the Congress and ex-Chairmen of Reception Committees, the General Secretaries of the Congress, the local Secretaries of the Congress for the year, not exceeding six in number and all the members of the All-India Congress Committee for the year, shall in addition be ex-officio members of the Subjects Committee.

Article XXV

The President of the Congress for the year shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Subjects Committee and he may nominate 5 Delegates to the Subjects Committee to represent minorities or to make up such deficiencies as he may think necessary.

Contentious Subjects and Interests of Minorities

Article XXVI

(a) No subject shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject, which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan Delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped; provided that in both these cases the three-fourths mentioned above shall not be less than a one-fourth of the total number of Delegates assembled at the Congress.
(b) In any representations which the Congress may make or in any demands which it may put forward for the larger association of the people of India with the administration of the country, the interests of minorities shall be duly safeguarded.

*The British Committee of the Congress*

Article XXVIII

The Reception Committee of the Province, in which the Congress is held, shall remit to the British Committee of the Congress through the General Secretaries of the Congress, the amount of the fees received by it from Delegates, subject to a minimum of Rs. 3,000 (Rupees three thousand).

*General Secretaries*

Article XXIX

(a) The Indian National Congress shall have two General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall be responsible for the preparation, publication and distribution of the Report of the Congress and they shall submit a full account of the funds which may come into their hands and a Report of the work of the year to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall be sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees and be presented to the Congress.

(b) The All-India Congress Committee shall make adequate provision for the expenses of the work devolving on the General Secretaries, either out of the surplus at the disposal of the Reception Committee or by calling upon the Provincial Congress Committees to make such contributions as it may deem fit to apportion among them.

Practically no change was made in the Rules passed in 1908.
"That having regard to the special circumstances of this year’s session, the Congress recommends to the All-India Congress Committee to consider if and to what extent Article 28 of the Congress Constitution should be relaxed in regard to the payment of delegates’ fee to the British Congress Committee."

* * *

(a) That in article XXIX of the Congress Constitution, for the word ‘two’ before the words ‘general secretaries’, the word ‘three’ be substituted.

(b) That in article XXVII, the word ‘half’ be inserted before the words ‘the amount of the fees and C’.

(c) That the following be added after Article XXX:

“The All-India Congress Committee shall have power to frame rules for the transaction of its business not inconsistent with the constitution of the Indian National Congress Organization”.

* * *

(i) 1917.

(a) That in Article VI and other Articles of the constitution the word ‘Province’ means and includes any provincial area which is constituted a Congress circle.

(b) That in Article VI the word ‘nine’ be omitted.

(c) That after the word ‘Madras’ ‘II Andhra’ be added, that ‘II’ be changed into ‘III’, that after the word ‘Bombay’ ‘IV Sindh’ be added, that ‘III’ be changed into ‘V’, and ‘IV’ into ‘VI’ and that after the words ‘United Provinces’, ‘VII enclave of Delhi with Ajmer-Merwara and British Rajputana’ be added and that ‘V’ be changed into ‘VIII’, ‘VI’ into ‘IX’, ‘VII’ into ‘X’, ‘VIII’ into ‘XI’ and ‘IX’ into ‘XII’.

(d) That in Article XIII for the words beginning with ‘15 representatives’ and ending with ‘Burma’ the following be substituted:

14 representatives of Madras

| 11  | "  | Andhra |
| 20  | "  | Bombay |
| 5   | "  | Sindh  |
| 25  | "  | Bengal |
representatives of United Provinces
25 Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara & British Rajputana
20 Punjab including North-West Frontier Province
12 Central Province
20 Behar and Orissa
6 Berar
5 Burma

(e) That in Article XXIV for the words 'from not more than 15' to 'Burma' a similar change be made as in the above resolution.

(f) That the representatives of the newly formed Congress Circles and the additional members of the other circles do take their place on the All-India Congress Committee in 1918 as soon as their names are reported to the General Secretaries notwithstanding anything contained in Articles 14, 15 and 17 of the Constitution, and that this procedure be without detriment to the elections made for 1918 under Article XIV."

32: 1917: Calcutta: XXI.

* * *

(j) 1918

(a) That in the opinion of this Congress, the Congress Constitution should be so amended as to bring the work of the British Congress Committee into co-ordination with that of the other component parts of the Congress organization.

(b) That in the opinion of this Congress it is necessary to make the newspaper 'India' more attractive and to associate an Indian or Indians in its editorial management.

(c) That in the opinion of this Congress half the delegation fee which is now earmarked for the British Congress Committee be set apart to be utilised generally for propagandist work in England.

(d) That in the opinion of this Congress the deputation which will proceed to England in connection with Constitutional Reforms be authorized to enter into negotiations with the authorities of the British Congress Committee to make the necessary arrangements on the lines suggested above.

(e) In Article 28 of the Congress Constitution after the word "shall" omit the words "remit to the British Committee
of the Congress through the General Secretaries of the Congress" and substitute therefor "make over to the All-India Congress Committee", and also omit the words "subject to a minimum of Rs. 3,000" at the end of the said Article.

At the end of the said Article add the words "this amount shall be a fund of the Indian National Congress and shall be administered by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the supervision and control of the Indian National Congress".

(f) The All-India Congress Committee may, at their discretion, spend in the United Kingdom or elsewhere such amount or any portion thereof for work and propaganda of the Congress".

* * *

"That the Congress desires the All-India Congress Committee to consider and report what changes may be introduced in the working of the Congress Constitution and rules in the matter of electorates, elections, etc., and in the procedure of the Congress Session and the Subjects Committee".

* * *

(k) 1920.

Object

Article I.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

Sessions of the Congress

Article II.

(a) The Indian National Congress shall ordinarily meet once every year during Christmas holidays at such place as may have been decided upon at its previous session, or such
other place as may have been determined by the All-India Congress Committee hereinafter referred to.

(b) An extraordinary session of the Congress may be summoned by the All-India Congress Committee either on its own motion or on the requisition of a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees, wherever it may deem it advisable to hold such a session; and the Articles of this Constitution shall apply with such modifications as the All-India Congress Committee may consider necessary in respect of each such session.

Component Parts of the Congress

Article III.

The Indian National Congress organisation shall consist of the following:

(a) The Indian National Congress.
(b) Provincial Congress Committees.
(c) District Congress Committees.
(d) Sub-divisional, Taluqa or Tahsil, Firka or other local Congress Committees.
(e) The All-India Congress Committee
(f) Such other committees outside India as may from time to time be recognised by the Congress in this behalf.
(g) Bodies formed or organised periodically by the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil, or other Local Congress such as the Reception Committee of the Congress and the Provincial, District, Taluqa or Tahsil or other local Conferences.

Membership

Article IV.

No person shall be eligible to be a member of any of the organisations referred to in the foregoing Article, unless he or she has obtained the age of 21 and expresses in writing his or her acceptance of the object and the methods as laid down in Article I of this Constitution and of the Rules of the Congress.
Province | Headquarters
---|---
1. Madras (Tamil) | Madras
2. Andhra (Telugu) | Gadag
3. Karnatak (Kannada) | Calicut
4. Kerala (Malayalam) | Bombay
5. City of Bombay (Marathi & Gujarati) | Poona
6. Maharashtra (Marathi) | Ahmedabad
7. Gujarat (Gujarati) | Allahabad
8. Sindh (Sindhi) | Lahore
9. United Provinces (Hindustani) | Peshawar
10. Punjab (Punjabi) | Delhi
11. N.W. Frontier Province (Hindustani) | Ajmer
12. Delhi (Hindustani) | Jubbulpore
13. Ajmer-Merwara and Rajputana (Hindustani) | Nagpur
14. Central Provinces (Hindustani) | Amraoti
15. Central Provinces (Marathi) | Patna
16. Bihar (Hindustani) | Calcutta
17. Bihar (Hindustani) | Gauhati
18. Utkal (Orissa) (Oriya) | Rangoon
19. Bengal and Surma Valley (Bengali) |
20. Assam (Assamese) |
21. Burma (Burmesee) |

Provided that the All-India Congress Committee may from time to time assign particular Indian States to particular provinces, and a Provincial Congress Committee may in its turn allot particular Indian States, assigned to it by the All-India Congress Committee, to particular districts within its jurisdiction.

The existing Provincial Congress Committees shall forthwith proceed to reorganise themselves in terms of this Constitution and
such reorganization shall be final unless and until it is revised by the All-India Congress Committee.

**Provincial Organisations**

Article VI.

(a) There shall be a Provincial Congress Committee for each of the Provinces named in the foregoing Article.

(b) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall organise District and other Committees referred to in Article III, and shall have the power to frame rules laying down conditions of membership and for the conduct of business not inconsistent with this Constitution or any Rules made by the All-India Congress Committee.

(c) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall consist of representatives elected annually by the members of the District and other Committees in accordance with the Rules made by the Provincial Congress Committee.

**Franchise**

Article VII.

Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year, shall be entitled to become a member of any organisation controlled by the Provincial Congress Committee.

**Electorate and Delegates**

Article VIII.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall be responsible for the election of the Delegates to the Congress.

No one shall be qualified for election who is not of the age of 21 years, and who does not subscribe to the Congress creed.

The number of Delegates shall be not more than one for every 50 thousand or its fraction of the inhabitants of the province of its jurisdiction including the Indian States therein, in accordance with the last census, provided, however that the inclusion of Indian States in the electorate shall not be taken to include any interference by the Congress with the internal affairs of such States.
Each Provincial Congress Committee shall frame Rules for the election of Delegates, due regard being had to the return of women Delegates and representation of minorities, special interests or classes needing special protection.

The Rules shall provide for the organization of electorates and shall prescribe the procedure to be adopted for securing the proportional representation (by a single transferable vote) of every variety of political opinion.

The Rules framed by each Provincial Congress Committee shall be sent to the General Secretaries of the Congress not later than the 30th April, 1921, which Rules shall be published for general information by the Secretaries as soon as possible after the receipt thereof.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Reception Committee of the ensuing session of the Congress an alphabetical list of the delegates so elected containing the full name, occupation, age, sex, religion and address of each of them to reach the Committee not later than the 15th day of December every year and, in the case of an extraordinary session, not later than ten days before the date advertised for the holding of such session.

Article IX.

(a) Each Provincial Congress Committee shall pay annually such subscription to the All-India Congress Committee as may be fixed by the latter from time to time.

(b) No member of a Congress Committee shall vote at the election of representatives or Delegates, or be elected as such, unless and until he has paid the subscription due from him.

Delegation

Article X.

Each Committee referred to in Article VIII shall issue certificates to the delegates duly elected in accordance with the form hereto attached (marked Appendix A) and signed by a Secretary of the Committee.

Delegates' Fee

Article XI.

Every Delegate on presenting such a certificate and paying a
fee of Rs. 10/- at the Congress Office shall receive a ticket entitling him to admission to the Congress.

Voting at Congress

Article XII.

Delegates shall alone have the power of voting at the Congress sittings or otherwise taking part in its deliberations.

Reception Committee

Article XIII.

The Reception Committee shall be formed by the Provincial Congress Committee at least six months before the meeting of the annual session and may include persons who are not members of the Provincial Congress Committee. The members of the Reception Committee shall pay not less than Rs. 25/- each.

Article XIV.

The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

Article XV.

It shall be the duty of the Reception Committee to collect funds for the expenses of the Congress Session, to elect the President of the Congress in the manner set forth in the following Article, and to make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of Delegates and guests and, as far as practicable, of visitors, and for the printing and publication of the report of the proceedings, and to submit statements of receipts and expenditure to the Provincial Congress Committee within 4 months of the session of the Congress.

Election of the President

Article XVI.

The several Provincial Congress Committees shall, as far as possible by the end of June, suggest to the Reception Committee
the names of persons who are in their opinion eligible for the Presidency of the Congress, and the Reception Committee shall, as far as possible, in the first week of July, submit to all the Provincial Committees the names as suggested for their final recommendations, provided that such final recommendation will be of any one but not more, of such names; and the Reception Committee, shall, as far as possible, meet in the month of August to consider such recommendations. If the person recommended by a majority of the Provincial Congress Committees is adopted by a majority of the members of the Reception Committee present at a special meeting, called for the purpose, that person shall be the President of the next Congress. If, however, the Reception Committee is unable to accept the President recommended by the Provincial Congress Committees or in case of emergency by resignation, death or otherwise of the President elected in this manner, the matter shall forthwith be referred by it to the All-India Congress Committee whose decision shall be arrived at, as far as possible, before the end of September. In either case the election shall be final, provided that in no case shall the person so elected as President belong to the Province in which the Congress is to be held.

The President of a special or extraordinary session shall be elected by the All-India Congress Committee subject to the same proviso.

*Congress Funds*

Article XVII.

(a) The Reception Committee shall, through the Provincial Congress Committee of the province, remit to the All-India Congress Committee, not later than two weeks after the termination of the Congress session, ordinary or extraordinary, half the delegation fees.

(b) If the Reception Committee has a balance after defraying all the expenses of the session, it shall hand over the same to the Provincial Congress Committee in the province in which the session was held towards the Provincial Congress fund of that province.

*Audit*

Article XVIII.

The receipts and expenditure of the Reception Committee shall
be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be sent by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than six months from the termination of the Congress to the All-India Congress Committee.

*All-India Congress Committee*

Article XIX.

The All-India Congress Committee shall consist of 350 members exclusive of *ex-officio* members. The *ex-officio* members shall be past Presidents of the Congress and General Secretaries and Treasurers of the Congress.

Each Provincial Congress Committee shall elect the allotted number of members of the All-India Congress Committee from among the members of the Congress Committees within its jurisdiction.

The allotment shall be on the basis of population according to linguistic re-distribution of provinces, or in such other manner as may appear more equitable to the All-India Congress Committee, and shall be published by the All-India Congress Committee before the 31st day of January 1921.

The method of election shall be the same as already prescribed for the election of delegates.

Election to the All-India Congress Committee shall ordinarily take place in the month of November.

The first All-India Congress Committee under this Constitution shall be elected on or before the 30th of June 1921. Till then, the members of the All-India Congress Committee recently elected, shall continue in office.

The All-India Congress Committee shall meet as often as may be necessary for the discharge of its obligations and every time upon requisition by 15 members thereof who shall state in their requisition the definite purpose for which they desire a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee.

The All India Congress Committee shall hold office till election of the new All-India Congress Committee.

Article XX.

The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Congress Committee to the person so elected.
Function of A.I.C.C.

Article XXI.

The All-India Congress Committee shall be the Committee of the Congress to carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from year to year, and deal with all new matters that may arise during the year and may not be provided for by the Congress itself. For this purpose, the All-India Congress Committee shall have the power, to frame its own rules not inconsistent with this Constitution.

Article XXII.

The President of the Congress shall be the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee for the year following.

General Secretaries

Article XXIII.

The Indian National Congress shall have three General Secretaries who shall be annually elected by the Congress. They shall prepare the report of the work of the All-India Congress Committee during the year and submit it, with a full account of the funds, which may come into their hands, to the All-India Congress Committee at a meeting to be held at the place and about the time of the session of the Congress for the year; and copies of such account and report shall then be presented to the Congress and sent to the Congress Committee.

Article XXIV.

The All-India Congress Committee shall at its first meeting appoint a Working Committee consisting of the President, the General Secretaries, the Treasurers and 9 other members, which shall perform such functions as may be delegated to it from time to time by the All-India Congress Committee.

Subjects Committee

Article XXV.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee shall consti-
tute the Subjects Committee for the ordinary or extraordinary session following.

Article XXVI.

The Subjects Committee shall meet at least two days before the meeting of the Congress in open session. At this meeting, the President-elect shall preside and the outgoing Secretaries shall submit the draft programme of the work for the ensuing session of the Congress, including resolutions recommended by the different Provincial Congress Committees for adoption.

Article XXVII.

The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the said programme and shall frame resolution to be submitted to the open session.

Article XXVIII.

The Subjects Committee shall also meet from time to time as the occasion may require during the pendency of the Congress session.

Contentious Subjects and Interests of Minorities

Article XXIX.

No subjects shall be passed for discussion by the Subjects Committee or allowed to be discussed at any Congress by the President thereof, to the introduction of which the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, object by a majority of three-fourths of their number, and if, after the discussion of any subject which has been admitted for discussion, it shall appear that the Hindu or Mohammedan delegates, as a body, are, by a majority of three-fourths of their number, opposed to the resolution which it is proposed to pass thereon, such resolution shall be dropped.

Article XXX.

The All-India Congress Committee shall have the power to frame rules in respect of all matters not covered by the Constitution and not inconsistent with its Articles.
Article XXXI.

The Articles and the Creed of the Constitution now in force are hereby repealed without prejudice to all acts done thereunder.

**XVIII : 26th-31st December 1920.**

* * *

(l) 1921

"The following changes be introduced in the Constitution:—
1. In Article IV instead of "age of 21" read "the age of 18".
2. At the end of Article VII add "provided that no person shall become a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time."
3. At the end of clause 3 Art. VIII add "the member of the All-India Congress Committee shall be ex-officio delegates to the Congress, the Provincial Congress Committees deducting the number of elected and, if any, the ex-officio members of the All-India Congress Committee in their province from the number of delegates they are entitled to return."
4. In clause 5 Art. VIII remove the brackets and after "a single transferable vote" add "or any other method."
5. In clause 2 of Art. XIX after "shall be" add "the elected president."
6. In the same clause after "past presidents of the Congress" add "if they sign the Congress creed and are members of any Congress Organisation."
7. In Art. XXIII after "the General Secretaries" add "and two Treasurers" and in the beginning of the second sentence instead of the word "they" read "the General Secretaries."

**36 : 1921 : Ahmedabad : VII.**

* * *

(m) 1924

"The present Article VII of the constitution to be repealed and the following to be substituted therefor:—

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

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

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

(iii) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meetings of the Congress or any Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not contributed the yarn subscription or the instalments due.

Any member who has made default in the payment of the yarn subscription may have his or her rights restored by paying the subscription in respect of which the default has occurred and the instalment for the month then current.

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

Delete Article VI (c) and Article IX (b) of the constitution”.

39 : 1924 : Belgaum : III.

* * *

(n) 1926

“Resolved that the following changes be made in Art. VII of the Constitution:—
Substitute the following for sec. (iv) :

(iv) (a) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever or to be elected as such or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with section (i) hereof and does not habitually wear handspun and hand-woven khaddar.

(b) The Working Committee shall frame Rules for the proper carrying out of the provisions of this section.

41 : 1926 : Gauhati : IX.

*   *   *

(o) 1929

"This Congress having considered the Constitution recommended by the All Parties Committee Report, welcomes it as a great contribution towards the solution of India's political and communal problems and congratulates the Committee on the virtual unanimity of its recommendations, and, whilst adhering to the resolution relating to complete independence passed at the Madras Congress, approves of the Constitution drawn up by the Committee as a great step in political advance, specially as it represents the largest measure of agreement attained among the important parties in the country.

Subject to the exigencies of the political situation, this Congress will adopt the Constitution if it is accepted in its entirety by the British Parliament on or before the 31st December, 1929; but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise a campaign of non-violent non-cooperation by advising the country to refuse taxation and in such other manner as may be decided upon.

Consistently with the above, nothing in the resolution shall interfere with the carrying on, in the name of the Congress, of the propaganda for complete independence."

43 : 1928-1929 : Calcutta : XIII.

*   *   *
The following are extracts from Gandhiji's Statement
issued from Wardha on the 17th September, 1934

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

Let me state them. I put the spinning-wheel and Khadi in the forefront. Hand-spinning by Congress intelligentsia has all but disappeared. The general body of them have no faith in it and yet, if I could carry their reason with me, I would substitute the four-anna franchise by personal, daily hand-spinning. The khadi clause of the Congress Constitution has been almost a dead letter from the beginning and Congressmen have not been wanting who have reminded me that I am responsible for the hypocrisy and evasion about the working of the khadi clause. I ought to have realised that it was not passed out of deep conviction, but largely out of personal loyalty to me. I must own that there is considerable force in the argument. Nevertheless my conviction is growing that if India is to win complete Independence in terms of the toiling millions and through unadulterated non-violence, the spinning-wheel and khadi have to be as natural to the educated few as to the partially unemployed and semi-starved millions who, for not using their hands for the purpose for which nature has endowed man with them, have become almost like beasts of burden. The spinning-wheel is thus an emblem of human dignity and equality in the truest sense of the term. It is the handmaid of agriculture. It is the nation's second lung. We are perishing because we are using only one lung; yet only a few Congressmen have a living faith in the India-wide potency of the wheel. The removal of the khadi clause in the Constitution would mean removal of the living link between the Congress and millions whom it has from its inception sought to represent, and yet if it remains, it has to be rigidly enforced. But it cannot be, if a substantial majority of Congressmen have no living faith in it.
Take again the Parliamentary Board. Though the author of non-co-operation, I am convinced that in the present circumstances of the country and in the absence of any general scheme of civil resistance, a Parliamentary Party within the Congress is a necessary part of any programme that may be framed by the Congress; but there are sharp differences of opinion among us on that point. The force with which I urged the programme at the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Patna, I know oppressed many of our best colleagues, but they hesitated to act according to their own conviction. Upto a point, suppression of one's views in favour of those of another, considered superior in wisdom or experience, is virtuous and desirable for the healthy growth of an organisation; it becomes a terrible oppression when one is called upon to repeat the performance from day to day. Though I have never wished any such untoward result, I cannot conceal from me or the public the tragic fact that such has been my own experience. Many have despaired of resisting me. This is a humiliating revelation to a born democrat. I make that claim of complete identification with the poorest of mankind, an intense longing to live no better than they and a corresponding conscious effort to approach that level to the best one's ability can entitle one to make it.

I have welcomed the formation of the Socialist group. Many of them are respected and self-sacrificing co-workers. With all this, I have fundamental differences with them on the programme published in their authorized pamphlets. But I would not, by reason of the moral pressure I may be able to exert, suppress the spread of ideas propounded in their literature. I may not interfere with the free expression of those ideas, however distasteful some of them may be to me. If they gain ascendancy in the Congress, as they well may, I cannot remain in the Congress. For, to be in active opposition should be unthinkable. Though identified with many organizations during a long period of public service, I have never accepted that position.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Experience has shown that the Congress is an unwieldy organisation, even with 6,000 delegates. In practice, the full number has never attended the Congress and when the Congress register nowhere contains a truly representative list, the delegation can hardly be claimed to be a reality. I would, therefore, have an amendment reducing the number to not more than 1,000 delegates nor more than one delegate per every thousand voters. To have the full number of delegates would mean one million voters, not an over-ambitious hope in a country having a population of 315 millions. The Congress would, by this amendment, gain in substance what it may lose in the show of numbers. The spectacular part of the session would be kept intact by making ample provision for visitors, but Reception Committees will be spared the wholly unnecessary anxiety of having to provide accommodation for an unwieldy number of delegates. Let us recognise the fact that the Congress enjoys a prestige, democratic in character and influence, not by the number of delegates and visitors it has drawn to its annual functions but by the ever increasing amount of service it has rendered. Western democracy is on its trial. If it has already proved a failure, may it be reserved to India to evolve the true science of democracy by giving a visible demonstration of its buttress. Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be the inevitable products of democracy, as they undoubtedly are today. Nor is bulk a true test of democracy. True democracy is not inconsistent with a few persons representing the spirit, the hope and the aspirations of those whom they claim to represent. I hold that
democracy cannot be evolved by forcible methods. The spirit of democracy cannot be imposed from without. It has to come from within.

I have mentioned here only the principal amendments I should propose in the Constitution. There would be other resolutions bringing out clearly the points I have touched upon in the foregoing paras. I do not need to burden this statement with them. My fear is that even the amendments I have named will hardly commend themselves to the large number of Congressmen who will attend the Congress. Nevertheless, if I am to guide the policy of the Congress, I hold them and the resolutions in keeping with the spirit of this statement, to be essential for the earliest attainment of our goal.

* * *

(p) 1934.

Object

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Poorna Swaraj (complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means.

The Indian National Congress

Article II.

The Indian National Congress shall comprise:

1. Members enrolled in Primary Committees Under Article III,
2. Provincial Congress Committees,
3. Annual Session,
4. All-India Congress Committee,
5. Working Committee,

and may comprise (a) Committees or associations directly organised by the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee or (b) Committees organised by any Provincial Congress Committee in accordance with the rules framed by it in that behalf and approved by the Working Committee.

Membership

Article III.

(a) Any person over the age of 18 years who believes in Article I shall, on making a written declaration to that effect
and presenting an application in Form ‘A’ annexed hereto and on payment of four annas, be entitled to be placed on the register of Congress members kept at any office duly authorised in that behalf within the district in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

Provided that no person shall be a member of more than one Primary Committee at the same time.

(b) The application shall be presented in duplicate and may be handed in personally or sent by post or messenger.

(c) It shall state the full name, age, sex and occupation of the applicant as also the village, the taluka, the district and the province in which he ordinarily resides or carries on business.

(d) The official receiving the application, after recording on it the date of receipt, serial number and such other particulars as may be prescribed, shall send one of the duplicates to the office of the Provincial Congress Committee concerned.

(e) The applicant, on being enrolled, shall receive a certificate of membership as per Form ‘B’ annexed hereto and printed on durable paper, either in the language and script of the province in which he resides or in the Hindustani language written in Devanagri or Urdu script.

(f) Unless otherwise directed by the Working Committee the year of the membership shall be reckoned from April 1st to March 31st and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.

Provinces

Article IV.

(a) The following shall be the provinces with the headquarters mentioned against them:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ajmer-Merwara</td>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Andhra</td>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>Bezwada</td>
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<td>3. Assam</td>
<td>Assamese</td>
<td>Gauhati</td>
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<td>4. Bihar</td>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>Patna</td>
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<td>5. Bengal</td>
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<td>Calcutta</td>
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<td>6. Berar</td>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>Amraoti</td>
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<td>7. Bombay (City)</td>
<td>Marathi &amp; Gujarati</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
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<td>8. Burma</td>
<td>Burmese</td>
<td>Rangoon</td>
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<td>9. Central Provinces</td>
<td>Marathi</td>
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<td>10. Delhi</td>
<td>Hindustani</td>
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<td>11. Gujarat</td>
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<td>12. Kerala</td>
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<td>Calicut</td>
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<td>13. Karnataka</td>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>Dharwar</td>
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<td>14. Mahakoshal (C.P.)</td>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>Jubbulpore</td>
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<td>15. Maharashtra</td>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>Poona</td>
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<td>16. N.W.F. Province</td>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>Peshawar</td>
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<td>17. Punjab</td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
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<td>18. Sind</td>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>Karachi</td>
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<td>19. Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>Madras</td>
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<td>20. United Provinces</td>
<td>Hindustani</td>
<td>Lucknow</td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Utkal</td>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>Cuttack</td>
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</table>

(b) Any Provincial Congress Committee with the previous sanction of the Working Committee shall have the power to alter its headquarters from time to time.

(c) The Working Committee may, after ascertaining the wishes of the Provincial Congress Committee or Committees concerned constitute a new Province or assign to a Province districts from another Province as also assign an Indian State to any Province.

Qualifications

Article V.

(a) No member shall be entitled to exercise his vote at any election unless he has been continuously on a Congress register for six months prior to the date of the election.

(b) No member even if he is qualified under clause (a) hereof shall be eligible for election to an office or to membership of any Congress Committee unless,

(i) he is a habitual wearer wholly of hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar;

(ii) he has performed some manual labour continuously for six months immediately before the date of nomination for election, on behalf of or for the Congress equal in value to 500 yards per month of
well-spun yarn of over ten counts, and in time to
eight hours per month, the forms of acceptable labour
alternative to spinning being prescribed from time
to time by the Working Committee concerned and
the All-India Village Industries Association or the
All-India Spinners' Association;

(iii) At the time of offering himself for such election he is
not a member at the same time of any other parallel
committee.

(c) No person who is member of any elected Congress Com-
mittee shall be member of any similar committee of a
communal organisation the object or programme of
which involves political activities which are, in the opinion
of the Working Committee, anti-national and in conflict
with those of the Congress.

Election of Delegates

Article VI.

(a) At the end of every annual session, the Working Com-
mittee shall fix a date and time not earlier than eight
months after the date of such decision, when every
Provincial Congress Committee shall send to the Working
Committee a certified list of members of its primary
committees qualified to vote. The list must reach the
office of the Working Committee on or before the said or
any other extended date time.

(b) Members included in the said list shall alone be entitled to
vote at the election of Delegates in that province.

(c) In the event of a Provincial Congress Committee failing to
furnish the list in time, the province concerned may be
disentitled to elect its Delegates.

(d) On receipt of the aforesaid lists the Working Committee
shall fix the date by which the election of Delegates must
be held and the quota of Delegates which each province is
entitled to return, and call upon the Provincial Congress
Committees to proceed with the election of their respective
quotas.

(e) For the purposes of election the provinces referred to in
Article IV hereof shall be divided into rural and urban
areas.
(Note: 'Urban area' means towns which have a population of more than ten thousand persons. 'Rural area' means area other than urban).

(f) The rural areas as also every town with a population of more than 10,000 persons in a district shall each be entitled to elect one Delegate for every five hundred duly qualified members on the rolls of its primary committees or for such other number as may be fixed by the Working Committee in accordance with clause (h) hereof subject to the following:

(i) The maximum number of Delegates shall not exceed two thousand. Out of the said number 511 shall be the maximum for the urban areas and 1,489 for the rural area;

(i') No province shall be entitled to return a larger number of Delegates than a proportion of one Delegate to every 150,000 of the inhabitants of such province including the Indian States or Agencies therein, or its fraction thereof, in accordance with the census of 1921.

Proviso I: The maximum number of Delegates sent by the urban area in each province shall not exceed 25% of the total number returnable by the province as aforesaid.

Proviso II: Bombay (City) shall have a maximum quota of 21 Delegates;

Proviso III: Every province shall be entitled to return a minimum of 10 Delegates irrespective of the strength of its primary members.

(g) (i) Where the rural area of a district has a sufficient number of duly qualified members on the rolls of its primary committees, the Provincial Congress Committee shall divide such area into suitable circles, so as to include in each circle not less than 500 duly qualified members and each such circle be entitled to elect a Delegate.

(ii) On a demand made in writing by 500 duly qualified members enrolled on the primary committees of one or more contiguous circles, of a district, the said circles, where possible shall be combined into a plural-member constituency of not more than five seats.

(iii) Where possible, a town with a population of more than 10,000 persons shall be divided into plural-member constituencies of not less than five and not more
than 10 seats, provided the constituency can have at least, 500 duly qualified members to every seat. But where the number of duly qualified members is less than 2,500 the town shall be formed into a plural-member constituency with one seat to not less than 500 members each.

(iv) Election in plural-member constituencies shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(h) If and when necessary, the Working Committee may readjust the proportion of 500 duly qualified members to one Delegate and prescribe a higher figure for any urban or rural area so that the total number of urban and rural Delegates in each province may be in the proportion of 1 to 3 and may not in the aggregate exceed the maximum prescribed for it under (f) (ii).

(i) The province which has not completed its election on or before the date appointed by the Working Committee may at the discretion of the Working Committee be disentitled to be represented at the annual session.

(j) A certified list of Delegates shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(k) Every Delegate so elected shall, on payment of a fee of Rs. 5 at the office of the Provincial Congress Committee of his province, receive a certificate in accordance with form 'C' hereto annexed, duly signed by one of its secretaries. No Delegate shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions or powers without such certificate.

Election by the Delegates

Article VII.

(a) On receipt by the Working Committee of the list of Delegates it shall fix a date on which the Delegates in every province shall assemble in a meeting to transact the following business:

(i) to propose the candidate or candidates for the Presidentship of the Congress for the ensuing year and to record the vote of each of the Delegates assembled on the proposals;
(ii) to elect from among themselves one-twelfth of their number as representatives of the province on the All India Congress Committee;

(iii) in case the number of delegates for the province exceeds 100 to elect from among themselves a number of members which together with the members of the All-India Congress Committee elected under clause (ii) would amount to 100 to constitute the Provincial Congress Committee of the province.

(b) The elections in sub-clauses (ii) and (iii) of clause (a) shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote.

(c) The Secretaries of the respective Provincial Congress Committees shall issue certificates of membership of the All-India Congress Committee to the persons elected on it.

Provincial Congress Committees

Article VIII.

(a) The Delegates elected from a province under Article VI or where the number of Delegates is more than 100, one hundred Delegates elected under Article VII (a) (iii), as the case may be, and the President and the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are duly qualified under Articles III and V, shall form its Provincial Congress Committee.

(b) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall:

(i) subject to the general control and supervision of the A.I.C.C., be in charge of the affairs of the Congress within its own province and to that end frame rules not inconsistent with this Constitution, which rules come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;

(ii) submit an annual report of the work in the province to the Working Committee not later than one month before the commencement of the annual session;

(iii) before the new A.I.C.C. meets as Subjects Committee under Article IX (g), pay to the Working Committee the fees received from the Delegates, as also such subscription as may be fixed by the latter having regard to the population, membership and financial
capacity of the province. Delegates and members of
the A.I.C.C. from provinces in default shall not be
permitted to take part in any of the proceedings of
the Congress or any Committee thereof.

Annual Session

Article IX

(a) The annual session shall be ordinarily held during the
month of February or March. The said session shall be
held at the place decided upon at the preceding session
or such other place as may be determined by the Working
Committee.

(b) The annual session consists of:

(i) The President of the Congress;
(ii) the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are
duly qualified under Articles III and V;
(iii) the delegates elected under Article VI.

(c) The Provincial Congress Committee concerned shall make
such arrangements for holding the annual session as may
be deemed necessary, and for this purpose shall form a
Reception Committee, and may include therein persons
who are not its members.

(d) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the
expenses of the session, make all necessary arrangements
for the reception and accommodation of Delegates and
visitors and for the printing of the report of the proce-
dings of the session.

(e) The Reception Committee shall elect its chairman and
other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

(f) (i) As soon as may be, after the receipt of the report
by the Working Committee of the names of Presidents
proposed by the Delegates of various provinces and
the number of votes recorded in favour of each, the
Working Committee shall announce as President elect
the name of the member obtaining the largest number
of votes.

(ii) In the event of an emergency arising by reason of
any cause, such as the death or resignation of the
President elected in this manner, the Working
Committee shall, not later than a fortnight after
the emergency, elect as President the person standing
next in order.
(g) The new A.I.C.C. shall meet as Subjects Committee at least two days before the annual session under the Presidentship of the President elect. The outgoing Working Committee shall submit to it the draft programme of the work for the session including resolutions by the different Provincial Congress Committees.

(h) The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the programme and shall frame resolutions for being moved in the open session. At least one day shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by Provincial Congress Committees or members of the A.I.C.C. other than those of the Working Committee in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(i) At each sitting of the Congress, the order in which business shall be transacted shall be as follows:

(i) The resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee;

(ii) Any substantive motion not included in (i) and which 25 Delegates request the President in writing, before the commencement of the day's sitting, to be allowed to place before the Congress; provided however, that no such motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present.

(j) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appointed by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned, and the statement of accounts together with the auditor's report shall be submitted by the Provincial Congress Committee to the Working Committee, not later than three months after the termination of the annual session.

Special Session

Article X.

(a) The Working Committee may upon its own motion, or shall upon a joint requisition addressed, to it, as provided in Article XVI (e), convene a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee for considering a resolution for holding a special session. Such resolution shall be effective if passed by two-thirds majority of the members present.
Thereupon the Working Committee shall summon a special session of the Congress at such time and place as it shall determine and the Articles of the constitution shall apply with such modifications as the Working Committee may consider necessary provided that the delegates of the preceding session shall be the Delegates for such special session.

(b) The President of a special session shall be elected by the Delegates.

*All-India Congress Committee*

Article XI.

(a) The President of the Annual session, members of the A.I.C.C. elected under Article VII (ii) and the ex-Presidents referred to in Article IX (b) (ii) shall constitute the A.I.C.C.

(b) The A.I.C.C. shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress from session to session and deal with all new matters that may arise during its term of office.

(e) The A.I.C.C. shall have the power to frame Rules, not inconsistent with this Constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress.

(d) The President of the annual session shall be the Chairman of the A.I.C.C.

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

(f) Twenty-five or one-third of the total number of members whichever is less, shall form the quorum.

(g) The A.I.C.C. shall hold office till the meeting of the new A.I.C.C. as Subjects Committee immediately before the next session.

(h) The A.I.C.C. shall, at its first meeting every year, nominate a panel of twelve members to enquire into and decide all election disputes coming before it. Each party
to the dispute shall nominate one out of this panel to represent itself and the President shall appoint an umpire from the panel.

(i) The A.I.C.C. may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such organizations as it may deem necessary provided such organisations are calculated to further assist the object of the Congress.

(j) Every member of the All-India Congress Committee, ex-officio or elected, shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10/- payable at or before the first meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. Members in default will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the Subjects Committee or in any session.

The Working Committee

Article XXI.

(a) The President of the annual session shall for his term of office select fourteen members from among the members of the A.I.C.C. to constitute his Working Committee including not more than three General Secretaries and not more than two Treasurers of the Congress.

(b) The Working Committee shall be the executive authority and as such shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the A.I.C.C. and the Congress, and shall remain responsible thereto.

(c) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the A.I.C.C. the reports of its proceedings and the agenda of the meeting and shall assign at least one clear day for resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A.I.C.C. other than those of the Working Committee in accordance with the Rules prescribed in that behalf.

(d) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more inspectors to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress organisations, which shall furnish all information and give to the inspectors access to all offices and records.

(e) The Working Committee shall have the power

(i) to frame Rules and issue instructions for the proper
working of the Constitution and in all matters not otherwise provided for;

(ii) to superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees subject to review by the A.I.C.C.;

(iii) to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a committee or individual for misconduct, wilful neglect or default.

(f) The Working Committee shall pay to the Provincial Congress Committee convening the annual session one-fifth of the fees recovered from the Delegates within a fortnight of its termination.

(g) The Working Committee shall take steps to have a regular audit of the accounts of the Provincial Congress Committees.

Funds

Article XIII.

The treasurers shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper account of all investments, income and expenditures.

General Secretaries

Article XIV.

(a) The General Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee.

(b) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the annual or special session in cooperation with the Provincial Committee concerned. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session.

(c) The General Secretaries shall prepare the report of the work of the A.I.C.C. and the Working Committee during their period of office and submit it with a full account of the funds, which may have come into their hands, to the meeting of the A.I.C.C. immediately before the annual session.
Vacancies

Article XV.

The office of a Delegate or a member of the A.I.C.C. or a Provincial Congress Committee shall be vacated by resignation, death or prolonged absence from India and such vacancy shall be filled by the Provincial Congress Committee concerned in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen. A vacancy on the Working Committee shall be filled by the President.

Fractions

Article XVI.

Where there is a question of considering the value of fractions, a fraction of 1/2 or more shall be treated as one and less than 1/2 as zero.

Language

Article XVII.

(a) The proceedings of the Congress, the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindustani; the English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.
(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindustani may also be used.

Transitory Provisions

Article XVIII.

(a) On these amendments to the Constitution coming into force the A.I.C.C. shall consist of not more than 166 members apportioned as stated in the Appendix.
(b) The members of the Provincial Congress Committees which are functioning or are about to function shall, from
among themselves, elect by single transferable vote the members of the A.I.C.C. mentioned in clause (a).

(c) Where a Provincial Congress Committee at present consists of more than 100 members the sitting members of such Committee shall elect from among themselves by single transferable vote 100 members including the A.I.C.C. members to constitute the new Provincial Congress Committee under this Constitution.

(d) The Provincial Congress Committee reconstituted under clause (c) shall elect its office-bearers.

(e) The votes at the elections under clauses (b) and (c) may be recorded either at a meeting held for the purpose or on ballot papers sent by post.

(f) All such elections shall be held and a report thereon submitted to the Working Committee on or before the 15th of January 1935.

(g) Every Provincial Congress Committee shall, before the 28th of February, 1935, submit for the approval of the Working Committee a report on the affairs of its province and a draft constitution for the same not inconsistent with this Constitution and the Rules made thereunder.

(h) The Provincial Constitutions shall come into operation on their being approved by the Working Committee.

(i) No Provincial Congress Committee and no subordinate committee shall be recognised by the Working Committee unless it has complied with the conditions laid down in this Constitution or any Rules framed thereunder by the Working Committee.

(j) On failure on the part of any Provincial Congress Committee to function in terms of the Constitution, the Working Committee may form one to carry on Congress work in that province.

(k) Notwithstanding Articles III and V (a) and (b) (ii) a person otherwise duly qualified shall be eligible for election to an office or to membership of a Committee prior to 1st July, 1935.

(l) Notwithstanding the provisions relating to the election of the President by the Delegates under this Constitution, the President of the 48th Session of the Congress, viz. Sjt. Rajendra Prasad shall continue to hold office as if he was elected hereunder.

(m) The President of the 48th Session of the Congress shall nominate fourteen members of the Working Committee
including three General Secretaries and not more than two Treasurers from the members of the present A.I.C.C.

The Working Committee may make such transitory regulations not inconsistent with the foregoing to meet any situation that may arise in the transitional period.

* * *

Q. 1938

"The Congress wishes to stress again the desirability of increasing the association of the masses with the Congress organisation and of giving opportunities to the primary members to initiate and consider Congress policies and programme. With a view to bring this about, a Committee consisting of the President, Shri Rajendra Prasad, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, and the General Secretary is appointed with the General Secretary as convener, to consider the introduction of suitable changes in the constitution, and to report to the A.I.C.C. by the 30th April, 1937. This Committee will consider, *inter alia*, the report of the Mass Contacts Committee of the Lucknow Congress.

The Congress is of opinion that, even pending such reorganisation, Provincial Congress Committees should organise their provinces on the following basis:

1. Primary Committee should, as far as possible, be established in villages and in mohallas or wards of towns.

2. Members of Primary Committees should meet together at least twice a year to review their own work, consider local problems and grievances and further to consider the policy and programme before the Congress and send their report and recommendations to their higher committees. A specified number of members of Primary Committees should further have the right to requisition a meeting of the Primary Committee to consider a specific question.

3. The subscription of four annas per annum may be collected locally in kind.

In order to give effect to the above directions and further to make the Congress organisation more efficient and more responsive to the needs and desires of the masses, the Congress directs the Working Committee to appoint an organising secretary, and each Provincial Congress Committee also to appoint such organising secretaries. The Congress trusts that Congressmen in general will co-operate fully in this task of bringing our national organisation in close touch with the daily lives and struggle of the people."

50 : 1936 (Dec.,) : Faispur : XIII.
"This Congress appoints a Committee consisting of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, Shri Bhulabhai J. Desai, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Shri Achyut Patwardhan, Shri S.A. Brelvi, Shri Kiran Sankar Roy, Shri Anandshivam Iyengar and Shri J.B. Kripalani as convenor, to consider and frame rules, if necessary, concerning the following matters:

(a) The advisability or otherwise of indirect elections of delegates;
(b) Genuine membership and proper elections;
(c) Suitability of territorial representation on the A.I.C.C. and in provinces where it may be considered suitable, the method of such representation;
(d) Suitability or otherwise of the method of proportional representation by single transferable vote in the elections to the membership of the A.I.C.C.;
(e) Any consequential changes that may be necessary as a result of fixing of constituencies in connection with Article VI (e).

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

51 : 1938 : Haripura : XX.

* * *

The following is the exact translation of the Hindi draft that Gandhiji gave to the Constitution Committee in January, 1946.

1. Constructive programme is the chief plank for winning Swaraj by truthful and non-violent means. Its full execution means complete independence. But so long as the millions of India do not take to it, parliamentary programme will remain as a supplement.

2. The method of enrolment of Congress membership has been useful and Congress has been able to do a lot of good work. But many defects have crept in. Therefore, in future, the Congress will consist of workers or servants, of the nation only. Any man or woman above the age of sixteen can become a Congress worker, provided he or she is a habitual wearer of khadi certified by the A.I.S.A. and pays a monthly fee of 1,920 rounds of handspun yarn to the Congress. The spinners should be conversant with all
the processes from picking cotton pods from the field to
the point of making slivers and producing yarn. They
should also know how to put a spinning wheel in order.

3. The Congress shall make it a point of duty to penetrate
the 700,000 villages of India. At least one Congress
worker shall stay in each village and do the following:

(a) He shall come in personal contact with every villager
and keep a list of their names along with those of the
other members of their family.

(b) He will enrol and train Congress workers from
amongst the villagers themselves and keep a register
of all those who come on the roll. These shall form
the Village Congress Committee.

(c) He shall keep a record of his work from day-to-day.

(d) It is possible that obstacles might be placed in his
way by the Government or by the villagers them-
selves. He shall fight all difficulties by truthful and
non-violent action even though he might perish in the
attempt.

(e) He shall organise the villagers so as to make them
self-contained and self-supporting through their
agriculture and handicrafts, treating the manufacture
of khadi as the centre, in accordance with the lines
laid down by the A.I.S.A., A.I.V.I.A. and the
Go Seva Sangh.

(f) He shall organise sanitation and hygiene among
the villagers and take all measures for prevention of
disease among them.

(g) He shall organise the education of the villagers from
birth to death along the lines of Nayee Talim, in
accordance with the policy laid down by the
Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

(h) For the above purposes and others to be added from
time to time by the Congress, he shall train and fit
himself for the due performance of duty, in
accordance with the rules laid down by the Congress
from time to time.

4. The Congress shall take part in the election in all Govern-
ment managed or controlled institutions, beginning with
the village panchayat to the Central Legislative
Assembly and Council.

5. The Congress shall contact all those who are on the
Government's voters' list, and
(a) will give them an idea of their duties and their rights,
(b) shall produce the necessary literature for their education,
(c) shall make arrangements to impart literacy to the illiterate amongst them,
(d) shall see that those whose names are missing on the Government registers are duly entered therein,
(e) shall encourage those who are legally unqualified for the franchise to acquire the necessary qualifications for getting the right, and
(f) shall carry on agitation for adult franchise for all inhabitants of India who are not proved lunatics or otherwise unfit workers.

6. Out of the existing workers the Congress shall maintain a Central Board of Volunteers whose sole and special duty will be to reach, help and protect in accordance with Truth and Non-violence, the people in cases of rioting, stealing, robbery and like emergencies. To this end the Congress shall conduct a teaching institution.

7. The Congress shall run a Language School so as to enable Congressmen and women to learn the national language, i.e., Hindustani spoken by the villagers—Hindus, Muslims and others in the villages of the North and written in the Nagri or Urdu script, and other Indian languages. This work is to be done along the lines of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

8. Representative Village Congress Sabhas being one per not less than 1,000 voters, and of workers being one per 1,000 workers shall form the A.I.C.C.

9. The Indian National Congress will comprise:
   1. Village Congress Committee
   2. All-India Congress Committee
   3. Working Committee of the Congress
   4. All-India Spinners Association
   5. All-India Village Industries Association
   6. Hindustani Talimi Sangh
   7. Institution for Removal of Untouchability
   8. Anti-Intoxicant Association
   9. Labour Union
   10. Kisan Union.
10. The A.I.C.C. shall frame rules for the smooth working of the Constitution and for matters left unprovided for herein.

* * *

"In view of the great development of the Congress organisation and the new conditions that have arisen, the Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to amend and revise the Congress Constitution in order to make the Congress as widely representative of the Indian people as possible and at the same time a more efficient instrument for giving effect to the national will.

The Constitution as and when finally passed by the A.I.C.C. shall be given effect to".  

54 : 1946 : Meerut : XV

* * *

Report of the Congress Constitution Sub-Committee

"As Acharya J.B. Kripalani, Convener, was absent in East Bengal, it was decided to request him to prepare and get the final draft sanctioned by the Constitution Sub-Committee and circulate it to members of the Working Committee and the Subjects Committee. The Working Committee will consider it at its next meeting."


* * *

Constitution Sub-Committee

"The Constitution Sub-Committee's report was placed before the Working Committee. The general opinion of the members was that the system of registering a worker (as mentioned in the resolution below) should be so evolved that it becomes automatic. The following draft resolution was passed for the Subjects Committee.

"In view of the great development of the Congress organisation and the new conditions that have arisen, it is desirable to revise the Congress Constitution in order to make the Congress as widely representative of the Indian people as possible and at the same time a more efficient instrument for giving effect to the national will. With this end in view, the Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to amend and revise the Congress Constitution on the basis of the following principles :


1. The four-anna membership be abolished and instead a broader franchise approaching adult franchise be introduced.

2. All elective Congress Committees to consist of workers in the field of constructive, organisational, parliamentary, or any other national activity.

3. Elections to be held every three years.

The Constitution as and when finally passed by the A.I.C.C. shall be given effect to.

"It was also decided to authorise the existing Constitution Sub-Committee to frame a Constitution on the principles laid down in the above resolution and place it before the next session of the Working Committee."

* * *

**The Constitution Committee**

"The A.I.C.C. appointed a committee to consider changes in the Congress constitution in terms of the resolution passed by the Meerut Congress. This Committee was the old Constitution Committee with some new names added to it. The following is the personnel of the new Committee:

(1) Dr. Rajendra Prasad
(2) Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramayya
(3) Acharya Narendra Deo
(4) Shri R.R. Diwakar (Convener)
(5) Shri Jayaprakash Narain
(6) Shri Kamaladevi
(7) Shri Purushottamdas Tandon
(8) Miss Mridula Sarabhai
(9) Dr. B.V. Keskar
(10) Shri Srinivas Mallayya
(11) Shri S.K. Patil
(12) Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
(13) Shri Shankerrao Deo
(14) Acharya Jugal Kishore".

*AICO : November 25, 1946 : Meerut : I.*

* * *
The Congress Constitution

"At the suggestion of the President, the Working Committee decided that in view of the developing political situation the consideration of the draft Constitution of the Congress by the A.I.C.C. should be postponed and that the A.I.C.C. Office should adopt such of the rules proposed in the interim report of the draft Committee as would be necessary to maintain a stricter discipline in the Congress and root out corrupt practices."


* * *

The Congress Constitution

"The President informed the Committee that, in view of the rapidly developing political situation in the country, the Working Committee considered it desirable that the consideration of the new Constitution prepared by the Constitution Committee appointed by the A.I.C.C. be postponed. The A.I.C.C. expressed its approval of the decision of the Working Committee."

A.I.C.C. : June 14—15, 1947 : Delhi II.

* * *

Revised Constitution

"Shri Shankarrao Deo then moved the resolution on the Congress Constitution."

Shri M. Jagannatharao moved an amendment to it. The House accepted the following portion of the amendment:—

"and to submit the draft of revised Constitution prepared by it to a special session of the All India Congress Committee, convened for the purpose, not later than the end of January 1948 and pending the final approval of such a Constitution by the A.I.C.C. to postpone all Congress elections under the present Constitution."

The amended resolution was put to vote and passed. The following is the text of the resolution passed:—

"As the goal of complete independence from foreign domination has been achieved and in view of the new responsibilities, the Congress Organisation will have to discharge under the changed circumstances, the A.I.C.C. appoints the following Committee to
revise the present constitution, including the objective as contained in Article I and to submit the draft revised Constitution to a special session of the All India Congress Committee, convened for the purpose, not later than the end of January 1948 and pending the final approval of such a Constitution by the A.I.C.C. to postpone all Congress elections under the present Constitution:

1. Shri R.R. Diwakar
2. Shri Purushottam Das Tandon
3. Acharya Narendra Deo
4. Shri S.K. Patil
5. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
6. Shri Surendra Mohan Ghosh
7. Acharya Jugal Kishore."

A.I.C.C.: November 15—17, 1947: Delhi: VIII.

The following are Gandhiji’s suggestions regarding the future organisation of the Congress given on 30th January, 1948

Though split into two, India having attained political independence through means devised by the Indian National Congress, the Congress, in its present shape and form i.e., as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns. The struggle for the ascendancy of civil over military power is bound to take place in India’s progress towards its democratic goal. It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and other similar reasons the AICC resolves to disband the existing Congress organisation and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh under the following rules with power to alter them as occasion may demand.

Every Panchayat of five adult men or women, being villagers or village-minded, shall form a unit.

Two such contiguous Panchayats shall form a working party under a leader elected from among themselves.

When there are one hundred such Panchayats, the fifty first-grade leaders shall elect from among themselves a second-grade leader and so on, the first grade leaders, meanwhile working under the second-grade leader. Parallel groups of two hundred Panchayats shall continue to be formed till they cover the whole of India, each
succeeding group of Panchayats electing second-grade leaders after the manner of the first. All second-grade leaders shall serve jointly for the whole of India and severally for their respective areas. The second-grade leaders may elect, whenever they deem necessary, from among themselves a chief who will, during pleasure, regulate and command all the groups.

(As the final formation of provinces or districts is still in a state of flux, no attempt has been made to divide this group of servants into Provincial or District Councils and jurisdiction over the whole of India has been vested in the group or groups that may have been formed at any given time. It should be noted that this body of servants derive their authority or power from service ungrudgingly and wisely done to their master, the whole of India.)

1. Every worker shall be a habitual wearer of khadi made from self-spun yarn or certified by the A.I.S.A. and must be a teetotaller. If a Hindu, he must have abjured untouchability in any shape or form in his own person or in his family. He must be a believer in the ideal of inter-communal unity, equal respect and regard for all religions and equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

2. He shall come in personal contact with every villager within his jurisdiction.

3. He shall enrol and train workers from amongst the villagers and keep a register of all these.

4. He shall organise the villages so as to make them self-contained and self-supporting through their agriculture and handicrafts.

5. He shall educate the village-folk in sanitation and hygiene and take all measures for prevention of ill-health and disease among them.

6. He shall organise the education of village-folk from birth to death along the lines of Nayee Talim, in accordance with the policy laid down by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

7. He shall see that those whose names are missing on the statutory voters’ roll are duly entered therein.

8. He shall encourage those who have not yet acquired the legal qualification to acquire it, for getting the right of franchise.

9. For the above purposes and others to be added from time to time, he shall train and fit himself in accordance with
the rules laid down by the Sangh for the due performance of duty.

The Sangh shall affiliate the following autonomous bodies:
1. A.I.S.A.
2. A.I.V.I.A.
3. Hindustani Talimi Sangh.
5. Go Seva Sangh.

**Finance**

The Sangh shall raise finances for the fulfilment of its mission from among the villagers and others, special stress being laid on collection of poor man’s pice.

* * *

**Article III.**

Includes the 5 New P.C.C’s set up in
(a) States: Rajputana, Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh, Himachal and Patiala and East Punjab States’ Union.

**Article IV.**

Certified Khadi—Certified through the
(c) agencies approved by the Working Committee.
(f) The portion of the sentence after the Working Committee in the 8th line should read as follows “provided his name has been on the list of qualified members for at least one year”.

**Article IX.**

(d) Add at the end of “Such constituencies shall consist only of contiguous areas”.
(e) Delete “in a contiguous area in line 3, and add at the end after ‘five panchayats’—“in the constituency”.
(f) “full term” in the third line shall be explained by the Working Committee.
(h) The P.C.C. shall intimate to the A.I.C.C. Office within two weeks after the delegates are elected.
(k) A separate clause 'K' has to be added to read as follows:

"The delegates shall be elected for a term of three years."

Article XI.

(b) After 'ex-Presidents of the P.C.C.s' in the second line, add "as referred to in Article IX clause (f)".

(c) In second line—Add "delegates" before "fees and subscription".

(d) In Fourth line: delete "one" after 'and form' and add: "an ad-hoc committee".

Article XX.

(f) Second Line substitute for "qualified and effective membership of the Congress"—effective and qualified membership of the Congress respectively."

55 : 1948, Jaipur : XVII.

Draft Constitution

"The Committee considered the draft constitution prepared by the Constitution Committee of the A.I.C.C. which was due to be placed before the A.I.C.C. at its meeting in Bombay. The Working Committee generally adopted the draft but recommended to the A.I.C.C. a number of changes in it. The Constitution Committee agreed to most of the changes recommended by the Working Committee and the final draft that was placed before the A.I.C.C. was the draft agreed to both by the Working Committee and the Constitution Committee." W.C.: April 21-22, 1948: New Delhi : I.

Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee met at New Delhi, on April 21-22, 1948.

Congress Constitution

"Achary a Jugal Kishore, the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. then moved the draft Congress Constitution which was prepared and
submitted by the Congress Constitution Committee. Certain modifications of the draft which the Working Committee proposed were agreed to by the Constitution Committee.

The Draft Constitution consisted of 28 Articles. The articles were moved one by one and many of them were passed as they were presented by the mover. There were, however, a large number of amendments as to the rest. A great many of these amendments when put to vote were defeated but a few were accepted. Among the important amendments accepted by the house were those (i) relating to Article X about A.I.C.C. Elections, (ii) Composition of the Working Committee, (iii) Parliamentary Board. The Constitution Committee and the Working Committee had recommended that the total number of members including the President, Secretaries and the Treasurer on the Working Committee should continue to be 15 as hitherto. Some amendments were moved recommending an increase in the total membership of the Working Committee, one amendment suggesting 25 members. An amendment suggesting twenty as the total strength of the Committee was agreed to by the Working Committee and passed by the house. Also an amendment proposing that the number of those on the Working Committee holding ministerial office in the Government should not exceed one-third of the total number of members of the Working Committee was accepted. Regarding A.I.C.C. elections the Constitution Committee had recommended that these elections shall be by distributive vote as regards two-third of the members returnable to the A.I.C.C. and by proportional representation by single transferable vote as regards the remaining one-third. The A.I.C.C. passed an amendment whereby the old rule continued, that is, all elections to the A.I.C.C. shall be by proportional representation by single transferable vote. There was also an amendment to Article XXVII about Parliamentary Board as proposed by the mover of the resolution. An amendment was moved suggesting that besides the appointment of Central Parliamentary Board and a Central Election Committee there should be appointed a provincial election committee by the general meeting of the P.C.C. The function of this Committee would be to recommend candidates for Central and Provincial Legislatures. The amendment was accepted by the Working Committee and by the A.I.C.C.

The question as to what should be the language in which the proceedings of the Congress should ordinarily be conducted also came up for consideration before the A.I.C.C. It was decided that owing to the fact that the Constituent Assembly has not yet decided the exact form of the National Language and for other considera-
tions, final decision on the question of language be postponed and
the matter be taken up at an appropriate future date.

The Constitution as finally passed has been printed separately."


"The new Congress Constitution has revealed some serious defects
and difficulties. It is necessary to amend the Constitution so as to
remedy these and other defects and to ensure the smooth and
efficient functioning of the machinery of the Congress. The Congress,
therefore, under Article XXVIII authorises the A.I.C.C. to make
necessary amendments in the Constitution, and to this end the
Working Committee will make proposals to the A.I.C.C. and inter
alia give its consideration to the following matters. The Working
Committee shall circulate these proposals by the end of November
1960.

1. Re-introduction of paid primary membership;
2. Appointment of a Central Tribunal and Central Credentials
Committee;
3. Vesting the Working Committee with adequate emergency
powers to deal with abnormal situations;
4. Machinery for selecting candidates to legislatures and
parliamentary activities."

56 : 1950 : Nasik : VI.

(S) 1951

Object*

Article I.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the well being
and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in
India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Co-operative Common-
wealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic
and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

*Congress Constitution as adopted at Ahmedabad in the A.I.C.C. meeting,
held on 29th to 31st January, 1951.
Article II.

The Indian National Congress will include the Annual Session of the Congress and:

(i) Gram and Mohalla Congress Committees: one such Committee shall be constituted for every village or Intermediate Congress Committees, between the mohalla or for a group of villages or mohallas, with a population of not less than 500;

(ii) District Congress Committees and the class of District Congress Committees and the Gram or Mohalla Congress Committees, to be determined by the Pradesh Congress Committee concerned;

(iii) Pradesh Congress Committees;

(iv) The All India Congress Committee;

(v) The Working Committee and

(vi) Organisations or Associations created, affiliated or approved by the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee.

Territorial Divisions

Article III.

(a) Pradesh Congress Committees shall ordinarily be constituted in the Pradeshas, named below, with the headquarters mentioned against each:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pradesh</th>
<th>Headquarters</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Andhra</td>
<td>Vijayawada</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Assam</td>
<td>Gauhati</td>
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<td>4. Bihar</td>
<td>Patna</td>
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<td>5. Bombay</td>
<td>Bombay</td>
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<td>6. Delhi</td>
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<td>7. Gujarat</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
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<td>8. Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>Simla</td>
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<td>9. Hyderabad</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
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<td>10. Karnataka</td>
<td>Hubli</td>
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<td>11. Kerala</td>
<td>Quilon</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Madhya Bharat</td>
<td>Indore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13. Mahakoshal ... Jabalpur
14. Maharashtra ... Poona
15. Mysore ... Bangalore
16. Nagpur ...
17. Patiala and East
   Punjab States, Union ... Patiala
18. Punjab ... Jullundur
19. Rajasthan ... Jaipur
20. Tamilnad ... Madras
21. Utkal (Orissa) ... Cuttack
22. Uttar Pradesh ... Lucknow
23. Vindhyaha (Berar) ... Akola
24. Vindhya Pradesh ... Rewa
25. West Bengal ... Calcutta

(b) A Pradesh Congress Committee may, with the previous sanction of the Working Committee, change its headquarters.

(c) The Working Committee may after ascertaining the wishes of the Pradesh Congress Committee or Committees concerned, constitute a new Pradesh, abolish an existing Pradesh, merge any two existing Pradeshas into one or assign to a Pradesh, a District or a portion or portions of a District, from any other Pradesh.

(d) The Working Committee shall have power to give representation to such areas in India or outside as have not been included in the jurisdiction of any P.C.C. or to direct that such an area or part thereof be included in a neighbouring Pradesh.

Membership

Article IV.

(a) Any person, of the age of 18 years and over, who accepts Article I, shall on making a written declaration to that effect in form (A) (vide Appendix) and on payment of an annual fee of a rupee become a Primary Member of the Congress. For every payment of such fee, a receipt shall be given which shall be conclusive proof of a person having become a Primary Member or of his having renewed the membership in subsequent years.

(b) A Primary Member shall become an Active (Kriyashil)
Member if he fulfils the following conditions and signs a declaration in Form (B):

(i) He is of the age of 21 or over.
(ii) He is a habitual wearer of handspun and hand-woven Khadi.
(iii) He is a teetotaller.
(iv) He does not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form.
(v) He believes in equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race, caste, creed or sex.
(vi) He is a believer in inter-communal unity and has respect for the faiths of others.
(vii) He devotes regularly a part of his time to some form of national, community or social service, otherwise than for personal profit or to some constructive activity, laid down from time to time by the Congress:

Provided that he is not a member of any political party, communal or other, which has a separate membership, constitution and programme and provided that he has been a Primary Member for two years consecutively.

(c) The annual fee paid by a Primary Member shall be distributed in the following proportion amongst the various Congress Committees.

A.I.C.C.—one-eighth; P.C.C.—two-eighths; D.C.C.—three-eighths, Intermediate Congress Committees—one-eighth; Gram or Mohalla Congress Committee—one-eighth.

Term of Congress Committees

Article V.

The term of every Congress Committee and of its office-bearers and Executive Committee shall ordinarily be two years.

Registers of Members

Article VI.

(a) Registers of their Primary and Active Members shall be maintained by the Gram or Mohalla Congress Committee,
the Intermediate Congress Committee, the District Congress Committee and the Pradesh Congress Committee.

The Pradesh Congress Committees shall supply lists of their Active Members to the office of the A.I.C.C. and keep it informed of the changes made therein.

(b) The Registers shall state the full name, address, age, occupation, residence and date of enrolment of every member and shall record the payment of renewal fee.

(c) Membership shall cease by death, resignation or non-payment of the annual fee.

Qualifications of Voters and Candidates

Article VII.

A—VOTERS

Every Primary Member, whose name has been on the Register of Primary Members for at least a period of two years and who has been enrolled within the prescribed period, shall be entitled to vote at the election of Delegates under Article VIII.

B—CANDIDATES

Only an Active Member shall be eligible for election as a Delegate or as a member of any Congress Committee, above a Gram or Mohalla Congress Committee.

Election of Delegates

Article VIII.

(a) The Working Committee shall fix the date by which the election of Delegates must be held.

(b) Every Pradesh shall be entitled to return Delegates to the Congress in the proportion of one to every lakh of population. Pradesh Congress Committees shall divide the Pradesh into single-member territorial constituencies, each of which shall have a population of, as far as possible, about a lakh. Each constituency shall have a Primary membership of not less than five hundred. These constituencies shall consist only of contiguous areas and their
formation shall be subject to the approval of the Working Committee.

(c) The ex-Presidents of the Congress, the ex-Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees, who have served one full term* and the representatives on the A.I.C.C. from organisations and associations affiliated under Article XII (h) shall be deemed to be ex-officio Delegates from the constituencies in which they are Primary Members, provided they are otherwise qualified under this Constitution.

(d) The Pradeshas of Bombay and Delhi shall be entitled to elect 45 and 30 Delegates respectively or one for each lakh of population, whichever is greater, excluding the ex-officio Delegates from each Pradesh.

(e) Every Delegate shall have to pay an annual fee of Rs. 10 at the office of the PCC of his Pradesh. He shall receive a certificate duly signed by one of the Secretaries of the PCC to the effect that he is a Delegate. No Delegate, who has not paid his fee, shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions. The PCC shall forward to the A1CC office a certified list of its Delegates not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf.

(f) The Pradesh which has not completed the election of Delegates on or before the date fixed by the Working Committee may, at the discretion of the Working Committee, be disentitled to be represented at the Congress Session.

(g) The Delegates shall be elected for a term of two years.

_A.I.C.C. Elections_

Article IX.

(a) The Delegates in every Pradesh shall assemble in a meeting to elect from among themselves one-eighth of their number, as representatives of the Pradesh on the A.I.C.C.

(b) The election, mentioned in clause (a) shall be by Proportional Representation according to the system of the Single Transferable Vote.

*Full term signifies the interval between two annual Pradesh elections or 365 days, whichever is less.*
(c) The Secretary of the P.C.C. shall issue a certificate of membership of the A.I.C.C. to those elected to it.

Committees Subordinate to the P.C.C.

Article X.

(a) Every Gram or Mohalla Congress Committee shall consist of all the Delegates, elected and ex-officio from the Pradesh provided they each pay Rs. 5 annually to the PCC.

(b) Every member of the PCC may ex-officio be a member of one DCC and one Intermediate Congress Committee, comprising or comprised in the Congress constituency from which he has been elected as a Delegate, or in case of an ex-officio member, where he is a Primary Member. The choice of such DCC and Intermediate Congress Committee shall rest with the member and shall be communicated to the PCC and the Committees concerned:

Provided that where such member has been elected from a constituency other than the one in which he is a Primary Member, he may choose to be a member of the DCC and an Intermediate Committee which comprise the Gram or Mohalla Committee in which he is a Primary Member.

(c) Every Pradesh Congress Committee shall

(i) ordinarily function through District Congress Committees;

(ii) subject to the general supervision and control of the AICC be in-charge of the affairs of the Congress Committee within its own Pradesh and to that end, frame its constitution not inconsistent with this constitution, which shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;

(iii) submit to the Working Committee an annual report of the work done by the Congress organisations in the Pradesh including its audited balance sheet;

(iv) pay in full to the AICC office the Delegates' fees and the share due to the AICC of the members' fees (vide Article IV). Delegates and members of the AICC from Pradeshas, which make a default in this payment, shall not be permitted to take part in
any of the proceedings of the Congress or any Committee thereof;

(d) on failure of any Pradesh Congress Committee to function in terms of the Constitution or in accordance with the directions of Working Committee, the latter may suspend the existing PCC and form an Ad hoc Committee to carry on Congress work in the Pradesh.

All India Congress Committee

Article XII.

(a) The President of the Congress, members of the AICC elected under Article IX, the ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are qualified under Article IV and representatives of organisations and associations, affiliated under sub-clause (b) hereof, shall constitute the All India Congress Committee.

(b) The President of the Congress shall be the President of the All India Congress Committee.

(c) The AICC shall carry out the programme of work laid down by the Congress and shall have power to deal with matters and situations that may arise during its term of office.

(d) The AICC shall have power to frame rules, not inconsistent with this Constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress which shall be binding on all subordinate Congress Committees.

(e) The AICC shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee by not less than 50 members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the AICC. A requisitioned meeting shall be held within two months of the receipt of the requisition. At any requisitioned meeting, additional items of business may be brought up by the Working Committee for consideration.

(f) At all meetings of the AICC other than requisitioned meetings, as far as possible, 4 hours shall be allotted for consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by the members of the AICC in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.
(g) Seventy or one-fifth of the total number of members, whichever is less, shall form the quorum for a meeting of the AICC.

(b) The AICC may from time to time affiliate to the Congress such organisations and associations and give them such representation as it may deem fit, provided that such representation shall not exceed 5 per cent of elected number of members to the AICC.

(i) Every member of the AICC small pay an annual fee of Rs. 10. Members will not be permitted to take part in any meeting of the AICC, the Subjects Committee or any Congress Session, without paying the fee.

Subjects Committee

Article XIII.

(a) The AICC shall meet as the Subjects Committee under the Chairmanship of the President at least two days before the Congress Session. The Working Committee or in case a new President has been elected before the Session and there is no Working Committee appointed by him functioning, a Steering Committee to be nominated by him shall submit to the Subjects Committee the programme of work including draft resolutions for the Congress Session. In preparing the draft resolutions, it shall take into consideration the resolutions recommended by the Pradesh Congress Committees and resolutions given notice of by members of the AICC.

(b) The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the programme and shall frame resolutions for being moved in the open Session. As far as possible, four hours shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by the Pradesh Congress Committees or members of the AICC.

Annual Congress Session

Article XIV.

(a) A Session of the Congress shall ordinarily be held annually at the time and place decided upon by the AICC or the Working Committee.
(b) The Congress Session shall consist of:
   (i) The President of the Congress;
   (ii) The ex-Presidents of the Congress, provided they are
duly qualified under Article IV; are
   (iii) The Delegates elected under Article VIII and the
representatives under Article XII, clause (b);
(c) (i) The Congress Session shall consider resolutions re-
commended for adoption by the Subjects Committee
in the first instance;
   (ii) Thereafter the Session shall take up any substantive
motion not included in (i), but which 40 Delegates
have, before the commencement of the day's sitting,
requested the President in writing to allow them to
place before the Congress, provided, however, that no
such motion shall be allowed unless it has been pre-
viously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Com-
mittee and has received the support of at least a
third of the members then present in the Subjects
Committee.
(d) The Pradesh Congress Committee, in whose jurisdiction
the Congress Session is held, shall make such arrange-
ments for holding the Congress Session as may be deemed
necessary and for this purpose, shall form a Reception
Committee which shall work under its general guidance
and which may include therein persons who are not its
members.
(e) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and
other office-bearers from amongst its own members.
(f) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the
expenses of the Session and shall make all necessary
arrangements for the reception and accommodation of
Delegates. It may also make necessary arrangements
for the visitors.
(g) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Com-
mittee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors appoint-
ed by the Pradesh Congress Committee concerned, and
the Statement of Accounts, together with the audit re-
port, shall be submitted by the Pradesh Congress Com-
mittee to the Working Committee not later than six
months after the termination of the Congress Session.
Any surplus funds, remaining with the Reception Com-
mittee, shall be divided equally between the AICC and
the PCC.
Special Session

Article XV.

(a) A Special Session of the Congress shall be held in case the AICC so decides or a majority of the PCCS by their resolutions, request the President of the Congress to convene such a Special Session.

(b) Such a Special Session shall be organised by the PCC of the Pradesh selected.

Election of President

Article XVI.

(a) The Working Committee shall appoint one of the General Secretaries of the A.I.C.C. to work as Returning Officer for the election of the President.

Provided that no General Secretary who is a candidate for Presidentship shall be so appointed and that if all the General Secretaries are such candidates, the Working Committee shall appoint someone else to work as Returning Officer.

(b) Any ten Delegates may jointly propose the name of any Delegate for election as President of the Congress. Such proposal must reach the Returning Officer on or before the date fixed by the Working Committee.

(c) The Returning Officer shall publish the names of all persons so proposed and it shall be open to any person whose name has been so proposed to withdraw his candidature within seven days of the publication of the proposed names by writing to the Returning Officer to the effect.

(d) After eliminating the names of those who have withdrawn, the Returning Officer shall immediately publish the names of the remaining candidates and circulate them to the Pradesh Congress Committees. If, after elimination, there remains only one candidate, he shall be declared duly elected as President of the next Congress Session.

(e) On a date fixed by the Working Committee, which shall not ordinarily be less than seven days after the final publication of the names of contesting candidates, each Delegate shall be entitled to record, for the selection of a President, his vote in the following manner:
On the voting paper, which shall exhibit the names of the candidates, the Delegate shall, if there are only two candidates, record his vote for one of them. If there are more than two candidates, the Delegate shall record at least two preferences by writing the figures 1, 2 etc., against the names of the candidates voted for. In such a case he may give more than two preferences if he wishes to do so but any voting paper showing less than two preferences will be regarded as invalid. The voting paper shall be placed in a ballot box provided for the purpose.

(f) The Pradesh Congress Committee shall immediately forward the ballot box to the A.I.C.C. Office.

(g) As soon as may be, after the receipt of the ballot boxes, the Returning Officer shall count the votes or the first preferences recorded for each candidate. If a candidate secures more than 50 per cent of the votes or the first preferences, he shall be declared elected as President. If no candidate has secured more than 50 per cent of the first preferences, the candidate who has secured the smallest number of first preference shall be eliminated and the second preferences, recorded by the voters who gave him the first preference, shall be taken into account in counting the votes of the remaining candidates. In this counting, the candidate who secures the smallest number of votes shall be eliminated. By this process of eliminating the candidate who secures the smallest number of votes in subsequent countings after the transfer of votes according to recorded preferences, the candidate who secures more than 50 per cent of the votes shall be declared elected as President.

(h) In the event of any emergency arising by reason of any cause, such as death or resignation of the President, elected as above, the Working Committee shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the Delegates as prescribed above. In case such procedure is not found possible, the A.I.C.C. shall elect the President.

(i) The President shall preside over the Session of the Congress held after his election and during his term of office.

Working Committee

Article XVII.

(a) The Working Committee shall consist of the President of
the Congress and twenty members including a Treasurer and one or more General Secretaries, who shall be appointed by the President. Ordinarily, members of the Working Committee will be appointed from amongst the members of the A.I.C.C. but in special cases, Delegates, who are not members of the A.I.C.C may be appointed; provided, however, that a Delegate so appointed shall cease to be a member of the Working Committee if he is not elected as a member of the A.I.C.C. within six months of his appointment.

The number of Ministers of the Central and State Governments on the Working Committee shall not exceed one-third of the total membership of the Committee.

(b) The quorum for a meeting of the Working Committee shall be five.

(c) The Working Committee shall be the highest executive authority of the Congress and as such, shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the Congress and by the A.I.C.C. and shall be responsible to the A.I.C.C.

(d) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the A.I.C.C. a report of proceedings of the previous meeting of the A.I.C.C. and also an agenda of business for the meeting and shall allot time for non-official resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the A.I.C.C. in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(e) The Working Committee shall appoint one or more auditors and inspectors to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress Committees and organisations. It shall be incumbent on all such committees and organisations to furnish all required information to the auditors and inspectors and to give them access to all offices, accounts and records.

(f) The Working Committee shall have the power

(i) to frame Rules under the Constitution for its proper working subject to the approval of the A.I.C.C.;

(ii) to issue instructions not inconsistent with the Constitution and the Rules in all matters not otherwise provided for;

(iii) to superintend, direct and control all Congress Committees except the A.I.C.C.;
(iv) to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a Committee other than the A.I.C.C. or any individual.

(g) The Working Committee shall pay to the P.C.C. holding a Congress session, one-fifth of the fees realised from the Delegates.

(h) The Working Committee shall have the accounts of the A.I.C.C. audited annually by an auditor or auditors appointed by the A.I.C.C. every year.

(i) To meet an emergent situation, the Working Committee shall have the power to take such action in the interest of the Congress as it may deem fit; provided, however, that if any action is taken, which is beyond the powers of the Working Committee as defined in this Constitution, it shall be submitted as early as possible to the A.I.C.C. for ratification.

Treasurer

Article XVIII.

The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure.

General Secretaries

Article XIX.

(a) Subject to the general control of the President, the General Secretaries shall be in-charge of the office of the A.I.C.C.

(b) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the preparation and publication of a report of the proceedings of the Congress Session, including its audited accounts, as soon as possible, after the session.

(c) The General Secretaries shall prepare a report of the work of the A.I.C.C and the Working Committee, including an audited Statement of Accounts, for the period since the last submission of such report and submit the same to the first meeting of the A.I.C.C. held before the Annual Session of the Congress.
Credentials Committees

Article XX.

(a) The Congress Working Committee shall appoint a Central Credentials Committee of not less than 3 and not more than five persons.

(b) The P.C.C. shall, at its first general meeting, appoint by a majority of at least 3/4ths of its members present and voting a Pradesh Credentials Committee consisting of not less than 3 and not more than 5 persons.

(c) If any P.C.C. fails to appoint a Pradesh Credentials Committee, as aforesaid, the Central Credentials Committee shall appoint one for that Pradesh.

(d) Every D.C.C. shall elect a panel of 3 persons at its first general meeting by a majority of at least 3/4ths of the members present and voting and submit the same to the Pradesh Credentials Committee, which shall appoint a District Credentials Committee for each District, of one or more persons, out of the panel submitted by the respective D.C.C.s.

(e) In case the D.C.C. fails to elect a panel, as aforesaid, the Pradesh Credentials Committee shall appoint a District Credentials Committee of not more than 3 for the district.

(f) The Central Credentials Committee and every Pradesh and District Credentials Committee shall hold office ordinarily for 2 years but, in any event, it shall continue to function till a new Credentials Committee is appointed.

(g) Every member of the Credentials Committee shall possess the qualifications laid down for an Active Member in sub-clauses (i) to (vi) of clause (b) of Article IV.

(h) It will be the function of the Credentials Committee to examine applications for Active Membership of the Congress and to prepare under their signature and seal, Registers of such members.

(i) A member of a Credentials Committee shall not, while he is such member, hold an elective office in the Congress or stand as a candidate for any Congress election:

Provided that a member of a District Credentials Committee may, with the consent of the Pradesh Credentials Committee, hold an elective office or stand as a candidate in a Congress election in a district other than the one in which he is such member;
Provided again that a person who has resigned his membership of a Credentials Committee shall not be entitled to stand for any effective office in the Congress until 3 months have expired from the date of his resignation.

(j) The Central Credentials Committee shall superintend the working of the Pradesh Credentials Committee and, through them, that of the District Credentials Committees. The Pradesh Credentials Committee shall superintend the working of the District Credentials Committees.

(k) The Central Credentials Committee shall make regulations for the conduct of its business as well as that of the Pradesh and District Credentials Committees and shall file a copy of the same with the Working Committee. The Pradesh Credentials Committee may also make regulations not inconsistent with the regulations made by the Central Credentials Committee for its own business and for the guidance of the District Credentials Committee.

Objections About Active Members

Article XXI.

(a) Any person, whose name is omitted from or entered in the Register of Active Members or any Primary Member, who objects to the entry of any name therein, may submit to the District Credentials Committee or to any person, authorised by such Committee, an objection in writing, stating the reasons against such entry or omission, on or before a date to be fixed by the Executive of the PCC.

(b) After hearing the objector and any other party concerned, the District Credentials Committee may direct any name to be entered into, corrected or omitted from the Register of Active Members.

(c) The District Credentials Committee shall maintain a brief record of its proceedings and a copy of its order, directing any amendment, shall be forwarded to the Congress Committee concerned which shall then take necessary action.

(d) An appeal by any of the parties in the original complaint shall lie to the Pradesh Credentials Committee. The order of the Pradesh Credentials Committee shall be final, except that the Working Committee may, in any matter,
refer to the Central Credentials Committee an appeal from the Pradesh Credentials Committee.

Tribunals

Article XXII.

(a) The Congress Working Committee shall appoint a Central Election Tribunal of not less than three and not more than five persons.

(b) The P.C.C. shall, at its first general meeting, appoint by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members present and voting a Pradesh Election Tribunal consisting of not less than three and not more than five persons.

(c) If any P.C.C. fails to appoint a Pradesh Election Tribunal, as aforesaid, the Central Election Tribunal shall appoint one for that Pradesh.

(d) Every D.C.C. shall elect a panel of three persons at its first general meeting by a majority of at least three-fourths of the members present and voting and submit the same to the Pradesh Election Tribunal which shall appoint a District Election Tribunal for each District of one or more persons out of the panel submitted by the respective DCCs.

(e) In case a D.C.C. fails to elect a panel, as aforesaid, the Pradesh Election Tribunal shall appoint a District Election Tribunal of not more than three for the district.

(f) The Central Election Tribunal and every Pradesh and District Election Tribunal shall hold office ordinarily for two years but, in any event, it shall continue to function till a new Tribunal is appointed.

(g) A member of an Election Tribunal shall not, while he is such member, hold any elective office in the Congress or stand as a candidate for any Congress election:

Provided that a member of a District Election Tribunal may, with the consent of the Pradesh Election Tribunal, hold an elective office or stand as a candidate in a Congress election in a district other than the one in which he is such member:

Provided again that a person who has resigned his membership of an Election Tribunal, shall not be entitled to stand for any elective office in the Congress until 3 months have expired from the date of his resignation.
(a) The Central Election Tribunal shall superintend the working of the Pradesh Election Tribunals and, through them, that of the District Election Tribunals. The Pradesh Election Tribunals shall superintend the working of the District Election Tribunals.

(i) The Central Election Tribunal shall make regulations for the conduct of its business as well as that of the Pradesh and District Election Tribunals and shall file a copy of the same with the Working Committee. The Pradesh Election Tribunal may also make regulations not inconsistent with the regulations made by the Central Election Tribunal for its own business and for the guidance of the District Election Tribunals.

Election Disputes

Article XXIII.

(a) It will be open to any candidate or voter, within a constituency, to lodge a complaint, in accordance with the regulations made in that behalf, in respect of an election in that constituency, before the District Election Tribunal within seven days of the declaration of the result of such election and the District Election Tribunal shall decide the complaint and communicate the decision to the parties concerned without delay.

(b) Until an election is set aside by the District Election Tribunal the person elected shall be deemed to have been duly elected.

(e) An appeal by one of the parties in the original complaint shall lie to the Pradesh Election Tribunal within 15 days of such order. The order of the Pradesh Election Tribunal shall be final except that the Working Committee may, in any matter, refer to the Central Election Tribunal an appeal from the Pradesh Election Tribunal.

(d) The Central Election Tribunal or the Pradesh Election Tribunal shall, on its own motion or on report by a District Election Tribunal or on the motion of the P.C.C. or on the motion of a party concerned, have the power to direct that any person found guilty of misconduct in connection with any election, false complaint or objection knowing it to be so, shall be disqualified from standing as a candidate for election or be expelled from the Congress for a
certain period. An appeal may be made to the Working Committee from any orders passed by the Central or the Pradesh Election Tribunal under the clause.

Flag

Article XXIV.

The flag of the Indian National Congress shall consist of three horizontal colours saffron, white and green, with the picture of a charkha in blue in the centre. It shall be made of handspun and hand-woven khadi.

(a) Parliamentary Board

Article XXV.

The Working Committee shall set up a Parliamentary Board consisting of the Congress President and five other members with the Congress President as its Chairman, for the purpose of regulating and co-ordinating parliamentary activities of the Congress Legislature Parties and shall frame rules in that behalf.

(b) Election Committees

(a) A Central Election Committee shall be set up consisting of members of the Parliamentary Board and five other members elected by the A.I.C.C. for the purpose of (i) conducting election campaigns, and (ii) making the final selection of candidates for the State and Central Legislatures.

(b) The Pradesh Election Committee shall consist of the President of the PCC and not more than eight and not less than four other members, who shall be elected by the general meeting of the PCC. If the PCC elects the members of the Committee, other than the PCC President, by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting, they shall be declared elected. The voting for such an election shall be by ballot and on each ballot paper, the voter shall have to record as many votes as there are members to be elected on the Committee.

In case a two-thirds majority is not secured for all the members to be elected, there shall be a fresh election by the system of the Single Transferable Vote.
The President of the PCC shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Pradesh Election Committee.

(c) The Pradesh Election Committee, constituted in the above manner, shall recommend candidates for Central and State Legislatures to the Central Election Committee.

(d) The Central Election Committee shall frame necessary rules to give guidance to the Pradesh Election Committees in regard to selection of candidates and other matters relating to the conduct of elections.

Vacancies

Article XXVI.

(a) The office of a Delegate or of a member of any Committee or Board or Tribunal, constituted under this Constitution shall be vacated by resignation or death.

(b) All vacancies shall, unless otherwise provided for, be filled in the same manner in which the vacating member was chosen.

(c) In the absence of any provision to the contrary, a Committee or Board or Tribunal, once it is properly constituted, shall not become invalid by reason of any vacancy on it.

Miscellaneous

Article XXVII.

(a) No person shall be a member of any two parallel Congress Committees.

(b) A Congress Committee may delegate any of its powers to a smaller Committee or an individual.

(c) Population figures of the last available census shall be the basis for all Congress purposes.

(d) Where there is a question of the value of fractions, a fraction of one-half or more shall be treated as one, and less than one-half as zero.

(e) Wherever in this Constitution, the word 'vote' or any of its inflexions occurs, it means or refers to valid vote.

Changes in the Constitution

Article XXVIII.

This Constitution can be amended, altered or added to only
by a Session of the Congress, except when the AICC has been authorised to do so. In case such authority has been given by a Session of the Congress, the Constitution can be amended only by a majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting at a meeting of the AICC, provided notice of such proposed changes has been given to each member at least one month before the date of the meeting.

* * *

"This Congress ratifies the changes made by the All India Congress Committee at its Session at Indore in the Constitution of the Congress. In view of certain irregularities and malpractices that have been reported from some parts of the country in connection with the election of delegates for the Congress and in the enrolment of members, the Congress directs the Working Committee to review the entire question of enrolment of members and elections, and other matters, with a view to suggesting such changes in the Constitution that may be found necessary to maintain the integrity and efficiency in the working of the organisation. The Working Committee may appoint a Special Committee for this purpose. The Working Committee will forward its recommendations to the All India Congress Committee which is authorised to take necessary steps under Article XXX for the amendment of the Constitution.

58 : 1953 : Hyderabad-Dn. : IX.

* * *

Revitalising Congress

After the Indore Session of the Congress, in January 1957, and after the Congress Election Manifesto was approved at the Open Session and issued, the General Elections were held in February-March, 1957. As the biggest political party with a countrywide organisation possessing a magnificent record of achievements, Congress success at the polls was phenomenal. But along with the overwhelming strength that was thus revealed at the elections, were also revealed a number of weaknesses which necessarily had to be removed if the organisation were to be effective.

The question of revitalising the Congress, to weed it of its many weaknesses, to make it a well-knit, disciplined and effective organisation capable of representing the longings and emotions of the people, came to the forefront after the elections. The matter
was thoroughly discussed at the Conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the PCCs which was held on 30th and 31st May, 1957. The Congress President remarked at this conference that the organisation needed to be revitalised. In some places the elections, he said, were not fought on the ideological plane and Congressmen descended to a level where caste and communal considerations played a perilous part.

On June 2, when the AICC met again the President Shri U.N. Dhebar made the following statement:

"The Committee meeting of the AICC after hearing all the viewpoints and discussing the matter authorised me to report to the House that they agreed in principle to make necessary amendments in the Constitution and for that purpose to appoint a sub-committee who after considering the proposals of the sub-committee of the Working Committee and eliciting opinion from the Pradeshas, should make its recommendations by the time to be fixed by me. In the meantime the Committee was agreeable to taking such preliminary steps as I considered to be necessary for delimitation of constituencies for the formation of Prathmik and Mandal Congress Committee and of a similar procedural and preparatory character. These steps would be only of a preliminary character, the idea being not to lose time in harnessing the new elements who had come to the forefront in the election period."

The following were the members of the Constitution Sub-Committee:

Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri
Shri S. K. Patil
Shri Jagjivan Ram
Shri Balvantray Mehta
Shri U. S. Malliah
Shri Atulya Ghosh
Shri K. K. Shah
Shri Munishwar Dutt Upadhyaya
Shri Govind Das
Shri T. R. Deogirikar
Shri Jai Narain Vyas
Shri A. Satyanarayana Raju
Shri Raja Ram Naidu
Shri Gopalrao Khedkar
Shri Brahm Prakash

and Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair.

The Committee was asked to report by 30th June, 1957 and it was also authorised to co-opt members.
The Sub-Committee met a number of times during June 1957 and recommended certain changes. The proposals were forwarded to members of the AICC for their study."

* * *

**Shri U. N. Dhebar's Note regarding Reorganization of the I.N.C.**

Now that the Party elections* are over and we have more than fifteen thousand Mandal Congress Committees ready for functioning in the country today, we should think about the next step. These Mandal Congress Committees will be composed of Unit Representatives whose number will be anything between a lakh and fifty thousand and two lakhs. On the effective functioning of these units, whether in the rural or the urban areas, depends the effective functioning of the Congress organisation. In order to function effectively every such Mandal Congress Committee and the Unit Representative must cover every vital activity affecting the people. Unless the Mandal Congress Committees and the Unit Representatives operate from strategic vantage points, we cannot draw the people into the Congress fold or into the currents of constructive social revolution the Congress is engaged in sponsoring. We have discussed, often enough in the past, the functions and responsibilities of these primary units and have even prepared elaborate notes on the same. The time for translating these ideas into effective action has come, now that we have the base ready for the whole Congress organisation to go into action, consequent upon the elections in terms of the amended Constitution.

2. The AICC has already issued a functional chart. The Constitution Sub-Committee and the AICC have issued a detailed note on the subject which is published in the September, 1957 issue of the Congress Bulletin. While the picture of these units might be thus clear, theoretically, there are yet certain difficulties to be overcome. These difficulties are of four kinds:

1. lack of enthusiasm, 2. lack of finance, 3. lack of clarity as to the ideology and the programme, and 4. lack of activity

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* It is a Note sent by Shri U. N. Dhebar, Congress President, to the Presidents of all P.C.C.S. on 7th January, 1958, before the Guwahati Session of the Congress about the working of the new Constitution passed by the A.I.C.O. in August-September, 1957 and finally approved at Guwahati.
to deal with difficulties which have their sources in the administration. We should face boldly and realistically these various kinds of difficulties and find solutions.

3. The new incumbents of the Mandal Congress Committees and the new comers in the field of the Unit Representatives from all accounts that we get, have some urge, more or less natural, in a person who newly comes to a post of duty or responsibility. We have to capture this initial urge. If we can successfully do it, perhaps we can evoke enthusiasm in them also.

4. The Congress has been depending for support upon the Kisans and the other working classes. For our financial needs we have been looking, so far to other people. One of the reasons may have been the possibility of getting the money from them rather more easily. The vast organisational base, however, cannot be run by collecting money from a few top people. We have to go to the masses. There is always one advantage in such collections. Although their contributions are small, there is their heart in it. We cannot always count on cash payment. We can seek assistance in the form of cash or kind, whichever they can give more conveniently.

5. As regards the other two items, they will be dealt with in the Sessions. But we are clear that this time the emphasis should be on implementing our pledges by undertaking fulfillment of specific items of programme rather than mere discussions. We shall seek this time the approval of the plenary session to the following items of programme:

1. We shall spare no effort to make the organisational base namely, the Mandal Congress Committee and the Unit Representative, as effective and representative as humanly possible. This should also mean fullest strength to the cognate units—women, youth and Seva Dal sections of the Congress and to the INTUC.

2. We shall do our best to organise Kisan, labour, Scheduled Classes and Tribes within and as part of the Congress.

3. We shall not also spare any effort to attract the intelligentsia at every level of the organisation. We shall do our best to feed and nourish organisation with the talent and the strength of the masses and the intelligentsia—the two currents which used to feed and nourish our organisation for the last forty years.

4. We shall do our best to propagate through personal example
the principles and values of a democratic way of life as also social discipline, social equality and a spirit of tolerance and co-operation. We shall resist any temptation to associate with exploitation in any form.

5. We shall organise our Active Members in teams as advised in the Shastri Committee Report for effective participation in Congress Constructive Work.

6. We shall undertake a campaign for implementing Land Reforms in conformity with the principles of the Second Five-Year Plan. Our aim should be to complete them by the end of the Plan period.

7. In the economic field our programme will be (i) to work for increased food production, conservation of food supplies, promoting consumption of subsidiary food and assisting people in changing their food habits; (ii) to work for the collection of small savings and mobilisation and maximum utilisation of the country's resources—human, moral and material—at every level.

8. We shall set before ourselves the ideal of a Co-operative Village. For that purpose we shall participate in Panchayat activities, help in founding basic and craft schools and participate and encourage in every possible way the formation and successful working of co-operatives in all spheres of our economic life.

9. We shall, wherever there is a C.D. Block, N.E.S. Centre, or Gram Dan village, hold ourselves responsible for its successful working through closest association and participation in all the developmental activities undertaken by them. We shall set an example in team functioning and loyalty to the idea of the social effort of a socialised society.

Each of these items will give our Unit Representative enough to think about and do. Each item, if it is taken up earnestly, will bring our worker into closer touch with the people. Where administrative difficulties arise, means can be devised in consultation with higher organs of the Congress Legislature Party for meeting them.

We feel that the following steps should be taken to give this programme an effective start:

1. In the coming months, that is, before the monsoon sets in, we should call conventions of Unit Representatives at a convenient place or places in each district. These conventions should have before them a definite agenda.
It should consist of prayers, spinning, some labour activity, study, discussions and planning future programme.

2. *The AICC proposes to issue the following booklets: (a) The country and its people (b) Congress—its ideology and programme, and to prepare short notes on items of programme mentioned above. These will be made available to all the Pradesh and District Congress Committees early in February. It will be necessary for them to get these translated for the use of the Unit Representatives in the local language. The discussions may range round these subjects. The PCC or DCC can also get literature on these subjects prepared and distributed.

3. The PCC will have to assign duty to some senior Congressmen, both office-bearers and others, who should guide the discussions and otherwise supervise. They should generally be senior persons to whom the Unit Representatives generally look for guidance with confidence and trust.

4. AICC will also try to draw up a panel of about two dozen senior Congressmen who will be commissioned to attend these conventions.

5. Each Mandal Congress Committee should be required to consider the programme for the next year. Part of it can be fulfilled through teams of the Active Members and part of it by the Mandal Congress Committee as a whole.

6. A test of our efficiency is provided by capacity to raise necessary finances for running the organisation. The Unit will have to find through its own local effort necessary resources for the tasks it sets itself. We take it that our unit Representative commands some influence in his area. There can be a rule that each Unit Representative will collect Rs. 10 for the local Congress fund. If we multiply Rs. 10 by the number of Unit Representatives, we have in the area, the local Unit will have a sizeable sum in its hands.

This will be presented to the AICC representative by each Unit Representative personally. Fifty per cent of this amount will be retained by the Mandal Congress Committee, 25 per cent would be distributed between the district and the PCC and 25 per cent

*These booklets have later been issued.
will come to the AICC as usual. This would provide the first proof of our seriousness.

Our Units will have much to do and much to think about and discuss. The two activities will go together. Thought and discussion will be futile if they are not linked with useful activity. Our activity can also be unfruitful if it is not the product of thought and careful deliberation.

Thinking must be followed by positive work. Everyone in Congress should have a definite task assigned to him among Teams.

These Units, in their initial stages, will bring forward the complaints of the people. It should be realised that most of these complaints may be related to the basic problems of poverty and backwardness. They will diminish as the poverty and backwardness diminish. Nevertheless, with a view to canalising their energies in constructive channels, the Convention should set apart some time for considering the local grievances also and steps should be taken to follow them up. The DCC and the PCC can take them up with the Government and inform the Mandal Congress Committees about the result of their efforts. We have no doubt that the Congressmen and the Governments will fix up some time-schedule by which the results of the complaints are made known to the PCC and DCC for communication to the Mandal Congress Committees within a reasonable time.

* * *

(T) 1957

Article I.

Object*

The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India, by peaceful and legitimate means, of a Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship.

Article II.

Constituents

The Indian National Congress will include the **ANNUAL AND SPECIAL SESSIONS OF THE CONGRESS and**

*Constitution as amended at AICC Session at New Delhi, September 1957.*
(i) The All India Congress Committee,
(ii) The Working Committee,
(iii) Pradesh Congress Committees,
(iv) District Congress Committees
(v) General Assembly of the Mandal Congress Committees,
(vi) Mandal Congress Committees,
(vii) Committees subordinate to the District Congress Committees and above or below the Mandal Congress Committees to be determined by the Pradesh Congress Committee concerned.

Article III.

Territorial Divisions

(a) Pradesh Congress Committees shall ordinarily be constituted in the Pradasas named below with the headquarters mentioned against each:

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<td>West Bengal</td>
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(b) A Pradesh Congress Committee may, with the previous sanction of the Working Committee, change its headquarters.

(c) The Working Committee may, after ascertaining the wishes of the Pradesh Congress Committee or Committees concerned, constitute a new Pradesh, abolish an existing Pra-
desh, merge any two existing Pradeshas into one or assign to a Pradesh, a District or a portion or portions of a District, from any other Pradesh.

(d) The Working Committee shall have power to give representation in such manner as it thinks proper to areas in the territory of India as have not been included in the jurisdiction of any PCC or to direct that such an area or part thereof be included in a neighbouring Pradesh.

Article IV.

Membership

(a) (i) Any person of the age of 18 and over, who accepts Article I, shall, on making a written declaration in Form 'A' and on payment of an annual subscription of annas four only become a Primary Member of the Congress, provided that he is not a member of any other political party, communal or other, which has a separate membership, constitution and programme.

(ii) No person shall become a Primary Member except in his permanent place of residence or where he carries on his work.

(iii) The year of membership, Primary and Active, shall be from 1st January to 31st December.

(b) Any person, who has been a Primary Member for two consecutive years, may become an Active Member on payment of an annual subscription of Re. 1/-, if he fulfils the following conditions and signs a declaration in Form (B):

(i) He is of the age of 21 or over.

(ii) He is a habitual wearer of hand-spun and hand-woven khadi.

(iii) He is a teetotaller.

(iv) He does not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form.

(v) He believes in equality of opportunity and status for all, irrespective of race, caste, creed or sex.

(vi) He is a believer in inter-communal unity and has respect for the faiths of others.

(vii) He devotes regularly a part of his time to some form of national, community or social service otherwise
than for personal profit, or to some constructive activity as laid down from time to time by the Working Committee, and sends periodical reports to the PCC according to rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(c) Every Active Member shall collect Rs. 10 annually and pay it towards the Congress Reserve Fund or enrol 50 Primary Members each year or shall contribute annually 25 gundis of self-spun yarn of at least 16 counts.

(d) Active Membership shall be continuous so long as the annual subscription is paid according to rules made thereunder and other conditions prescribed are fulfilled.

(e) The annual subscription paid by Primary and Active members shall be distributed in the following proportion amongst the various Congress Committees:

- AICC 1/8th
- PCC 2/8th
- DCC 2/8th
- Mandal Congress Committee 3/8th

The annual collection of Rs. 10 by every Active Member shall be deposited in the Congress Reserve Fund in accordance with the rules framed by the Working Committee.

Article V.

Term of Congress Committees

The term of every Congress Committee and of its office-bearers, Executive Committee and members shall ordinarily be two years.

Article VI.

Registers of Members

(a) Permanent registers of Active Members shall be maintained by the PCCs and DCCs. The Pradesh Congress Committee shall supply lists of their Active Members to the office of the AICC and keep it informed of the changes made therein.

(b) The registers shall state the full name, address, age, occupation, residence and date of enrolment of every member.
(c) Membership shall cease by death, resignation, removal or non-payment of annual fee.

Article VII.

*Qualifications of Voters and Candidates*

(a) **VOTERS**

Every Primary Member, whose name appears in the roll of Primary Members prepared in accordance with the rules framed in this behalf by the Working Committee, shall be entitled to vote in the election of members of the Mandal Congress Committee, under sub-clause (a) of Clause A of Article IX.

(b) **CANDIDATES**

Only an Active Member, whose name is in the register of Active Members, shall be eligible for election as a member of any Congress Committee above a Mandal Congress Committee and, in the case of Mandal Congress Committee, office-bearers and members of the Executive shall be Active Members.

Article VIII.

*Associate Members*

No Associate Member shall have the right to vote or to be an office-bearer or a member of the Executive of any Congress Committee, but he shall have the right to participate in the deliberations; however, no person who is an Associate Member shall be debarred for that reason from seeking election or cooption to full membership of any Committee in the normal manner.

Article IX.

*Mandal Congress Committee*

A. The Mandal Congress Committee shall cover an area having a population of roundabout 20,000 and shall consist of

(a) Members elected by Primary Members of the Congress at the rate of one for roundabout 2,000 population:

Provided there shall be at least 25 Primary Members in that area. In case the number of Primary Members exceeds 75 in the
area, they shall elect two representatives to the Mandal Congress Committee. The election shall be by show of hands where one member alone is to be elected.

(b) Representatives of teams, formed according to rules prescribed by the Working Committee, to be coopted by members mentioned in clause (a):

Provided that for the first Mandal Congress Committee, the President of District Congress Committee, the President of the Subordinate Congress Committee next to the District Congress Committee and a representative of the PCC should organise teams and nominate the representatives to the Mandal.

(c) Members coopted by members of the Mandal Congress Committee elected under A (a) from special elements not adequately represented and others in accordance with rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(d) Representatives of organisations or institutions working in the area in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(e) Members of the DCC who reside in or have been elected from the Mandal:

Provided (i) that the total number of members coming under clause (b), (c), (d) and (e) shall not exceed those coming under (a).

(ii) The number of members coming under each clause (b), (c) and (d) shall be fixed by the PCC in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(iii) Members coming under (c) and (d) shall be Primary Members of the Congress.

B. The Mandal Congress Committee shall be constituted only if not less than 75 per cent of the units fulfil the required conditions of enlisting at least 25 Primary Members in each area provided that while constituting the Mandal Congress Committee for the first time 75 per cent may be reduced to 50 per cent.

Article X.

*General Assembly of the Mandal Congress Committee*

The Primary Members enrolled within the area of a Mandal shall constitute the General Assembly of the Mandal Congress Committee.
Article XI.

*District Congress Committee*

A. The DCC shall cover an area prescribed by the PCC in its Constitution and shall consist of:
   (a) Members elected by Members of Mandal Congress Committees from single member constituencies.
   (b) Presidents of Mandal Congress Committees provided that they shall not be eligible to become either President or Secretary of the DCC.
   (c) Ex-Presidents of the DCC who have completed one full term and are Active Members of the Congress.

*Note*: Full term signifies the interval between two District Congress elections or 365 days, whichever is less.

(d) Members co-opted by the Executive of the DCC from special elements not adequately represented and others in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(e) Representatives of organisations or institutions working in the area in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(f) Members of the PCC who reside in or have been elected from the district.

(g) Members of the Congress Legislature Parties, both Central and State, elected from the district, and in the case of Union Territories, members of the Congress Parties in the Territorial Councils.

B. Leaders of the Congress Parties in Corporation, Municipality, District Board and Janpads in the district shall be Associate Members, provided they are Active members.

C. The PCC shall fix the number under each category in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

Article XII.

*Pradesh Congress Committee*

A. The Pradesh Congress Committee shall consist of:
   (a) Members elected by members of the Mandal Congress Committees at the rate of one for a lakh of population from single-member constituencies as delimited by the concerned PCC, the method of voting being in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee:
Provided that in Bombay, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh there shall be 50, 30 and 25 members respectively so elected

(b) Ex-Presidents of the PCC who have served one full term and are Active members of the Congress.

Note:— Full term signifies the interval between two PCC elections or 365 days, whichever is less.

(c) Presidents of the DCCs.

Provided that they shall not be eligible to become either President or Secretary of the PCC.

(d) Members co-opted by PCC Executive from special elements not adequately represented and others in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(e) Representatives of organisations and institutions working in the area in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(f) AICC members who reside in the Pradesh.

B. Members of the Congress Party in Parliament and members of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in the State Legislatures and in the Territorial Councils in the Union Territories shall be Associate members of the PCC.

Provided they are Active Members of the Congress.

C. Every member of the PCC shall pay an annual fee of Rs. 15 to the PCC of which Rs. 10 shall be forwarded to the AICC as delegate's fee. He shall receive a certificate duly signed by one of the Secretaries of the PCC to the effect that he is a member. No member who has not paid his fee shall be entitled to exercise any of his functions. The PCC shall forward to the AICC office a certified list of the members not later than the date fixed by the Working Committee in that behalf

D. Every Pradesh Congress Committee shall

(a) ordinarily function through District Congress Committees;

(b) subject to the general supervision and control of the AICC, be in charge of the affairs of the Congress Committees within its own Pradesh and to that end frame its Constitution, not inconsistent with this Constitution which shall come into operation only with the previous sanction of the Working Committee;

(c) submit to the Working Committee an annual report of the work done by the Congress organisations in the Pradesh including their audited balance sheet;

(d) pay to the AICC the share due to it out of the members'
fees (Vide Article IV (a) and Clause C above) before a date to be fixed by the Working Committee.

E. The Pradesh which has not completed the formation of the PCC on or before the date fixed by the Working Committee, may, at the discretion of the Working Committee, be disentitled to be represented at the Congress Session.

F. On failure of any Pradesh Congress Committee to function in terms of the Constitution or in accordance with the direction of the Working Committee, the latter may suspend the existing PCC and form an Ad Hoc Committee to carry on Congress work in the Pradesh.

Article XIII.

Delegates

All members of the Pradesh Congress Committee shall be Delegates to the Indian National Congress.

Article XIV.

All India Congress Committee

A. The All India Congress Committee shall consist of:

(e) One eighth of the number of the PCC members elected by them from amongst themselves by proportional representation according to the system of Single Transferable Vote, provided the number is not less than five.

(b) President of the Congress.

(c) Ex-presidents of the Congress, provided they are Active Members.

(d) Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees.

(e) Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament.

(f) Leaders of the Congress Parties in the State Legislatures and Territorial Councils in the Union Territories.

(g) Members co-opted by the Congress Working Committee from special elements not adequately represented and others in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.

(h) Representatives of organisations and institutions working in India in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee.
B. Members of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament shall be Associate Members, provided they are Active Members of the Congress.

C. (a) The President of the Congress shall be the President of the All India Congress Committee.

(b) The A.I.C.C. shall arrange for the implementation of the programme of work laid down by the Congress and shall have powers to deal with matters and situations that may arise during its term of office.

(c) The A.I.C.C. shall have power to frame rules, not inconsistent with this Constitution, for regulating all matters connected with the Congress, which shall be binding on all subordinate Congress Committees.

(d) The A.I.C.C. shall meet as often as required by the Working Committee, or on a joint requisition addressed to the Working Committee, by not less than 50 members. Such requisition shall specify the purpose for which the requisitionists desire a meeting of the A. I. C. C. A requisitioned meeting shall be held within two months of the receipt of the requisition. At any requisitioned meeting, additional items of business may be brought up by the Working Committee for consideration.

(e) At all meetings of the A.I.C.C. other than requisitioned meetings, as far as possible, 4 hours shall be allotted for consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by the members of the A.I.C.C. in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(f) Seventy or one-fifth of the total number of members, whichever is less, shall form the quorum for a meeting of the A.I.C.C.

(g) Every member of the A.I.C.C. shall pay an annual fee of Rs. 10/-.

Article XV.

Committees Subordinate to the D.C.C.

The P. C. C. may continue Committees subordinate to the
D.C.C. and above and/or below the Mandal Congress Committee in the manner laid down in the Constitution of the P. C. C.

Article XVI.

Subjects Committee

(a) The A.I.C.C. shall meet as the Subjects Committee under the chairmanship of the President at least two days before the Congress Session. The Working Committee or, in case a new President has been elected before the Session and there is no Working Committee appointed by him functioning, a Steering Committee appointed by him shall submit to the Subjects Committee the programme of work, including draft resolutions, for the Congress Session. In preparing the draft resolutions, it shall take into consideration the resolutions recommended by the Pradesh Congress Committees and resolutions given notice of by members of the A.I.C.C.

(b) The Subjects Committee shall proceed to discuss the programme and shall frame resolutions for being moved in the Open Session. As far as possible, four hours shall be allotted for the consideration of propositions of which due notice has been given by the Pradesh Congress Committees or members of the A. I. C. C.

Article XVII.

Annual Congress Session

(a) A Session of the Congress shall ordinarily be held annually at the time and place decided upon by the A.I.C.C. or the Working Committee.

(b) The Congress Session shall consist of the President of the Congress and all other Delegates.

(c) (i) The Congress Session shall consider resolutions recommended for adoption by the Subjects Committee in the first instance.

(ii) Thereafter the Session shall take up any substantive motion not included in (i), but which Delegates have, before the commencement of the day’s sitting, requested the President in writing to allow them to place before the Congress provided, however, that no such
motion shall be allowed unless it has been previously discussed at a meeting of the Subjects Committee, and has received the support of at least a third of the members then present in the Subjects Committee.

(d) The Pradesh Congress Committee, in whose jurisdiction the Congress Session is held, shall make such arrangements for holding the Congress Session as may be deemed necessary and for this purpose, shall form a Reception Committee which shall work under its general guidance and which may include therein persons who are not its members.

(e) The Reception Committee shall elect its Chairman and other office-bearers from amongst its own members.

(f) The Reception Committee shall collect funds for the expenses of the Session and shall make all necessary arrangements for the reception and accommodation of Delegates. It may also make necessary arrangements for the visitors.

(g) The receipts and disbursements of the Reception Committee shall be audited by an auditor or auditors, appointed by the Pradesh Congress Committee concerned, and the Statement of Accounts, together with the audit report, shall be submitted by the Pradesh Congress Committee to the Working Committee not later than six months after the termination of the Congress Session. Any surplus funds remaining with the Reception Committee shall be divided equally between the A.I.C.C. and the P.C.C.

Article XVII.

Special Session

(a) A Special Session of the Congress shall be held in case the A.I.C.C. so decides or a majority of the P.C.Cs. by their resolutions, request the President of the Congress to convene such a Special Session.

(b) Such a Special Session shall be organised by the P. C. C. of the Pradesh selected.

Article XIX.

Election of President

(a) The Working Committee shall appoint one of the General
Secretaries of the A.I.C.C. to work as Returning Officer for the election of the President;

Provided that no General Secretary, who is a candidate for Presidentship, shall be so appointed, and that if all the General Secretaries are such candidates the Working Committee shall appoint some one else to work as Returning Officer.

(b) Any ten Delegates may jointly propose the name of any Delegate for election as President of the Congress. Such proposal must reach the Returning Officer on or before the date fixed by the Working Committee.

(c) The Returning Officer shall publish the names of all persons so proposed and it shall be open to any person whose name has been so proposed to withdraw his candidature within seven days of the publication of the proposed names by writing to the Returning Officer to this effect.

(d) After eliminating the names of those who have withdrawn, the Returning Officer shall immediately publish the names of the remaining candidates and circulate them to the Pradesh Congress Committees. If, after elimination, there remains only one candidate, he shall be declared duly elected as President of the next Congress Session.

(e) On a date fixed by the Working Committee, which shall not ordinarily be less than seven days after the final publication of the names of contesting candidates, each Delegate shall be entitled to record, for the selection of a President, his vote in the following manner:

On the voting paper, which shall exhibit the names of the candidates, the Delegate shall, if there are only two candidates, record his vote for one of them. If there are more than two candidates, the Delegate shall record at least two preferences by writing the figures 1, 2, etc. against the names of the candidates voted for. In such a case he may give more than two preferences if he wishes to do so but any voting paper showing less than two preferences will be regarded as invalid. The voting paper shall be placed in a ballot box provided for the purpose.

(f) The Pradesh Congress Committee shall immediately forward the ballot box to the A.I.C.C. office.

(g) As soon as may be, after the receipt of the ballot boxes, the Returning Officer shall count the votes or the first preferences recorded for each candidate. If a candidate secures more than 50 per cent of the first preferences, the candidate who has secured the smallest number of first
preferences shall be eliminated and the second preferences, recorded by the voters who gave him the first preference, shall be taken into account in counting the votes of the remaining candidates. In this counting the candidate who secures the smallest number of votes shall be eliminated. By this process of eliminating the candidates who secured the smallest number of votes in subsequent countings after the transference of votes according to recorded preferences, the candidate who secures more than 50 per cent of the votes shall be declared elected as President.

(h) In the event of any emergency arising by reason of any cause, such as death or resignation of the President elected as above, the Working Committee shall forthwith fix a date for a fresh election by the Delegates as prescribed above. In case such procedure is not found possible by the Working Committee, it shall convene a meeting of the AICC to elect a President.

(i) The President shall preside over the Sessions of the Congress held after his election and during his term of office, and he shall exercise all the powers of the Working Committee when it is not in session.

Article XX.

*Working Committee*

(a) The Working Committee shall consist of the President of the Congress and twenty members, including a Treasurer and one or more General Secretaries who shall be appointed by the President. Ordinarily, members of the Working Committee will be appointed from amongst the members of the AICC but, in special cases, Delegates, who are not members of the AICC may be appointed; provided however, that a Delegate so appointed shall cease to be a member of the Working Committee if he is not elected as a member of the AICC within six months of his appointment.

(b) The quorum for a meeting of a Working Committee shall be seven.

(c) The Working Committee shall be the highest executive authority of the Congress and shall have the power to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the Congress and by the AICC and shall be responsible to
the AICC. It shall be the final authority in all matters regarding interpretation and application of the provisions of this Constitution.

(d) The Working Committee shall place before every meeting of the AICC a report of proceedings of the previous meeting of the AICC and also an agenda of business for the meeting and shall allot time for non-official resolutions of which due notice may have been given by the members of the AICC in accordance with the rules prescribed in that behalf.

(e) The Working Committee may appoint one or more auditors, or inspectors or other officers to examine the records, papers and account books of all Congress Committees and organisations. It shall be incumbent on all such Committees and organisations to furnish required information to the auditors, inspectors, or other officers and to give them access to all offices, accounts and records.

(f) The Working Committee shall have the power

(i) to frame rules for the proper working of the organisations. Such rules shall, as early as possible, be placed for the consideration of the AICC.

(ii) to issue instructions not inconsistent with the Constitution and the rules in all matters not otherwise provided for.

(iii) To superintend, direct and control all Pradesh Congress Committees and subordinate Committees as well as the Reception Committee,

(iv) to take such disciplinary action as it may deem fit against a Committee other than the AICC or any individual,

(v) in special cases to relax application of provisions under Articles IV (a) (ii), IV (b), VII (a) and VII (b).

(g) The Working Committee shall have the accounts of the AICC audited annually by an auditor or auditors appointed by the AICC every year.

(h) The Working Committee shall fix the date by which the formation of Mandal, District, Pradesh and All-India Congress Committees shall be completed.

(i) The Working Committee shall appoint a Board of Trustees for holding properties belonging to the All-India Congress Committee. The term of the Board shall be for three years and the Treasurer of the All-India Congress Committee shall be an ex-officio member of the Board.
(j) To meet any special situation, the Working Committee shall have power to take such action in the interest of the Congress as it may deem fit, provided, however, that if any action is taken which is beyond the powers of the Working Committee as defined in this Constitution, it shall be submitted as early as possible to the AICC for ratification.

Article XXI.

Treasurer

The Treasurer shall be in charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of all investments, income and expenditure.

Article XXII.

General Secretaries

(a) Subject to general control of the President, the General Secretaries shall be in charge of the office of the AICC.

(b) The General Secretaries shall be responsible for the preparation and publication of a report of the proceedings of the Congress Session, including its audited accounts, as soon as possible after the Session.

(c) The General Secretaries shall prepare a report of the work of the AICC and the Working Committee, including an audited statement of Accounts, for the period since the last submission of such report and submit the same to the first meeting of the AICC held before the annual Session of the Congress.

Article XXIII.

Scrutiny of Membership

The Executives of the District Congress Committee and Pradesh Congress Committees shall arrange for periodical scrutiny of and disposal of complaints regarding the enrolment of Primary and Active Members in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee, but, when complaints of a grave nature are
reported to the Working Committee, it may enquire into such complaints and take such action as may be deemed necessary.
Article XXIV.

Election Disputes

The Executives of District Congress Committees and Pradesh Congress Committees shall arrange for the disposal of complaints regarding elections in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Working Committee but, when complaints of a grave nature are reported to the Working Committee, it may enquire into such complaints and take such action as may be deemed necessary.
Article XXV.

Election Machinery

(a) The PCC shall each year, at the first meeting after the 30th June, appoint, by a majority of at least three-fourths of its members present and voting, a Pradesh Returning Officer.

(b) If any PCC fails to appoint a Pradesh Returning Officer, as aforesaid, the Working Committee shall appoint a Pradesh Returning Officer.

(c) The Pradesh Returning Officer shall conduct all Congress elections in the Pradesh. He shall, in consultation with the Executives of the PCC and the DCCs, appoint District Returning Officers and such other officers for the proper conduct of elections in the Pradesh. He shall also perform such other functions allotted to him by the Working Committee from time to time.

(d) The Pradesh Returning Officer shall hold office ordinarily, for one year but he will continue to function, till a new Pradesh Returning Officer is appointed or is removed from office in accordance with rules framed in this behalf by the Working Committee.

Article XXVI.

Flag

The Flag of the Indian National Congress shall consist of three horizontal colours, saffron, white and green, with the picture
of a Charkha in blue in the centre. It shall be made of hand-spun and hand-woven khadi.

Article XXVII.

(A) Parliamentary Board

The Working Committee shall set up a Parliamentary Board consisting of the Congress President and five other members, with the Congress President as a Chairman for the purpose of regulating and co-ordinating parliamentary activities of the Congress Legislature Parties and shall frame rules in that behalf.

(B) Election Committees

(a) A Central Election Committee shall be set up consisting of members of the Parliamentary Board and five other members elected by the AICC for the purpose of (i) conducting election campaigns, and (ii) making the final selection of candidates for the State and Central Legislatures.

(b) The Pradesh Election Committee shall consist of the President of the PCC and not more than ten and not less than four other members, who shall be elected by the General Meeting of the PCC. If the PCC elects the members of the Committee, other than the PCC President, by a two-thirds majority of members present and voting, they shall be declared elected. The voting for such an election shall be by ballot and on each ballot paper the voter shall have to record as many votes as there are members to be elected on the Committee.

In case a two-thirds majority is not secured for all the members to be elected, there shall be a fresh election by the system of Single Transferable Vote.

The President of the PCC shall be ex-officio Chairman of the Pradesh Election Committee.

(c) The Pradesh Election Committee, constituted in the above manner, shall recommend candidates for Central and State Legislatures to the Central Election Committee,

(d) The Central Election Committee shall frame necessary rules to give guidance to the Pradesh Election Committees in regard to selection of candidates and other matters relating to the conduct of elections.
Article XXVIII.

Vacancies

(a) The office of a Delegate or of a member of any Committee or Board constituted under this Constitution, shall be vacated by the resignation, removal or death.

(b) All vacancies shall, unless otherwise provided for, be filled in the same manner in which the vacated member was chosen and members so elected shall hold office for the unexpired term of the seat vacated.

(c) In the absence of any provision to the contrary, a Committee or Board, once it is properly constituted, shall not become invalid by reason of any vacancy on it.

Article XXIX.

Miscellaneous

(a) No person shall be a member of any two parallel Congress Committees provided that this provision shall not apply to Associate Members.

(b) A Congress Committee may delegate any of its powers to a smaller committee or an individual.

(c) Population figures of the last available Census shall be the basis for all Congress purposes.

(d) Where there is a question of the value of fractions a fraction of one-half or more shall be treated as one, and less than one-half as zero.

(e) Wherever in this constitution, the word 'vote' or any of its inflections occurs, it means or refers to a valid vote.

(f) The Mandal, District and Pradesh Congress Committees shall elect the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Treasurers and members of the Executive Committees and from amongst the members of the Executive Committees, the Presidents of the respective Committees shall appoint the Secretary or Secretaries.

(g) Any question or dispute arising under the Constitution with regard to its provisions, contents, interpretation or the procedure laid down therein between any member and member, member and any Committee or between Committees inter se, shall be determined by the appropriate authority or authorities indicated in this Constitution,
and the decision of such authority shall be final and binding on all members and Committees of the Indian National Congress, and shall not be liable to question by any of them in a court of law.

Article XXX.

Changes in the Constitution

The Constitution can be amended, altered or added to only by a Session of the Congress. The AICC shall, however, have authority, except in regard to Article I, to amend, alter or add to the Constitution, when the Congress is not in Session, if so desired by the Working Committee, provided that no such addition, alteration or amendment shall be made by the AICC except by a majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting at a meeting held specially for this purpose after due notice of the proposed changes has been given to each member at least one month before the date of such meeting. The changes made by the AICC shall be placed before the next Session of the Congress for ratification, but they may come into operation even before ratification from such date as may be prescribed by the AICC.

* * *

(iii) Manifestoes*

(a) 1946

"This Congress adopts the principles and programme outlined in the August resolution and the Congress Election Manifesto in regard to the content of Swaraj. In the opinion of this Congress Swaraj cannot be real for the masses unless it makes possible the achievement of a society in which democracy extends from the political to the social and economic sphere, and in which there would be no opportunity for privileged classes to exploit the bulk of the people, nor for gross inequalities such as exist at present. Such a society would ensure individual liberty, equality of opportunity and the fullest scope for every citizen for the development of his personality."

54 : 1946 : Meerut : VIII.

*For earlier manifestoes please see (i) Aims and Object of J.N.C.
"For sixty years the National Congress has laboured for the freedom of India. During this long span of years its history has been the history of the Indian people, straining at the leash that has held them in bondage, ever trying to unloose themselves from it. From small beginnings it has progressively grown and spread in this vast country, carrying the message of freedom to the masses of our people in the towns as well as the remotest villages. From these masses it has gained power and strength and developed into a mighty organization, the living and vibrant symbol of India’s will to freedom and independence. From generation to generation it has dedicated itself to this sacred cause, and in its name and under its banner innumerable countrymen and countrywomen of ours have laid down their lives and undergone suffering in order to redeem the pledge they had taken. By service and sacrifice, it has enshrined itself in the hearts of our people by its refusal to submit to any dishonour to our nation it has built up a powerful movement of resistance to foreign rule.

The Career of the Congress has been one of both constructive effort for the good of the people and of unceasing struggle to gain freedom. In this struggle it has faced numerous crises and come repeatedly into direct conflict with the armed might of a great empire. Following peaceful methods, it has not only survived these conflicts but has gained new strength from them. After the recent three years of an unprecedented mass upheaval and its cruel and ruthless suppression, the Congress has risen stronger than ever and become more loved by the people by whom it has stood through storm and stress.

The Congress has stood for equal rights and opportunities for every citizen of India, man or woman. It has stood for the unity of all communities and religious groups and for tolerance and goodwill between them. It has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius; it has also stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework, and it has stated that for this purpose such territorial areas or provinces should be constituted, as far as possible, on a linguistic and cultural basis. It has stood, for the

*As approved by the Congress Working Committee met at Delhi from August 27 to 30th 1940.
rights of all those who suffer from social tyranny and injustice and for the removal for them of all barriers to equality.

The Congress has envisaged a free, democratic State with the fundamental rights and liberties of all its citizens guaranteed in the constitution. This constitution, in its view, should be a federal one with autonomy for its constituent units, and its legislative organs elected under universal adult franchise. The federation of India must be a willing union of its various parts. In order to give the maximum of freedom to the constituent units there may be a minimum list of common and essential federal subjects which will apply to all units, and a further optional list of common subjects which may be accepted by such units as desire to do so.

The constitution shall provide for fundamental rights, among them the following:

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

2. Every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and right freely to profess and practice his religion, subject to public order and morality.

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. The State shall observe neutrality in regard to all religions.

10. The franchise shall be on the basis of universal adult suffrage.
11. The State shall provide for free and compulsory basic education.

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

The State shall further provide all necessary safeguards for the protection and the development of the backward or suppressed elements in the population, so that they might make rapid progress and take a full and equal part in national life. In particular, the State will help in the development of the people of the tribal areas in a manner most suited to their genius, and in the education and social and economic progress of the scheduled classes.

A hundred and fifty years and more of foreign rule have arrested the growth of the country and produced numerous vital problems that demand immediate solution. Intensive exploitation of the country and the people during this period has reduced the masses to the depths of misery and starvation. The country has not only been politically kept under subjection and humiliated, but has also suffered economic, social, cultural and spiritual degradation. During the years of war this process of exploitation by irresponsible authority in utter disregard of Indian interests and views, and an incompetence in administration reached a new height leading to terrible famine and widespread misery. There is no way to solving any of these urgent problems except through freedom and independence. The content of political freedom must be both economic and social.

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 has 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 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 co-ordinate social advance in all its many fields, to prevent individuals and groups, to
prevent vested interest 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, and 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, while maximum wealth production for the community should be aimed at, 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 reform 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 or peasant proprietorship should continue, progressive agriculture as well as the creation of new social values 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 the 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 decentralized, as far as this is possible, without sacrifice of 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 arrangements 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 services 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 should receive special attention. These should include special provisions for maternity and child 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 in 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 organised 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 organized for other purposes both in rural and urban areas. In particular, industrial co-operatives should be encouraged as being especially suited for the development of small-scale industry on a democratic basis.

While the immediate and urgent problems of India can only be effectively tackled by a joint and planned attack on all fronts—political, economic, agricultural, industrial and social—certain needs are of paramount importance today. Owing to the gross incompetence and mismanagement of the Government an incredible amount of suffering has been caused to the people of India. Millions have died of starvation, and scarcity of food and clothing is still widespread. Corruption in the services and in all matters pertaining to the supply and control of the vital necessaries of life is rampant and has become intolerable. These urgent problems require immediate attention.

In international affairs, the Congress stands for the establishment of a world federation of free nations. Till such time as such a federation takes shape, India must develop friendly relations with all nations, and particularly with her neighbours. In the Far East, in South-East Asia and in Western Asia, India has had trade and cultural relations for thousands of years, and it is inevitable that with freedom she should renew and develop these relations. Reasons of security and future trends of trade also demand closer contacts with these regions. India, which has conducted her own struggle for freedom on a non-violent basis, will always throw her weight on the side of world peace and co-operation. She will also champion the freedom of all other subject nations and peoples, for only on the basis of this freedom and the elimination of imperialism everywhere can world peace be established.

On the 8th of August, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution, since then famous in India’s story. By its demands and challenge the Congress stands today. It is on the basis of this resolution and with its battle-cry that the Congress faces the elections.

The Congress, therefore, appeals to the voters all over the country to support Congress candidates in every way at the forth-
coming elections, and to stand by the Congress at this critical juncture, which is so pregnant with future possibilities. In these elections, petty issues do not count, nor do individuals, nor sectarian cries, only one thing counts: the freedom and independence of our Motherland, from which all other freedoms will flow to our people. Many a time the people of India have taken the pledge of independence; that pledge has yet to be redeemed, and the well-beloved cause for which it stands and which has summoned us so often, still beckons to us. The time is coming when we shall redeem it in full. This election is a small test for us, a preparation for the greater things to come. Let all those who care and long for freedom and the independence of India meet this test with strength and confidence and march together to the free India of our dreams.


(b) 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.

*As adopted and approved at the annual session of the Congress held at New Delhi in 1951.
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 the 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 for development. 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. Management of all land not cultivated by occupants should vest in village production councils. Uneconomic and inefficient units of cultivation stand in the way of economic as well as social progress. Large co-operative farms are, therefore, necessary and agricultural and agrarian economy should be reorganised on the lines of cooperative village management.

Until cooperative 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 cooperative farms, and a large-scale programme should be undertaken for the organisation of multi-purpose cooperatives.

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 plaining must be the progressive removal of economic and cultural inequalities, in order to realise and establish a cooperative 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.” 57: 1951: New Delhi. III.

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(c) 1957*

CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO

Seventy one years ago, the Indian National Congress was born. Its early beginnings were small but significant. This infant organisation was to grow into a mighty organ of the Indian people representing their wishes and urges for freedom. Year by year it grew in scope and outlook, and great men and women, famous in India’s story, took part in moulding it so that it might play its destined part to bring independence to this country. Dadabhai Naoroji first enunciated the goal of Swaraj; Lokamanya Tilak broadened the base of the Congress and gave it strength and drive; Mahatma Gandhi made it the representative of the vast masses of India and endowed it with faith and self-reliance. Under his leadership it chalked out a new path of peaceful revolutionary action based on the high principles for which he stood. Hundreds of thousands of our countrymen followed that path willingly and sacrificed everything that they had in the pursuit of freedom for their beloved country. Gradually also, the Congress developed a social content for that freedom and stood ever more for the advancement of the dispossessed and the unprivileged and those who had to suffer political, economic and social disabilities.

2. Decade after decade, this peaceful and revolutionary struggle continued in India, often convulsing the life of the country

*Text supplied by the A.I.C.O. office; 7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.*
and drawing into its fold millions of our people. At the end of
1929, the Lahore Congress defined Swaraj as full independence,
and on the 26th January, 1930, people all over the country took this
pledge. At last, on the 15th August, 1947, freedom came, and the
pledge that millions in India had taken year after year was
redeemed and largely fulfilled. At that solemn and historic moment
when India stepped out from servitude to freedom, we took, another
pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to
the still larger cause of humanity.

3. Imme diately, the sun of freedom was darkened by conflict
and disaster and, soon after, the Master, who had led us from
darkness to light, passed away making the ultimate sacrifice for
the cause he held dear. Sorrow overwhelmed us, but his voice rang
in our ears and his massage gave us strength. We laboured
to face this challenge to our new won freedom and the people
of India defeated the forces of darkness and reaction.

4. The partition of India resulted in the uprooting of millions
of people. Vast migrations took place, and the problem of rehabili-
tation assumed colossal proportions. This problem was also faced
with determination, and millions of displaced persons were rehabili-
tated and given new hope for the future. The success attending
these efforts has been one of the most remarkable features of the
past nine years. Although the problem of dispossessed persons from
Western Pakistan was largely solved, unfortunately, migrations
continued from East Pakistan and still take place in large numbers
affecting the whole of India and, more especially, the State of West
Bengal. Every effort has been made, and will continue to be made
to help these people, who have had to leave home and hearth and
have to begin a new life.

5. The numerous princely States of India were absorbed and
integrated into the Union of India. This remarkable achievement
within a short period of time, did credit to the Government of India
and to the rulers of the States concerned. Similar problems in other
countries had led to violent struggles and major conflicts. Here,
in India, according to our way, we solved it peacefully and co-opera-
tively, thus laying the foundations of an integrated India.

6. The new Constitution of India took shape after much
labour, and in 1950, on the 26th of January, a date hallowed in our
long struggle for freedom the Republic of India came into existence.
Thus, the old pledge was fully redeemed and a new chapter began
in India's long story.

7. The Congress had fulfilled its old pledge for independence,
but the other pledge to fight poverty and ignorance and disease and
inequality of opportunity remained, and the Congress set itself to this tremendous task. Seven years have passed since then and the story of these seven years of work and achievement is before our people and the world. Whether in the field of international affairs or of our national and domestic problems, India's star has grown brighter and her achievements have been notable. Keeping faith with the old, we have sought to build up a new India, a modern State which would remove the burdens of those who suffer and give opportunity for progress to all. The great adventure on which we embarked involves a long and arduous journey and we can only progress step by step along that path. We have far to go before we reach the end of this journey. But we have made good progress and laid the foundations of the new India of our dreams.

8. The Congress, throughout the struggle for India's freedom, had always stood for the betterment of the masses and the underprivileged. A precise direction was given to this objective by the famous Avadi Resolution of the Congress laying down as its objective a socialist pattern of society for the country. While we aimed at socialism, we also adhered to a democratic structure of society and we proclaimed afresh that our means would be peaceful. Thus the Congress stood for democracy and socialism and for peaceful and legitimate methods. These are the basic policies of the Congress on which we have laboured to build the noble edifice of new India.

9. A planned approach to the problems of India was made and, as a first effort, the Five Year Plan took shape. Most of the targets laid down in this Plan were fulfilled, and some of the achievements exceeded the expectations indicated in the targets. The Zamindari and Jagirdari systems were largely abolished. Production in food and other articles was considerably increased. Science, the basis of modern life, was nurtured, many great laboratories and institutes grew up all over the country. Vast river valley schemes—Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Tungabhadra and other made substantial progress, leading to the spread of irrigation and the production of electric power. Many industrial plants came into existence, more particularly, the great fertiliser factory at Sindri and the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory. A beginning was made in the scheme of community development in the rural areas, which was of revolutionary significance and which was to spread far into the villages of India. Above all, self-reliance and a new confidence were created in the people of India.

10. In 1951-52 the first general elections under the new Constitution of India took place all over the country. Never before, anywhere in the world, had democratic elections taken place on such
a vast scale. Every adult man and woman in a population of three hundred and sixty millions was entitled to vote and a very large number of them participated in the elections. Every group and party and individual, whatever his political or economic programme or ideology, had the right to participate in the elections. These free and impartial elections resulted in a great victory for the Congress. At the same time, other parties were also represented in Parliament and in the new legislatures that came into existence in the States. Through these elections the people of the country proclaimed afresh their faith in the Congress and gave it strength. The country gained stability and confidence to plan for the future.

11. At the conclusion of the first Five Year Plan in March 1956, the second Plan came into being. In this Plan, emphasis was laid on a more rapid development of industry and at the same time, the importance of greater production in agriculture was pointed out. In order to facilitate the rapid industrialisation of India, the production of steel was given first importance, and three large new iron and steel plants are being erected, in addition to the expansion of the old plants. Machine-making industry also finds an important place in the Plan. Organised attempts are being made to exploit the mineral resources of the country, especially oil and coal. The chemical industry is being developed, and considerable progress has been made in atomic energy research for the production of atomic power for industrial development. Ship-building is being increased, and aircraft production is being organised. Transport and Railways form an essential part of the Plan. An integral coach factory of the latest type has been established in Madras. The rural community development schemes, it is hoped, will cover the whole of rural India by the end of the Second Plan period. It is not possible to enumerate all that is being done and that is envisaged to be done during the Second Five Year Plan in this manifesto. The Plan itself is before the public and lays down in detail the innumerable activities that are being undertaken in the country.

12. These numerous activities are not confined to the economic sphere, but include also social and cultural activities. Legislation has been passed for the reform of the Hindu Law in regard to marriage and divorce and inheritance by women. Thus, out-of-date customs which bore down upon our womenfolk have been ended, and in this and other ways a larger freedom has been ensured to the women of India.

13. No subject was dearer to Gandhiji than the removal of untouchability and the uplift of those classes who had been suppressed by social custom and practice. The Congress made this cause
of the Harijans its own and laboured for them throughout the period of our national struggle. By our Constitution and the legislation passed thereafter the practice of untouchability was made an offence and a great and essential reform affecting millions of our countrymen took place.

14. India is a country of great variety not only in climate and physical features, but in the ways of living of her people. It is these manifold aspects, linked together by a basic unity, which give beauty and richness to her culture. The tribal people of India are an essential and important part of the country. They vary greatly among themselves. But all of them are noted for their vigorous life, their artistry and their folk songs and dances. The constitution has made special provision for them, so that they may progress according to their own genius and ways of life. It has been a misfortune that some people living in the Naga Hills have taken to violence. The Nagas are a brave people, who are a credit to India. They have every right to preserve their own customs and ways of life in their own way and to enjoy a measure of autonomy for this purpose. It is hoped that the misunderstandings and apprehensions that have misled them, will be removed, and they will become free and contented members of the large family of India.

15. A significant development has been the growth in the cultural field, in literature, art and music, song and dance. This indicates the new life and creative urges that are pulsing through the nation.

16. During the past year or more, the question of the re-organisation of the States gave rise to much controversy and even conflicts. Such questions, involving languages and a new distribution of provincial areas, have often roused strong passions in other countries also. But, after full discussions and consultation, the States were reorganised and a new map of India took shape. In spite of the strong feelings which these changes had aroused, the people of India showed their basic resilience and vitality and their capacity for peaceful adjustment, even when they disagreed. It is this capacity which gives strength to our people and the hope that, however much there might be occasional disagreements, unity prevails and good sense re-asserts itself.

17. Recent amendments to the Constitution have ensured the protection of every language, even where it is the language of a minority community. Minorities in India, whether religious or linguistic or other, must have the assurance and the feeling of playing their full part in the varied activities of the country. The Constitution of India is a secular one, but it respects all religions
prevalent in India and gives full scope for their functioning. Every attempt must be made to ensure that these assurances are carried out and no minority is made to suffer because it is either a religious or linguistic minority. Secularism does not mean lack of faith but protection of all faiths and the encouragement of spiritual and moral values.

18. The political revolution was largely completed on the establishment of the Republic of India. But, full achievement can only come when there is a real emotional integration of the people of India. To that end, efforts will continue to be directed, so that the feeling of separateness, whether communal or provincial or due to caste distinctions, is ended. We realise fully the dangers of communalism and have struggled against them throughout Congress history. The recent past has demonstrated that the feeling of provincial separateness is still strong and has to be combated. Caste is an evil which has weakened our society, introduced innumerable fissiparious tendencies and resulted in the suppression and humiliation of large numbers of people. The Congress is entirely opposed to this system, as it is opposed to everything that creates divisions and inequality.

19. The revolution in India can only be completed when the political revolution is followed by an economic as well as a social revolution. These two latter are gradually taking shape in India. But, according to India's own genius and method, they take place peacefully and co-operatively. Considerable progress has been made and changes will continue, so that ultimately we can establish a full socialist order of society giving freedom, welfare and equality of opportunity to all.

20. The basic objectives of the Congress, it must be repeated, are democracy and socialism and the methods have to be peaceful. We have to adhere to peaceful methods not only because they are in tune with India's thinking, from the time of our ancient sages and Ashoka to Gandhi, but also because only thus can we maintain the unity and integrity of India, and not waste our substance in internecine conflicts. Only thus can we achieve socialism through the democratic method, which we value as ensuring the freedom of the individual.

21. The Congress, throughout its long history, has represented political, economic and social advance. It has represented something more, which is vital to our growth. Gandhiji impressed upon the Congress and our people, the importance of moral values and of the maintenance of high standards in public as well as in private life. It is of the utmost importance that these standards and values
should be maintained, more especially during a period of transition in India and the world, when values change and many old standards appear to have less significance. The story of man from his early beginnings at the dawn of history, is not merely a story of economic and technological advance but is essentially an advance on the moral, ethical and cultural plane. Without that foundation, advance in other fields may lead, and has indeed often led, to conflict and disaster. Scientific and technological growth, bringing in its train the atomic and the hydrogen bomb and astonishing growth in means of communications, has made the moral and ethical approach of vital significance today, if human life is to survive in any civilised form.

22. Socialism does not merely signify changes in the economic relations of human beings. It involves fundamental changes in the social structure, in ways of thinking and in ways of living. Caste and class have no place in the socialist order that is envisaged by the Congress. It is important, therefore, that these new ways of thinking and of living should be encouraged, and old ideas about privilege on the basis of birth or caste or class or money or the hierarchy of office, should be discarded. Men should be judged by their labour, their productive and creative efforts and their services to society and humanity. The dignity of labour should be recognised, as well as the dignity of the individual in every grade of life. The socialist order is a way of life based on the people and not merely on the effort of Government. It is in the measure that the people develop their strength, their discipline, their capacity to work and their co-operative activities that socialism comes into being. Governments derive power from the people and reflect that power as well as the other urges of the people.

23. In economic relations there should be no exploitation and no monopolies, and disparities in income should be progressively lessened. A national minimum in the general standard of living should be aimed at, so that everyone has the necessaries of life and the opportunity for education, for maintaining his health and for productive work.

24. Even as there are disparities among people, there are disparities in the development of different parts of the country and some areas are more developed than others. It is necessary that these backward areas and regions should be particularly helped to develop themselves, so that there is balanced growth of the country as a whole.

25. Many years ago, the Congress stated its objective in Article 1 of its Constitution, and declared it to be “the well-being
and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means of a Co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship." Since then, the Congress has stated that it aims at a socialist pattern of society and, thus the object becomes the establishment of a "Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth." Co-operation is the law of life in human communities, and it is in the measure that there is lack of co-operation that troubles and conflicts arise. Therefore, the co-operative element should enter into every aspect of life and, more particularly, in industry and agriculture. In industry, the co-operative principle should lead to industrial democracy with the progressive participation of workers in industry; in rural areas the community should be based on co-operative management of villages.

26. This task is a tremendous one, for it involves the raising of nearly four hundred millions to freedom and prosperity and equality. It can only be accomplished by a mighty co-operative effort of the people all over the country. In an underdeveloped country the task of taking the people out of the morass of poverty and establishing a progressive economy is peculiarly difficult. It requires a combined and persistent effort for a considerable period and a measure of austerity and avoidance of all waste so that the maximum use can be made of the nation's resources in productive channels. False standards of living and display have to be given up and those who lead the people in various parts of the country have to set an example. The process of building up a new India involves industrialisation on a large scale and improved methods of agriculture. It involves saving and investment for future progress. We have to work hard today to ensure our tomorrow.

27. The Second Five-Year Plan was prepared after full consultation and discussion. It represents, therefore, the combined wisdom of the country and it has to be given effect to by the joint effort of all our people. This Plan represents broadly the approach to the problems of India in the various fields of national activity. It is a flexible Plan and it will have to be adjusted from time to time as circumstances demand and as the resources of the country permit. Already certain important changes are being made in regard to resources and the target for food production as well as other matters. The experience of other countries has shown how difficult it is to keep a proper balance between industry and agriculture and between heavy, light and small-scale industries. We have to profit by this experience and aim at a balanced and, at the same time, rapid growth. The growth of heavy industry is essential if we
are to industrialise our country and not be dependent on others. But this has to be balanced by small-scale and cottage industries. A large measure of centralisation has become inevitable in modern life. But we have also at the same time to decentralise in so far as this is possible.

28. The major problem of India is to fight poverty and unemployment and to raise the standards of our people. All planning has this for its objective. This necessitates greatly increased production and equitable distribution. Production in the world has grown rapidly ever since higher techniques were employed. Such higher techniques must, therefore, be encouraged in industry and agriculture, as without them production will continue to be at a low level. In introducing higher techniques, however, the human element, the utilisation of India's abundant manpower, and the question of employment must always be kept in view, so that any change-over in methods of production does not lead to unemployment and unhappiness.

29. The pace of progress depends upon the resources that are available or that can be raised. While help from any friendly source must be welcomed, the principal burden of finding resources must inevitably fall on the people of the country. This burden has to be borne. But, it should be spread out in such a way as to fall chiefly on those who are in a better position to shoulder it. The structure of taxation is being reconstructed with this object in view. This process will also help in reducing disparities in income and wealth.

30. The Congress welcomes the nationalisation of the State Bank as well as of life insurance. This is another step towards a socialist pattern and it gives a greater measure of strategic control for planning and other purposes of the State. The resolution on industrial policy of the Government of India defines the areas reserved for the public and private sectors. It is not intended to nationalise the existing private sectors. It is not intended to nationalise the existing private industries, except where such is considered necessary in terms of planning or where they occupy a strategic position in the economy of the country. Private enterprise will be encouraged, but always in the context of the Plan.

31. It is of the highest importance to keep prices at reasonable levels and to prevent inflation. To some extent inflation is almost inevitable in a developing economy, but this should be kept fully in check and all necessary steps should be taken to that end.

32. In order to add to the resources of the country and also to check inflation, saving is of great importance. The Congress,
therefore, commends to the people that every effort should be made
to save and to invest in the various saving schemes or in productive
enterprises.

33. On the land, all intermediaries must be progressively
removed, so that land is owned by the cultivator himself. The
principle of ceilings on land has been accepted and should be
progressively introduced, so as to bring about a better distribution
of land. Mechanised agriculture may be useful in some areas, but, in
view of the man-power available and often not fully used, it is
desirable to encourage intensified methods of cultivation on a co-
operative basis. It is of the highest importance from every point of
view that production should increase. This is the surest way of
adding to the country’s resources and of combating inflation. The
recent World Bank Mission has stated :

“Proper application of known techniques, in conjunction with
the possible expansion of irrigation and the cultivated area, could
increase India’s agricultural output four or five fold. By the time
that has been achieved, new techniques will have been evolved, and
the way will be open for further progress. Results of the crop
competitions organised for the Grow More Food Campaign show
yields about seven times higher than the local average. India’s
yields are at present among the lowest in the world; with the labour
force available, they could be among the highest. There is thus a
great deal of scope for progress that is technically easy but is
 retarded by poverty and ignorance.”

34. The Planning Commission has increased the target of
additional food production during the Plan period to about 30 per
cent. In view of the remarks of the World Bank Mission, this is a
modest estimate. It is essential that this target should be achieved.

35. For this purpose, various steps have already been taken
to add to our irrigation by a large number of minor works, by the
construction of field embankments and contour bunds, by soil con-
servation, and by the introduction of dry farming methods in the
semi-arid regions of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Uttar Pradesh.
But, the greatest need of all is to have comprehensive village plan-
ning and the organisation of the cooperative movement for
agricultural production. The Panchayats have an important role to
play in this planning. Agricultural cooperatives should have a
popular basis at the village level. Cooperation is essentially a
voluntary effort and without the active participation of the people,
no amount of Governmental direction will yield adequate results.
There may be larger cooperatives where necessary, but normally the
size of a primary cooperative society should not be so large that its
members do not have the sense of mutual obligation. Cooperation, therefore, has to be developed as a popular movement with the help and guidance of the State. This is not only necessary for the purposes of higher production, but also in order to develop that way of life which is based on individual freedom as well as cooperative effort.

36. The Community Projects and the National Extension Service are bringing about a revolutionary change in the countryside and developing a spirit of self-reliance and joint endeavour in our village people. The old static Indian village is changing and yielding place to one of a more dynamic conception. These community schemes must always keep in view the necessity of bringing this psychological change among the people. Their primary objective must now be greater food production and the growth of small-scale and village industries.

37. With the advance in agriculture and the growth of small-scale and village industries, the disparity that exists today between village and town should be progressively lessened. Local initiative in the villages should be encouraged, local resources utilised and higher techniques introduced.

38. Landless labour constitutes an important element in the rural population of the country, and effective action should be taken to improve its economic position and social status. To this end there should be expansion of work opportunities, fixation of minimum wages, allotment of house sites and resettlement schemes.

39. Unemployment is not only bad for the individual concerned but is a disorder injurious to social health. Planning has, therefore, to aim at the progressive lessening of unemployment and its final elimination. This will chiefly take place by the growth of industry and, more especially, small-scale and village industries. Higher techniques appear to increase unemployment, but ultimately lead to far greater employment. Our youth should be trained especially, from the point of view of fitting them into the scheme of the Plan and being utilised for greater production in land and small and cottage industries. With a view to introduce higher techniques in agriculture and to help production, trained cadres for agricultural work should be organised.

40. Every kind of progress in industry, agriculture or any other activity requires training and education. In spite of the existing unemployment, the question of the lack of trained manpower is already coming in the way of advance and is likely to prove a great hindrance in the future unless adequate steps are taken from now onwards. It is, therefore, necessary for training and education to
be organised systematically so as to help in fulfilling the purposes of the Plan. Education must help in introducing new social values. The system of Basic education is especially suited to give a new direction to primary and secondary education. It would be desirable if some kind of labour was made an essential feature of education. More particularly, there should be some labour contribution before degrees or diplomas are given.

41. At present, there are large numbers of unemployed among those who have received some education. This unemployment is partly due to their not having received the proper type of education which would fit them into the nation's activities today. Apart from absorbing them in such vocations as may be suitable, an attempt should be made to give them some additional technical or specialised training so as to enable them to find suitable work more easily. The Second Five-Year Plan has made provision for a number of schemes for reducing unemployment among the educated classes. Among these is the establishment of industrial estates.

42. Special attention to public health is necessary in order to raise the standard of the people. This requires not only governmental action but also changes in some of the habits of the people. A cooperative approach to this problem will prove more effective both for the individual and the community.

43. The administrative machinery should be adapted to suit the purposes of the Plan. Cumbrous procedures and red-tape should be avoided and it should be so organised that rapid decisions are taken and given effect to. In particular, it should not isolate itself from the people but function in cooperation with them. The administration of justice should be simplified and made less expensive.

44. Prohibition has long been the Congress policy and has been introduced in some parts of the country. Progressive steps should be taken to introduce it in other parts.

45. All these activities in industry and agriculture or in social services require combined effort in peaceful conditions. If the attention of the people is diverted into wasteful channels or conflict, then the nation suffers and the rate of our progress is slowed down. It is necessary, therefore, to have industrial peace as well as peace in our educational establishments which are training people to shoulder the burdens of the nation. Strikes and lock-outs are peculiarly harmful when the main purpose is to add to production. Where any problems or controversies arise, they should be solved by peaceful and cooperative methods without stopping or showing down the great machine of production which is so essential for the march of the nation to the next great stage in its journey to a socialist commonwealth.
46. The political integration of India has been completed except for a very small part of territory on the western coast—Goa. The other enclaves of foreign territory which were governed by France, have been incorporated into India by a friendly settlement with France. But Goa still remains a symbol of the worst type of colonial rule and degradation, and the Portuguese Government have resisted all attempts at a peaceful settlement of this problem. Hundreds of Indian patriots and many thousands of Goans have suffered and are suffering in Goa because they laboured for freedom and for integration with India. It is impossible for India to tolerate a colonial enclave in any part of its territory and the continuation of it is an affront to the people of India. Nevertheless, attempts to solve this problem have been peaceful and will continue to be peaceful. These attempts must and will succeed.

47. India desires no expansion and makes no claim on any territory outside her borders. She wishes to live at peace with her neighbours as with other countries. It was with regret, and under the compulsion of circumstances, that partition was agreed to and it brought much distress and suffering to the people of India and Pakistan. India has fully accepted that partition and the independent State of Pakistan and has no wish to interfere with it in any way. Even though Pakistan committed aggression on Indian territory in Kashmir, India has pursued peaceful methods and will continue to adhere to them. She has offered a no-war declaration to the Government of Pakistan, so that in no event should these two neighbour countries, which were one not so long ago, go to war. It is essential for the good of both that they live at peace with each other as good neighbours bound together by many links of common tradition and interest. Unfortunately, several problems have arisen between India and Pakistan and, in spite of India's efforts, they have not been solved. India will continue to seek peaceful solutions.

48. Apart from the areas of the State of Jammu and Kashmir occupied by armed force by Pakistan, the State has made considerable progress during the last few years and the burdens of its people have been greatly reduced. The Congress welcomes the new Constitution of the State.

49. In the Union of South Africa, racialism in its most acute and offensive form has continued. The problem of the people of Indian origin in South Africa, who are citizens of that country, has merged into the larger problems of all those who are not considered to be of the white race. These are denied the rights of citizenship and are segregated. Recently, 140 persons, whites, colo-
ured, African and Asian, were arrested by the Government of South Africa in a general round-up. Thus, a white minority suppresses the people of the country and others who are supposed to belong to an inferior race. Nowhere in the world is racialism so rampant and authoritarianism so evident. India has sought to solve this problem by peaceful and co-operative methods. But the Union Government of South Africa have refused even to discuss it. They have even ignored the resolutions and directions of the United Nations, and sown the seeds of a terrible racial conflict. The conduct of the Government of the Union of South Africa is a challenge to the conscience of mankind and to the United Nations.

50. In international affairs, India has consistently pursued the path of peace and friendship with all nations. In a world full of the spirit of conflict and hatred and violence, she has endeavoured to free herself from these passions and avoided military pacts and alliances. She has sought and obtained friendship and co-operation from nations which are often hostile to each other, and has been of some service to the cause of peace in Korea and Indo-China.

51. India's relations with the countries of Asia and Africa have been particularly close, and the Bandung Conference was a historic example of the coming together of all these nations. India and China first enunciated the Five Principles for the governance of international relations, which have subsequently become famous as the Panchsheel. It is on the basis of those principles alone that world peace can be assured.

52. The years following the Second World War have witnessed great changes and have seen many colonial territories in Asia and Africa attain freedom. The old balances have thus been upset and the domination of European countries over parts of Asia and Africa has been greatly lessened. It is essential that these changes should be understood fully all over the world and no attempt should be made to deal with the countries of Asia and Africa in the old colonial way. We have seen recently that such attempts are doomed to failure, just as we have seen that any imposition of foreign authority or ideology cannot succeed.

53. During these years China has established a People's Republic and has developed into a strong nation, which is advancing at a rapid pace. China is a great neighbour of India and the two countries have neighbourly and friendly relations, in spite of differences in their political and economic structure. India has sought for the admission of China into the United Nations year after year, but unfortunately this has been opposed by some countries. The
United Nations cannot be a fully representative world organisation if it does not include this great country which has nearly one quarter of the world’s population. Nor can the problems of the Far East or South-East Asia be solved without the co-operation of China.

54. India’s foreign policy has had as its objectives the avoidance of war and the maintenance of friendly relations with all countries. India is opposed to “cold war” which keeps up the mentality of war and promotes a race in armaments. As the U.N.E.S.C.O. Constitution states “that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.” A cold war is a negation of this approach, for it fills the minds of men with fears and thoughts of war.

55. In the year that is just ended, India and many other countries have celebrated the 2500th year of the passing away of the Buddha. The message of this great son of India has again resounded in our ears. In a world torn by hatred and violence, his gentle voice carrying this message of compassion has come to us through the ages. That message was repeated in our own day by Gandhi. That is the message of India throughout these thousands of years of her history. Whatever activities we may indulge in, whether they are political or economic or social, we have to keep that message ever before us, if we are to remain true to the spirit of our country and to the service of humanity.

56. For three generations, it has been the privilege of the Congress to serve and identify itself with the people of India. For over sixty years, it was the standard bearer in India’s struggle for freedom and under the inspired leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, it achieved success and opened a new chapter in India’s long history. For ten years, it has been responsible for the governance of this great country. In the years of struggle, as in the years of fulfilment, it has derived its strength and its capacity to work from the faith and confidence that the people of India placed in it. Because of the people’s confidence, it became a strong and well-knit organisation, capable of preserving the unity and integrity of India and undertaking the great tasks necessary for her advancement and the well-being of the people. The work it has done in government or among the people during these ten years, is before the country for the people to judge. The great adventure still beckons to every person in India and to the success of that adventure the Congress has dedicated itself. It seeks again, therefore, a renewal from the people of India, of that faith and confidence which they have given it in such abundant measure in the past. With renewed strength
firmly based on the goodwill of the people, it is determined to labour for the advancement of the Indian people and for world peace.

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**Indian National Congress Election Manifesto**, 1962

*Transformation of Indian Community*

A little over Fourteen Years ago, India became a sovereign and independent country. That was the culmination of a long struggle, waged by the Indian National Congress under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. That struggle was unique in many ways; the mere fact of the future of a vast country with hundreds of millions of inhabitants being involved in it, gave it great significance. But the outstanding feature of that struggle was the leadership of Gandhiji who evolved a new technique of peaceful methods of non-violence in order to combat the might of a great empire. On one side there was imperialism which had enfeebled their spirit; on the other side there were the poverty-stricken people of India and a backward and stagnant economy, with one of the lowest per capita income in the world, the result of colonial rule for a long period. The great movement led by the National Congress and inspired by Gandhiji taught the lesson of unity, self-reliance and self-sacrifice to our people and gave them the sense of dedication to a great cause which pulled them out of their despair and helplessness and produced hope and strength.

2. This period of struggle under Gandhiji has become a shining era in India’s history, not only because of the success it achieved and the moral and ethical quality of the struggle, but also because of the high standards and principles that Gandhiji gave us. Even as the struggle proceeded, the Congress developed a social and economic content for the freedom it was striving for, and political independence became ever more associated with the advancement of the unprivileged and dispossessed and those who had to suffer economic and social disabilities. Great men and women, who have become enshrined in India’s long story, suffered and sacrificed but, above all, there were the common people of India in their millions

* Text supplied by the A.I.C.C. Office, 7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi.
who participated in these mighty movements and risked their all so that freedom might come.

3. That freedom came in its fullness and the dream of ages past was thus accomplished and the pledge taken by the people of India fulfilled. But, even in their triumph, there was the disaster following the partition of India—death and sorrow and uprooting of millions of people. To crown this disaster came the assassination of the beloved leader who had led us to victory.

4. Immediately realisation came that our task was only partly fulfilled and that the major part of it remained. There was not only poverty and economic stagnation but also a society socially and economically backward, caste-ridden and often faction-ridden and tied to out-of-date practices and traditions. The aftermath of the Partition and the murder of the beloved leader brought out, at the very moment of triumph, the narrowness, bigotry and backwardness of some of our social groups.

5. Together with the achievement of freedom came a sense of the vastness of the problems that faced us and the tremendous burdens that we had to carry. Only a small stage of our pilgrimage had been accomplished. The real perils and dangers lay ahead. The National Congress, which had led the country to freedom, had inevitably to shoulder the obligations and burdens that came with it. It addressed itself to this mighty task with humility and with the ever-inspiring memory of the great leader who had passed away. In continuation of the basic ideals and policies that it had pursued, it tried to fashion both its domestic policy and its foreign policy on peaceful methods and friendly and co-operative approaches. Immediately the country had to face the great problem of settling and rehabilitating millions of uprooted people whose life had been dislocated by the Partition and the troubles that followed it. It had to unify the country and to integrate the numerous princely states that were spread all over the country. Within a relatively short period of time these princely states became integral parts of India, and this great change was brought peacefully and with the minimum of conflict.

6. The problem that faced the country was the struggle against poverty and social and economic backwardness. As early as 1931, the Congress had laid down an economic programme; in 1936, an agrarian programme had been adopted; and towards the end of 1938, a National Planning Committee was constituted by the Congress many years before Independence came. Thus the idea of planning for economic and social growth came into prominence in India.
7. On the eve of Independence, the Interim Government constituted an Advisory Planning Board to collect all available material and prepare for an organised planned approach to our problems. Early in 1950 soon after the adoption of the new Constitution by the Constituent Assembly of India, a Planning Commission was established to assess the country's material, capital and human resources and to formulate a plan for their most effective and balanced utilisation. In the new Constitution, the basic objectives were set forth as "the Directive Principles of State Policy". Those general principles were given more precise direction in December, 1954 when Parliament adopted the "Socialist Pattern of Society" as the objective of social and economic policy.

8. The two main aims guiding India after Independence were to establish firmly a democratic political structure based on the parliamentary form of Government and to build up by democratic means a rapidly expanding and technologically progressive economy, and a social order based on justice and offering equal opportunity to every citizen. The First Five-Year Plan was launched with these objectives in view. The means at our disposal at the time were limited, and the data available inadequate. The immediate objectives laid down in the First Plan were achieved, and this success gave confidence to the nation. The Second Five-Year Plan was based on greater experience and more knowledge. It set forth larger goals and a long-term strategy for economic and industrial advance based on the socialist pattern of society.

9. Thus India entered a new era, the greatest period of transformation in her history. This involved not only political changes, but basic social and economic changes and, above all, a transformation of a caste and faction-ridden backward society into a unified and integrated community, rapidly marching towards economic prosperity and higher standards for her vast population. This meant changing semi-feudal and traditional methods of production and distribution and introducing modern methods in line with the development of science and technology. It meant the establishment of a technologically mature society in the framework of a socialist economy which gave the benefits of this advance to all. It meant not only an adherence to the ethical and moral principles which had always been India's past background but the introduction of new social values and incentives and the development of a sense of common interest and obligation among all sections of the community.

10. The immediate effect of the changes that were progressively taking place by the growth of democracy, of education, and
of industry was often not wholly in the right direction. Thus while caste, which was originally an instrument for the definition of rights and duties and had subsequently developed into rigid and static forms, progressively lost its social and functional character and began to exhibit itself in the political field and in elections as sinister collections of interested groups. The great spread of education led immediately to greater unemployment of those who had passed through school and college, even though numerous avenues of new employment were being created. The attraction of political power led to factions and numerous political groupings; the general release of energy often led people in a wrong direction; even language became a source of friction and trouble, although our Constitution and general practice had given the largest freedom and place of honour to all the great languages of India. Communalism, the sign of a backward society, raised its head again to oppose the march of the Indian people towards new goals and a new and modern social set-up. Thus the question of national integration became of basic importance for, without it, bigotry, obscurantism and reaction might well prevent social and economic growth.

11. It is through these many perils and dangerous rocks that the Congress has endeavoured to steer the ship of State during these past years. Keeping its ideals and objectives always before it, it has struggled against reaction and bigotry and tried to build up a new and prosperous India in tune with her past ideals and in keeping also with the ideals of the modern world. It has aimed at a progressive socialised economy in which all can share and there are no great disparities, and at the same time it has attached value to the freedom and growth of the individual. The task has been and continues to be a stupendous one and there have been many disappointments and failures. But in spite of errors and mistakes, and in spite of natural calamities that have descended upon us year after year, and difficulties created by the conflicts and 'cold war' in the world, the march of the Indian people has continued towards the next stage of their great pilgrimage.

12. This march can best be gauged by the success of the Five-Year Plans, the two Plans that are over and the Third which has just begun. This Third Plan indicates not only the direction in which we are going, but the positive steps that we have to take and the targets that we have to reach. Statistical information is available to show the growth of basic and heavy industries as well as small and medium industries, the marked improvement in our agricultural methods and in agricultural production, the advance of our science and technology, and the progress made by the country
in a variety of fields of human activity. At the same time it is obvious that vast numbers of our people, and more especially the scheduled tribes and castes and other backward classes, still live in poverty, sometimes lacking even the minimum amenities in rural areas. In spite of the new and vast scope for employment, there are large numbers of unemployed and underemployed. In spite of our aim and desire for the removal of disparities, these continue and sometimes have become even more marked. It is easy to point these out, as it is even more easy to point out the advances made in many fields. In this critical period of our struggle against poverty and backwardness, it is difficult to have all-round balanced growth at the same time, even though we should aim at that. Inevitably certain priorities have to be given so as to build strong foundations which would enable progress to be rapid in the future. We have aimed at this by laying stress on agriculture, basic and heavy industries and on education and technical training.

13. In the vast and variegated picture of India today, with its bright as well as dark spots, three facts stand out; one is that in 1950-51, 24 million boys and girls went to school and college; now this figure has gone up to 46 million. By the end of the Third Plan, this number is likely to reach 65 million. The number of persons getting technical training is also increasing rapidly. Thus an investment is being made in man, which is the most important of all.

14. The second point which is worthy of notice is that the expectation of life in India has risen from about 32 in the forties to 47.5 now. This is a remarkable advance. It is no doubt due to better health and eradication and control of some diseases. But it is also due to better living conditions, especially better and more food. This advance in the expectation of life, covering as it does the whole population, is an important indication of the general progress made by the entire community. It is particularly significant in view of the rapid growth of the population of India, which has now reached, according to the census of 1961, 438 millions.

15. The third significant fact is the growth of the Community Development programme, leading to what is called Panchayati Raj. On the 1st September, 1961, there were 3,369 blocks covering approximately four hundred thousand villages and 218 million population. Thus, 72 per cent of the villages in the country have been covered by this programme which deals with not only agriculture, but other activities also, such as, animal husbandry, village industries, social education, health and rural sanitation. By the end of 1963 the Community Development Movement will have covered the entire rural area. It is true that progress in Community Deve-
velopment has not been uniform throughout India and some areas have lagged behind. Nevertheless the vast spread of this movement over rural India has had a powerful and catalytic effect in changing the background of life and activities in the villages. The approach was a co-ordinated multi-purpose one aiming at the development of the countryside.

16. This Community Development Movement led to what has been called Panchayati Raj or democratic decentralisation. This Panchayati Raj began in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh and is at present under implementation also in Assam, Madras, Mysore and Orissa. Progress has been made towards it in the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujrat and Bihar. It is hoped that the remaining States will follow suit soon.

17. Panchayati Raj is a remarkable attempt at the devolution of authority to democratic institutions of the people in the villages. The normal tendency in many countries has been for power to be centralised at the expense of the people. While a measure of centralisation becomes inevitable under modern conditions, Panchayati Raj is a deliberate attempt to lessen this centralisation and to spread power and authority among the people. This has revolutionary significance. Although it is only recently started, the change in the outlook of the village is noticeable. There is measure of self-reliance and a feeling that they are themselves responsible for local developments. The distance between officers of Government and the people is being lessened and there is greater co-operation between them. Through Panchayati Raj and people's co-operation, other changes become easier, such as, the development of education and co-operatives in the rural areas. Altogether, this movement is of great significance for over eighty per cent of the population of India, who live in rural areas, and is likely to have far-reaching consequences. Panchayati Raj brings new and great opportunities to the people of the villages and we are confident that they will organise and prepare themselves to assume these new responsibilities.

18. The Third Plan is itself an indication of the road we have to travel during the coming years. But planning cannot be limited to five-year periods. It becomes essential to have a long-term view and to look at the future we are seeking to mould. Thus, the necessity of perspective planning becomes evident and a strategy for development is laid down. Each step taken has to be interlinked with others in a chain of development aiming at advance in all sectors and in all branches of the nation's activities and in making the country self-reliant, so that dependence on external assistance may disappear as early as possible. The process of development is not limited
to specific periods, but is a continuous one and the objectives for each period are to be considered in connection with the larger perspective. Unless the larger perspective is kept in view, short-term objectives may lead to wrong results. Perspective planning has to take into account the growth of population and the co-ordinated approach to industrial and agricultural growth as well as to the economy of large-scale and small-scale units. Development of basic and heavy industries and small industry, the growth of rural industrialisation and the linking up of industrial and rural economy, become parts of the comprehensive design. A long-term view also makes it easier to consider the development of different regions in the country so as to bring about, so far as possible, balanced growth all over the country. The importance of perspective planning has been more and more recognised, and indeed, is now considered to be essential. It is proposed to draw up a perspective plan for the next fifteen years.

19. Cities and urban areas having been expanding wing too the progress of industrialization, and slum areas have grown during these years, housing accommodation has not kept pace with the increasing requirements, and large number of the people in towns and cities lack the necessary minimum amenities. Much greater attention should be given to the improvement of these conditions.

20. The first two Plans have laid sound foundations for social and economic growth. The basis for better agriculture has been laid; larger power supplies are available; heavy industry, including large steel plants, has come into existence; and large-scale machine building plants are under construction. All this has prepared the ground for more rapid progress in the course of the Third Plan. This period is a crucial one for India’s growth. On the success of the Third Plan will depend the establishment of socially balanced and increasingly prosperous and integrated community. It will also advance towards the achievement of a self-sustaining and self-generating economy. Taking full advantage of modern science and techniques, emphasis has to be laid on basic industries such as, steel, power, fuel oil, machine building and also transport. Thus the tempo of industrialisation of the country will increase rapidly.

21. The fundamental problem in India is not only to increase greatly the living standards of the people, but also to bring about progressively social and economic equality. Existing inequalities and disparities in the social fabric are ethically wrong and will obstruct progress on all fronts and produce considerable strains. The new social order must preserve the worth and dignity of the individual and create sense of equality, fraternity and of cohesion, while adequate motives and inducements have to be
provided, these must not be based on an acquisitive structure of society, which tends to produce greater inequalities and which is not in keeping with the temper of our people and the spirit of the present age. The objective aimed at can, therefore, only be achieved by a socialist and co-operative approach.

22. The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 lays down in clear terms the policy to be pursued in the programme of industrialisation of the country. In view of our policy of socialisation, the public sector will increasingly expand and play a dominant role, both for the purpose of accelerating the speed of industrialisation and yielding additional resources. Public, private and co-operative sectors should function in unison as parts of a single mechanism. It should be emphasised that only through the successful and efficient functioning of these three sectors the industrial programme can be successfully implemented.

23. While the increase in production is essential and therefore the private sector is to be encouraged in its particular fields of activity, the growth of the corporate private sector during the past ten years has raised new problems. How can economic growth be secured without the growth of monopolist tendencies and the concentration of economic power? There are certain advantages in favour of the growth of larger enterprises. But if excessive economic power rests in a few hands, this may disturb the balance of power in a democratic society and expose the social structure to new stresses and tensions. It would come in the way of diffusion of economic opportunities and may even interfere with proper planning. This question, therefore, deserves careful consideration. Normally the larger enterprises should be in the public sector; opportunities should be given for new entrants and medium and small size units as well as for industries organised on co-operative lines; Government should exercise effectively its powers of control and the use of appropriate fiscal measures.

24. In recent years a number of financial and promotional institutions have been established, such as the Industrial Finance Corporation, the State Finance Corporations, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India, and others. In the light of experience gained, these and other financial institutions should review their existing policies and practices so as to ensure that their support is given to new entrants into industry and to medium and small enterprises as well as to co-operative undertakings. Such assistance should be speedy and adequate. Criteria should be devised for assessing the progress in these directions.
25. The resources of the Life Insurance Corporation could also be used in material assistance in the furtherance of these objectives. More particularly, the Life Insurance Corporation should invest its funds in housing projects, as is done by Life Insurance Companies in other countries.

26. The establishment of Industrial Estates, specially in rural areas, is to be welcomed, as these help in the dispersal of industry and the development of rural areas and take industrialization to the small town and the village. Municipalities and Panchayats should encourage small industries in order to help in dispersal of such industries.

27. Experience gained in the functioning of industries in the public sector has pointed to appropriate organizational and administrative changes to ensure proper and efficient functioning. In particular those in charge of industrial undertakings should be given greater powers and responsibilities.

28. Industry and agriculture are closely connected and on the development of each depends the development of the other. It is through widespread industrial growth that higher standards in production and consumption can be reached. But industrial growth itself depends upon the improvement in agriculture. Agriculture is thus today and will continue to be the most important factor of our economy, and on its expanding production will depend progress in industry and other fields. Therefore, modern methods and techniques have to be applied in increasing measure, always keeping in view the conditions existing in India. Considerable progress has been made in agricultural production. The target of foodgrains fixed for the Second Plan was 80.5 million tons; the achievement has been 79.3 million tons. This progress has not only to be maintained, but speeded up.

29. Agrarian reforms are the basis for rural progress. Much has been done in the past years in regard to such reforms. These reforms, including the ceiling on land, must be given effect to as soon as possible in all the States.

30. The essence of progress in agriculture depends upon co-operatives. In India, particularly where the holdings are small, co-operatives are essential. The Co-operative Movement in India has developed satisfactorily, more particularly during the last few years. There are at present over 200,000 primary agricultural credit societies with a membership of 17 million and nearly 1900 primary marketing societies. The small and medium-term credit to the agriculturists through co-operatives which was at Rs. 23 crores at the beginning of the First Plan increased to Rs. 50 crores at the end of
the First Plan and Rs. 200 crores at the end of the Second Plan. It is expected to reach the figure of Rs. 530 crores by the end of the Third Plan. Long-term credit to the agriculturists through cooperatives which was at Rs. 13 crores at the end of the First Plan period reached Rs. 34 crores at the end of the Second Plan period as against the Plan target of Rs. 25 crores. By the end of the Third Plan it is hoped to reach a figure of Rs. 150 crores. It is proposed to spread service co-operatives throughout the rural areas and, wherever possible, and agreed to, to have co-operative farming. Co-operation as well as modern farming techniques and animal husbandry require training of the farmers and workers. Such training should be provided for on a large-scale.

31. Electric power is of paramount importance not only for the growth of large-scale industry but also for the development of agriculture and small and village industries. The programme of rural electrification should, therefore, be expanded, and a definite percentage of the electric power produced in each State should be made available for this purpose.

32. The Congress has always laid stress on the importance of balanced development of different parts of the country and on extending the benefits of planned development to the more backward regions. This has to be particularly kept in mind in the location of new enterprises, whether public or private, and where location of an industry has not to be determined almost entirely by unavoidable factors, the more backward regions should be preferred for such location.

33. The ending of unemployment is of vital importance both from the economic and social points of view. One of the important objectives of economic growth is to put an end to unemployment. This will, no doubt, take place through widespread industrialisation. But that will take some time, and meanwhile it is necessary to take other measures also to utilise the manpower resources of the country by creating employment opportunities in nation-building activities. In this context, the important place of Village industries should be stressed and arrangements made for improvement of techniques and the training of personnel. This is especially desirable in the field of processing of raw materials and production of consumers' goods. Normally, the processing of agriculture, horticulture, forests and animal husbandry produce should be done through small-scale industries as far as possible in areas where such produce grows. The processing should be done by co-operatives and facilities should be given to such co-operatives in the matter of electric power and credit.

34. The Social Services, and more especially Education and
Health, should be expanded, greater attention being paid to economically and educationally backward people. The test for giving particular attention should be that of economic backwardness. Thus low income groups irrespective of castes and communities, should receive special consideration.

35. Education and specialised technical training are of vital importance for social and economic progress. Education begins from the child and the care and proper development of the child should be the beginning of education. Proper provision should be made for child welfare programme for children of the pre-school age. It is provided in the Third Plan that universal free education should be given to children in the age group 6 to 11. Mid-day meals have been provided already in primary schools in some States. Wherever possible, the provision of midday meals as well as of uniforms for children should be made with the co-operation of the people.

36. Poverty or lack of resources should not stand in the way of education of any boy or girl. A widespread scheme of scholarships as well as loans should be provided for boys and girls who have shown merit in their studies so that they may be able to continue their studies both in general education and technical and other specialised training.

37. In the industrial economy of the country, the role of the working class cannot be overemphasised. Ultimately the quality and pace of industrial development depends upon the efficiency of the workers. It is therefore, necessary to devote continuing attention to the training and well-being of the workers and to associate them progressively in the management of the enterprises.

38. Prices of essential commodities should be established and trading on State Account should be undertaken wherever this is found feasible. The establishment of Consumer Cooperatives should be encouraged. Producers of foodgrains must get a reasonable return and the farmer should be assured that prices of foodgrains and other commodities he produces will not be allowed to fall below a reasonable minimum.

39. Production of luxury and non-essential articles should be discouraged. An increase in the rate of saving for investments is essential, and consumption has, therefore, to be controlled. It is necessary that the rate of saving should be stepped up from the present level of nearly 8 per cent of national income to 11 per cent.

40. Taxation should be so devised as to aim at lessening disparities of income and increasing the resources available for development. In view of ceiling on land being fixed in rural areas, the question of having a similar ceiling on urban income has been
raised. The same principle is not wholly applicable to urban incomes. But it is necessary to have some limitations on high urban incomes through taxation and other means, in order to lessen the great disparities that exist today.

41. A large number of people in India, especially those living in the rural areas and those who are landless, have at present an income which is even below the average per capita income of India, low as that is. This class should deserve particular attention; where land is available, this should be provided to them, preferably on a cooperative basis; employment in some form or other should be encouraged for them, and certain essential amenities should be provided.

42. Certain basic amenities also require to be provided in the rural areas. There should be no village at the end of the Third Plan without adequate provision of drinking water, primary school and proper approach road.

43. In the implementation of programmes of planned development, the governmental administrative machinery has necessarily to play a vital role. It is highly important, therefore, to gear up the administration, to avoid delays, and to improve its quality to fulfill the tasks allotted to it adequately. For this purpose, there should be decentralisation of authority, allocation of responsibility and proper appraisals of the work done.

44. In view of the fast growth of the population of India and the probability that this growth will continue for some time because of improvement of health and the amenities of life, family planning and birth control have assumed great importance. Unless these are attended to adequately the living standard of the people will continue to be depressed and the problems of unemployment will become increasingly difficult.

45. The Congress has often stated its policy in regard to the language to be used in the fields of education and administration. Recently meetings of chief Ministers have elaborated this policy. The Congress accords its approval to the proposals made at these meetings.

46. The Congress policy of Prohibition should be maintained and encouraged. In doing so, while efforts are being made to increase its effectiveness care should be taken to remove the evils that have flown from the manner of its implementation.

International Affairs

47. The basic policy of the Congress, which has been adopted by Parliament and the country, is to work for peace and the friend.
ship of all the countries, and at the same time to avoid alignment with military blocs and alliances. This policy must be firmly pursued. Peace and progress in the world depend upon the ending of colonialism and imperialism and on effective and widespread disarmament. To achieve these major ends, the Government should continue to direct its efforts.

48. Disarmament, which has been long considered and discussed, has now become an immediate and essential necessity because of the terrible consequences of modern war and the impending threats to human survival as a result of the use of weapons of mass destruction. No partial disarmament can at this stage succeed in assuring peace. Therefore, no limited or balanced reduction of weapons will bring about genuine disarmament. There has to be a determined approach to total disarmament even though this may be brought about in a phased way. Thus only can a world without war be created by the abandonment of war itself as a method settling disputes between nations. The Congress particularly deplores the revival of nuclear tests which not only produce harmful results for the present and for future generations of humanity, but also add to the tensions prevailing in the world and the possibility of war.

49. The ending of colonial domination has made considerable progress during recent years. Nevertheless, there is still the domination of colonial powers over vast territories, notably in Africa by the Portuguese Government, where, according to reports, large-scale massacres of the people have taken place. The people of Algeria who have suffered terribly for many years in their struggle for freedom should attain their full independence. It is imperative that these and other remnants of colonialism should be liquidated. Goa, which is part of India, must be brought into the Indian Union.

50. It is the first duty of a State to preserve its freedom and integrity and to resist any encroachment on them. The Congress, reiterates the resolve of the Indian people to maintain the integrity of India's territory, effective defence of her frontiers, and to repel any aggression that may take place. Parts of the territory of the Indian Union have been occupied by Pakistan and China. It must be India's policy to bring about vacating of these illegal occupations. According to her basic policy India seeks peaceful settlements with other countries, but it cannot tolerate aggression from any quarter. Efforts must, therefore, continue to be made to recover such areas.

51. The progress of the Indian people depends above all on their unity and cohesion and the integrity of our country. Communal and sectarian approaches are not only bad in principle, but
harmful in their results and weaken the nation. Thus it is of primary importance to counter these narrow, disruptive and separatist approaches and to work for the full unity and integrity of the country.

52. The Congress has always stood and stands today for a united, non-sectarian and secular India. It believes that only on this basis can our country progress and achieve greatness, which is her due. It is to maintain and persevere with this basic approach and the policies enunciated in this manifesto that the Congress approaches the vast electorate of India and seeks its support and cooperation in the mighty tasks that face our country.

* * *

(iv) Membership

The A.I.C.C. Fees

"The following decision was taken on the subject:

In terms of the constitution, members of the A.I.C.C. are required to pay a fee of Rs. 10 annually. This fee has not been paid since 1942. In view of the abnormal political conditions during the last three years, the Working Committee has decided to remit fees for these years. The A.I.C.C. members will, however, be required to pay the A. I. C. C. dues for the current year."

W. O. : September 12—18, 1945 : Poona : VII.

* * *

Common Membership of Central and Provincial Legislatures*

"The Committee considered the question of common membership on the part of a large number of Congressmen of the Central and Provincial legislatures. It was decided that this common membership was undesirable. While there could be no ban preventing Congress members of the Provincial Legislature from attending the Central Legislature, it was clear that double membership harmed work in the province. The common members and especially the ministers should, as a rule, abstain from attending meetings of the Central Legislature. This would not apply to meetings of the Constituent Assembly."


* Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee met at Delhi, on November 11 to 17, 1947.
The Working Committee approved of the following form for Effective membership.

FORM D

Article IV (g)

I accept the following objective of the Congress:

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the well-being and advancement of the people of India and the establishment in India by peaceful and legitimate means of a Co-operative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and of political, economic and social rights and aiming at world peace and fellowship."

I am a habitual wearer of certified Khadi made from handspun yarn and a teetotaller. I do not observe or recognise untouchability in any shape or form. I am a believer in intercommunal unity and have respect for the faiths of other people. I also believe in equality of opportunity and status for all irrespective of race, creed or sex.

I devote regularly a part of my time to activity or activities indicated in the following list by my initials:

1. Communal Unity.
2. Removal of Untouchability.
3. Prohibition.
5. Other Village Industries.
7. New or Basic Education.
8. Adult Education.
9. Education in Health and Hygiene.
10. Uplift of Women.
11. Propaganda of Rastra Bhasha and Provincial Languages.
15. Organisation of Students.
17. Relief Work.
19. Congress Organisation.....

Or any other activity recommended by the Working Committee or the AI.C.C.
I am not a member of any other Political Party, communal or other, which has a separate membership, constitution and programme.”

W. C.: April 30, May 1, 1948: New Delhi: VII.

V. Organization

"(a) That, in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled and the probability, arising from past experience, of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle; the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number which their jurisdiction, as a whole, is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.

(b) That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Honourable Pandit Ajoodhan Nath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs, and printing; and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Standing Counsel, Bombay and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Counsel for Madras to the Joint General Secretary.

(c) That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.

(d) That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M. P., J. E. Ellis, M. P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby,
C.I.E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India.

(e) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, and Mr. W.C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.

(f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress Work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their respective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary, the one half in three and the balance in six months."

5 : 1889 : Bombay : XIII

* * *

"That a Committee be appointed to consider and report, on or before the morning of the 30th instant, whether or not, it is advisable to discontinue the Annual Sessions of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and, if not, under what regulations, as to numbers of delegates, localities for assemblage, and the like, future Congresses shall be held. The Committee to be composed as follows:—

**Ex-Officio Members**

The President
The Chairman of the Reception Committee
The General Secretary
The Joint General Secretary
The Standing Counsel to the Congress

**Ordinary Members**

Messrs. Surendra Nath Bannerjee
Viraraghava Chariar,
Hafiz Abdul Raheem,
Ganga Prasad Verma,
Pringle Kennedy,
Guru Prasad Sen,
Dinshaw E. Wacha,
M. B. Namjoshi,
Hamid Ali Khan,
Vishnu Moreshwar, Bhide,
Lala Murlidhar,
R. N. Mudholkar,
Deo Rao Vinayak,
Gopal Rao Bhide,
Bipin Krishna Bose,
Dajee Abajee Khare,
Madan Mohan Malaviya,
Salig Ram Singh and
Sankara Nair."

7 : 1891 : Nagpur : I.

"Read the Report of the Committee, appointed under Resolution I, which runs as follows:—

"Your Committee have considered the matter referred to them and have also consulted, informally various members of the Subjects Committee and other delegates. They are clearly of opinion that it is not advisable to discontinue the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress until after the British Session, and that future Congresses should be held under the same regulations as heretofore."

Resolved—That the Annual Sessions of the Congress in India continue to be held until all necessary reforms have been secured."

7 : 1891 : Nagpur : X.

**

"(a) That all the Standing Congress Committees be requested to form Central Committees in their respective Provinces, for the appointment of agents and adoption of other measures, for furthering the objects of the Congress, such Central Committees submitting annually at the meeting of the Congress a report of the work carried out in their Provinces during the year.

(b) That the Standing Congress Committees at Madras, Bombay, Nagpur, Amraoti, Calcutta, Allahabad and Lahore be requested to take measures to give early effect to this Resolution.

(c) And further that a committee consisting of the following gentlemen, exclusive of the President and ex-Presidents now in India, who shall be ex-officio members, be appointed
to consider the draft constitution circulated by the Reception Committee of Madras and submit a definite scheme to the next Congress, and that this do form the first subject of discussion at the next meeting of the Congress:—

1 Baboo Aswini Kumara Dutt, Bengal,
2 Mr. D. E. Wacha, Bombay,
3 Mr. Joshiram, Punjab,
4 Mr. Gangaprasad Varma, Oudh,
5 Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, North-West Provinces,
6 Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar of Satara,
7 Mr. Bapu Rao Dada, Central Provinces.
8 Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Madras, and
9 Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, Berar to act as Secretary to the Committee."

14: 1898: Madras: XIX.

*   *   *

"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 the Educational and one for the Industrial subjects, to consider and suggest means for the Educational and Industrial improvement of the country and to assist therein, and that to each Committee, a Secretary be annually appointed. These committees shall divide themselves into Provincial Committees with power to add to their number."

16: 1900: Lahore: XII.

*   *   *

"(a) That the Congress is of opinion that it is essential for the success of its work, that there should be a Committee in London acting in concert with it and a weekly journal published in London propagating its views, and this Congress resolves that its British Committee, as at present constituted and the journal INDIA as published by it, be maintained and continued and the cost be raised in accordance, with the following scheme:—

(b) That a circulation of 4,000 copies of INDIA be secured by allocating 1,500 copies to Bengal, 700 copies to Madras,
200 copies to the North Western Provinces, 50 copies to Oudh, 100 copies to the Punjab, 450 copies to Berar and the Central Provinces and 1,000 copies to Bombay, the rate of yearly subscription being Rs. 8.

(c) That the following gentlemen be appointed Secretaries for the circles against which their names appear, and be held responsible for the sums due for the copies of INDIA assigned to their respective circles; and the money be paid in advance in two half-yearly instalments:

**Bengal**
Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee.
" Bhupendra Nath Basu.
" Baikutinta Nath Sen.

**Bombay**
Hon’ble Mr. P. M. Mehta.
Mr. D. E. Wacha.
Hon’ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale.

**Madras**
Mr. Vijay Raghaba Chariar.
" V. Ryr Ru Nambier.
" G. Subramaniya Iyer.

**Berar and the Central Provinces**
" R. N. Mudholkar.
" M. M. Malaviya.
" Ganga Prasad Varma.
" S. Sinha.
" A. Nundy.

**N. W. Provinces and Oudh**
**Cawnpore**
" Prithwi Nath Pandit.

**Punjab**
Lala Harikishen Lal.

(d) That with a view to meet the balance required to defray the expenses of INDIA and the British Committee, a special delegation fee of Rs. 10 be paid by each delegate in addition to the usual fee now paid by him with effect from 1902."

"That a Standing Committee of the Congress be appointed to promote the objects of the Congress and to take such steps during the year as may be necessary to give effect to the Resolutions of the Congress.

That the following gentlemen be appointed members of the Standing Committee for the year 1906:

(1) The Hon. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, K.C.I.E. (Bombay);
(2) The Hon. Mr. Daji Abaji Khare (Bombay);
(3) G. Subramaniya Iyer, Esq. (Madras);
(4) The Hon. Nawab Sayyid Muhammad (Madras); 
(5) Surendra Nath Bannerjee, Esq. (Calcutta); 
(6) A. Chowdhri, Esq. (Calcutta); 
(7) Maulvi Abdul Kasim (Burdwan); 
(8) S. Sinha, Esq. (Bankipur); 
(9) The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad); 
(10) Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma (Lucknow); 
(11) Lala Lajpat Rai (Lahore); 
(12) Lala Harkishenlal (Lahore); and 
(13) Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar (Amraoti); with 
(14) D. E. Wacha, Esq. (Bombay); and 
(15) The Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E. (Poona); 

\[
\text{as Secretaries for the Committee.}
\]

\[
21:1905:Benaras:XXI.
\]

\[
\text{This Congress adopts tentatively for one year the following recommendations of the Standing Committee of the Congress appointed at Benares last year:—}
\]

Provincial Congress Committee.

(a) The Committee recommends that each Province should organise at its Capital a Provincial Congress Committee in such manner as may be determined at a meeting of the Provincial Conference or at a special meeting, held, for the purpose of representatives of different districts in the Province.

(b) The Provincial Congress Committee should act for the Province in all Congress matters and it should be its special care to organize District Associations throughout the Province for sustained and continuous political work in the Province.”

\[
22:1906:Calcutta:XVI.
\]

\[
\text{THAT this Congress expresses its sense of deep regret at the retirement of Mr. D.E. Wacha and Mr. D A. Khare, from the office of its General Secretaries, and begs to place on record its sense of warm appreciation of the very signal and distinguished services rendered by the former for 18 years, and the latter for 6 years, to the cause of the Congress.”}
\]

\[
28:1913:Karachi:XX.
\]
"THAT the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahammad Bahadur and Mr. N. Suba Rao Pantulu be appointed General Secretaries for the next year."

* * *

"THAT the Hon'ble Nawab Syed Mahommed Bahadur and Mr. B. Subha Rao be appointed General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1916."

* * *

"THAT the Telugu Districts in the Madras Presidency, Sind in the Bombay Presidency, and Delhi with Ajmere-Merwara and British Rajputana be constituted into separate Congress circles."

* * *

"THAT this Congress records the valuable services rendered by the Secretaries of the Congress for the last year, namely the Hon'ble Mr. Bhurgri and Messrs. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and P. Kesava Pillai."

* * *

"THAT this Congress appoints as Joint General Secretaries for the year 1919—

The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel,
The Hon'ble Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq, and
The Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra."

* * *

"This Congress appoints as General Secretaries for 1920:

1. The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel.
2. The Hon'ble Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, and
3. Dr. M. A. Ansari."

* * *
"This Congress re-appoints Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dr. Ansari and Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar as General Secretaries of the Congress for the year 1922 and as Pandit Motilal Nehru and Sjt. Rajagopalachariar are now in Jail, appoints Sjt. Vithalbhai J. Patel and Dr. Rajan, respectively, to act for them, the former to be the Working Secretary."

* * *

"Delegation fee: In Article XI 'Rs. 10' to be altered to 'Re. 1'.

In Article XXIII—Add after the first sentence ending with the word "Congress": "The treasurers shall be in-charge of the funds of the Congress and shall keep proper accounts of them. The General Secretaries shall be in-charge of the office of the All India Congress Committee and shall be responsible for the publication of the report of the proceedings of the preceding session of the Congress and of any special sessions held in the course of the year, in cooperation with the Reception Committee. Such report shall be published as soon as possible and not later than four months after the session, and shall be offered for sale'.

Add at the end of Article XXIII 'and published along with the next Congress report'.

* * *

That the following office-bearers be appointed:

**General Secretaries**

(1) Mr. Shuaib Qureshi
(2) Mr. Barjorji Framji Bharucha
(3) Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru

**Treasurers**

(1) Seth Revashanker Jagjivan Javeri
(2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj."
"The Indian National Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to open a Foreign Department under it 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."

40 : 1925 : Kanpur : IX.

* * *

"Resolved that the following changes be made in Art. VII of the Constitution :

Substitute the following for section (iv) :

(iv) a. No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or sub-committee of any Congress organisation whatsoever or to be elected as such or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with section (i) hereof and does not habitually wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar.

b. The Working Committee shall frame Rules for the proper carrying out of the provisions of this Section."

41 : 1926 : Gauhati : IX.

* * *

"This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the valuable services rendered by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel as its General Secretaries for 1927."

42 : 1927 : Madras : XIX.

* * *

"This Congress authorises the All India Congress Committee to elect the General Secretaries and Treasurers for 1929.

This Congress further authorises the All India Congress Committee to appoint an Auditor for 1929."

43 : 1928—1929 : Calcutta : XIX.
“This Congress appoints Dr. Syed Mahmud and Shri Sri Prakasa General Secretaries for 1930.
“The Congress re-appointed Seth Jamnalal Bajaj and Shri Shivaprasad Gupta Honorary Treasurers for 1930.”
“The Congress re-appointed Messrs. Dalal and Shah as Honorary Auditors of the Congress for 1930.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Madras Resolutions*

“The Committee considered the two resolutions passed by the Madras Legislature Party under the presidency of Shri Rajagopala-chariar. The President observed that the resolutions passed by the Madras Legislature were at variance with the declared policy of the Congress. As a responsible member of the Working Committee Shri Rajagopalachariar should have avoided all association with the two resolutions. If he felt strongly on the subject he should have

* Summary of Proceedings of Working Committee met at Allahabad, on April 27 and May 1, 1942.
discussed the matter with his colleagues of the Working Committee before giving expression to his views. In the event of his being unable to carry the Working Committee with him, it was open to him to resign and then propagate his views. Shri Rajagopalachariar admitted that knowing as he did the views of his colleagues of the Working Committee on the subject, he should have first talked the matter over with them before moving the two resolutions at the Congress Assembly Party in Madras. He was, however, unable to withdraw the two resolutions as they represented his considered views. In his letter of resignation addressed to the President, he expressed his regret for publicly ventilating his views on a highly controversial question before consulting the President. Following is the full text of his letter to the President.

19, Edmonstone Road,

Allahabad,

April 30, 1942.

Dear Maulana Sahib,

"With reference to your observations on the resolutions passed on my motion by the Madras Congress Legislative Party, I admit that I should have talked the matter over with you and other colleagues of the Working Committee before moving the resolutions, knowing as I did their disagreement on the subject. I write this to express my regret.

I have explained to you already how strongly I feel. I believe that I should be failing in my duty if I do not endeavour to get people to think and act in the direction which my conviction leads to. I feel that in the public interest I should move the resolutions already notified by Mr. Santanam. I desire, therefore, to request you to permit me to resign my place in the Working Committee.

Let me tender my grateful thanks for the unqualified trust and affection bestowed on me by you and the other colleagues during all these many years that I have served in the Committee."

Yours sincerely,

C. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR

W. O. : April 27, 1942 : Allahabad : II.
Disciplinary Action

"Representations from Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnataka to take disciplinary action against Shri Rajagopala Chariar for carrying on propaganda contrary to the policy of the Congress were considered. The Committee decided that the Tamil Nadu P.C.C. was competent to take disciplinary action against Shri Rajagopala Chariar if his activities constitute a breach of Congress discipline. The letter from Shri Sambamurti, Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly, in connection with the resolution of the Andhra P.C.C. which asked him to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against him for carrying on propaganda contrary to the accepted policy of the Congress was considered. The Committee decided that the Andhra P.C.C. was within its right in passing the resolution it did about Shri Sambamurti. Shri Sambamurti is bound by the pledge he took when he sought election to the Assembly on the Congress ticket. The fact that Shri Sambamurti was the Speaker did not absolve him from allegiance to the Andhra P.C.C. It is strange that while Shri Sambamurti on the one hand claimed, as a Speaker, the privilege of being above party politics, he should, on the other hand, engage himself in active controversial politics and carry on propaganda prejudicial to the Congress policy and programme."

W. C.: July 6–14, 1942: Wardha: V.

* *

Congress Committees and Praja Mandals in States

"The attention of the Working Committee has been drawn to the fact that there is some conflict between Praja Mandals and Congress Committees in certain States, more especially in Indore and in other parts of Central India. The general policy of the Congress has long been to encourage the formation of Praja Mandals and like organizations in the States and to discourage the formation of Congress Committees there. This policy holds, and therefore any existing Congress Committee in a State must avoid any conflict on the political or parliamentary field with established Praja Mandals and work in co-operation with them, the political policy being laid down by the Praja Mandals: Further no new Congress Committees should be formed in the States or affiliated by a Provincial Congress Committee. This resolution shall be adhered to till suitable provisions are made for the States in a revision of the Congress Constitution."

W. C.: August 8–13, 1946: Wardha: X.
Congress Organization

"The following resolutions relating to the Congress Organization were passed:
1. A.I.C.C. Office Organization. The Committee considered the President's note dated 6th August, 1946 and the various notes of the General Secretaries for the reorganization and expansion of the A.I.C.C. Office. Resolved that the general lines laid down in the President's Note be approved and that a Foreign News Service should be organized through the agency of Shri V. K. Krishna Menon of the India League, London."

W. C. : August 8-13, 1946 : Wardha : XI.

*   *   *

Congress Volunteer Organisation (Draft Rules)

"(1) The Congress Working Committee shall be the supreme controlling body of the organisation. The Congress President shall be the Chief Officer.

(2) The Working Committee shall appoint a General Officer-in-charge of the entire organisation. He would be responsible for the training, organisation, dress or uniform etc., of the volunteers. He will co-ordinate the activities of the Congress Volunteer Organisation in each Province.

(3) Each Congress Province will have its own volunteer organisation. The Provincial Congress Committee will appoint a Volunteer Board consisting of four members of whom, as far as possible, one should be a woman. The General Officer-in-Charge will nominate one member to this Board which will consist of 5 members in all. The Board shall appoint from amongst its own members a Chief Organiser for the Province whose duties will be to supervise the volunteer organisation in the Province and to organise District Volunteer Corps in consultation with the President of District Congress Committees. He shall also arrange for the training of volunteers in camps or otherwise.

(4) The Provincial Chief Organiser may also appoint Divisional Inspectors.

(5) The District Organiser may appoint, in consultation with local committees, Tahsil, Mandal or Village Volunteer committees.

The Provincial Volunteer Boards shall submit a panel of three names for appointment as Provincial G.O.C. of men's section and a similar panel for the women's section. The General Officer-in-
Charge, with the approval of the Congress President shall appoint one of the persons so suggested as a G.O.C. for each section.

(6) The District Volunteer Committee will appoint all Volunteer Officers in the District with the approval of the Provincial G.O.C. or any one appointed by him in this behalf.

The General Officer in Charge may have an advisory committee to assist him in his work. Such a committee should be nominated in consultation with Provincial Board and with the approval of the Congress President.

(7) The Provincial G.O.C. may have an adviser elected by the G.O.C. (centre), with the approval of the Provincial Board. District, Tahsil, Mandal and Village volunteer corps may also have advisers.

(8) All such advisers should be generally trained I.N.A. men or women as the case may be."


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Congress Organisation in Pakistan Provinces

"The Committee considered the question referred to it whether and in what form the Congress organisation should function in provinces or parts of provinces which are included in the Pakistan. The Committee decided that the P.C.C.'s should continue to function as heretofore until the above question of the Congress organisation has been considered and decided by the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. at their next meeting. While the old P.C.C.'s should continue, sectional or zonal arrangements may be made for carrying on day-to-day Congress work in East Bengal and West Punjab."  

W. C. : July 19-20, 1947 : Delhi : V.

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President's Resignation

The Congress President then addressed the House and explained the broad implications of his resignation. He said that as his decision to resign was irrevocable the House should now proceed to elect a new President. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant then moved the following resolution and Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai seconded it.

"This Committee would have liked Acharya J. B. Kripalani to continue as President of the Indian National Congress till the next
elections in the normal course but as he has expressed his inability to reconsider his resignation, it regretfully accepts it.

The Committee places on record its appreciation of his services rendered by him both before and during the time he has held the office as President."

The resolution was passed by the House.

Election of Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel then proposed Dr. Rajendra Prasad to be the President of the Congress.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru seconded the proposal.

The proposal was unanimously accepted.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad then addressed the Committee and explained the difficult circumstances in which he was called upon to undertake a heavy responsibility. He announced his decision to resign from the membership of the Central Government in order to be able to shoulder the new responsibility.

*A.I.O.C.: November 15-17, 1947: Delhi: X.*

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*Congress Organisation in States*

"According to the resolution of the Standing Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference the Praja Mandals continue to function till the plenary session of the, Conference which would take the final decision on the dissolution of the A.I.S.P. Conference. As, however, Praja Mandals, have been required to fall in line, during this period with the general policy of the Congress it is hereby decided that for purposes of the Congress organisation the Praja Mandals be recognised as Congress Committees and the Regional Councils as Provincial Congress Committees. Members of these Praja Mandals shall sign the form prescribed for effective members."

*W.C.: April 30, May 1, 1948: New Delhi: VI.*

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*Interim Elections*

"After the passing of the Congress Constitution, Acharya Jugal Kishore moved the following resolution about interim elections and connected matters. The resolution was passed after a short discussion:
Interim Proposals

Whereas the new constitution just now passed will take time before it can be implemented,
And whereas already two years have elapsed since the election of office-bearers took place,

It is hereby resolved that all elective Congress Committees now in existence, while retaining the existing personnel of membership, do proceed to elect their office-bearers and executives from amongst members fulfilling the conditions pertaining to Effective Membership, who will hold office and function till the new constitution comes into force.

Under this transitory provision there will be need to re-elect the members of the All India Congress Committee provided that the A.I.C.C. will be elected by delegates under Articles XII of the constitution now in force.

The time table for these elections will be fixed by the Working Committee.

2. The qualifying period of two years needed for a Congress-man to become a qualified member shall not apply to the elections to be held upto 1950.

3. (1) Whereas the new constitution will take some time before it can be fully implemented,
(2) And whereas it is desirable that the provisions relating to the extension of Congress organisation to the States in the fullest measure, be brought into force during the interim period,
(3) It is hereby resolved that the Working Committee be authorised to arrange for the inclusion of not more than 30 members in the All India Congress Committee from the States, and settle all necessary details incident to the changes referred to in para (2) supra”.

A.I.C.C. : April 24—26, 1948: Bombay: III

Interim Elections*

“The Working Committee considered the A. I. C. C. interim proposals for election of the A.I.C.C. and other committees and connected questions. It arrived at the following decisions:

* * *

* Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee met at New Delhi, on April 30 and May 1, 1948.
(a) The existing delegates and members of the D.C.C.s and lower committees should be accepted tentatively as effective members on their giving a declaration that they are effective members.

(b) P.C.C.s so formed will meet on the 13th June, 1948.

(c) The P.C.C.s will proceed to transact the business of the day, namely, election of the new Executive Committee, members of the A.I.C.C., Credentials Committee, Tribunals etc.

(d) Objection, if any, against any declaration of effective membership mentioned in (a) will be heard and decided by the Credentials Committee after the interim elections.

(e) The vacancies on P.C.C.s shall be filled by the District Congress Committees at their general meetings by distributive vote at least a week before the P.C.C. meetings for A.I.C.C. elections.”


* * *

Government Servants in Congress Organisation

“...The Working Committee considered the office note regarding the eligibility of Government servants to stand for elective posts in the Congress organisation. The Committee suggested that the Congress President should issue a general circular to the effect that Congressmen, who accept Government service even for a temporary period, shall be debarred from exercising their rights of participation in election for the period they are in service, excepting the Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and such other Congressmen who by virtue of their membership of legislature hold any post carrying emoluments and which does not debar them from continuing as members of the legislature. Government Pleaders, Public Prosecutors and employees of Local Boards will not be debarred from holding elective posts in the Congress.”

W. C. : September 5-8, 1948 : New Delhi : IV.

* * *

Purity and Strengthening of Organisation

“A strong, powerful and dignified political organisation is an indispensable requisite of sound and efficient democracy—much more so in the context of India with the vastness, numbers and magnitude of her problems. The Congress has, by reason of its services in the
past and in recent years, acquired an abiding place in the hearts of the people. Because of such trust and because of its solidarity, it has been able to deal successfully with difficult and intricate problems, to assure an orderly and progressive government to the people and to undertake planned development on a wide scale through democratic processes. The Congress looks back with pride and gratification on its contribution towards the freedom and advancement of the country.

2. The Congress, however, views with serious concern some of the trends and tendencies noticeable in the working of the organisation. These tendencies are symbolic of a general deterioration in social and moral standards. These trends are likely to warp the strength of the organisation, lower its dignity and prestige and reduce its potential for service to the cause of the people of India and that of democracy the world over. The Congress cannot ignore any such trend or tendency. It, therefore, directs the Working Committee to take firm and adequate measures to see that organisational purity is maintained, discipline observed and any attempt at group or individual aggrandisement is effectively checked.

3. The Congress has a positive role to play apart from the running of governments in the country. It has an obligation to prepare the masses for shouldering heavy responsibilities involved in a democratic form of government in order to achieve its social objectives. It is its duty to inspire the masses to cultivate a social and moral outlook and work for the psychological and cultural integration of the country. Anything that goes against the vital principles for which the organisation stands must be dealt with firmly.

4. The Congress hopes that a firm and determined effort in weeding out the undesirable tendencies referred to above and implementation of the constructive and developmental programme will cleanse the organisation of its weaknesses and raise its strength and dignity so that it continues to perform its historic mission to the people of India and through them to humanity as a whole”.

60 : 1955 : Avadi : XII.

See also

(ii) Constitution.

"The Congress has been time and again emphasising the need for organisational purity and strength. The Congress considered this question at its last Session in Avadi and directed the Working Committee to take firm and adequate measures to see that organisational purity is maintained, discipline observed and group rivalry is effec-
tively checked. The Congress approves the appointment by the Working Committee of the Standing Committee for the Purity and Strengthening of the Congress Organisation. It agrees with the emphasis laid upon the positive aspects of the functions and obligations of Congressmen in general and of the constituent bodies of the Congress in particular. It appreciates the steps taken for training of Congress Workers and for creating opportunities for study at all levels of the Congress Organisation.

2. The Congress has been setting up certain standards for Congressmen in general and Active Members in particular, which they should themselves fulfil and endeavour to further and advance. Violating these standards would automatically bring them in conflict with the social and economic objectives and, therefore, the rules of discipline. The Congress is of opinion that a consciousness should grow that the duty of every Congressman is to give a lead to the rest of the people in achieving a constructive revolution in every field of human activity. The quality and earnestness the Congressman brings to bear upon his work will ultimately determine the quality of the revolution and the speed with which it is to be achieved.

3. The Congress generally approves of the recommendations of the Standing Committee with regard to membership, elections, preparation of literature, training of workers, elimination of casteism, and communalism, representation of special elements and avoidance of formation of groups. The Congress also approves the principles for selection of candidates laid down by the Central Election Committee. The Congress notes with satisfaction that active steps are being taken for the creation of liaison and co-ordinating arrangements for the Community Projects, National Extension Services, Khadi and Village Industries Board, Sarva Seva Sangh, Bhooldan Samiti, INTUC, Bharat Sevak Samaj, Harijan Sevak Sangh, Adimjati Sevak Sangh and other non-official organisations.

4. The Congress notes with concern the controversies following the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission, especially the role of individual Congressmen and some Congress Committees in relation to the same. In the prevailing conditions of India the urgent problem is the problem of deliverance of the masses from the age-old handicaps of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. This basic and fundamental problem must have precedence over all other problems and controversies. The country’s energy and its resources should be harnessed in the service of the nation for the success of the great constructive revolution that is at work in India. The Congress, therefore, hopes and trusts that Congress Committees and Congressmen will concentrate their attention on this basic and urgent
problem. The Congress has a mission to fulfill and any weakening of the essential unity of the country and its development would be dangerous and suicidal."

61: 1956: Amritsar: VII.

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(vi) Secretariat

A.I.C.C. OFFICE

"The Committee considered the question of raising necessary funds for the A.I.C.C. office. It was decided that the President should issue an appeal for funds on behalf of the working committee."


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A.I.C.C. HEADQUARTERS

"The letter of Sri S. K. Patil, President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee offering on behalf of the B.P.C.C. and the citizens of Bombay to make a donation of the entire sum amounting to six or seven lakhs of rupees necessary for acquiring decent and commodious building for A. I. C. C. Office was placed before the Working Committee and it was resolved:

"The Working Committee gratefully accepts the offer of the citizens of Bombay made through the President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to purchase, furnish and equip a house for the location of the A. I. C. C. headquarters in Delhi."

W.C.: July 1-2-1948: New Delhi: VI.

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(vii) Seva Dal

CONGRESS SEVA DAL

"The Working Committee direct all Provincial Congress Committees to take immediate steps to reorganise their Volunteer Organisations on the basis of the Constitution and rules approved by the Working Committee.

To enable the A.I.C.C. office to actively help the Provincial Congress Committees in organising Congress Seva Dals and in providing necessary training to the volunteers the Working Committee
hereby appoint Major General Shah Nawaz Khan to be in charge of this work.

The following Constitution and Rules of the Congress Seva Dal were approved by the Working Committee.

The name of the Congress Volunteer Organisation will be Congress Seva Dal."

The objects of the Congress Seva Dal shall be:

1. to instil the qualities of self-discipline, self-sacrifice, self-reliance, simplicity, service, tolerance and aptitude for corporate and co-operative work and life in youths so that

(a) they may be trained for organised and disciplined national service according to the policy and objects of the Congress, and

(b) become ideal citizens of a Free India;

2. to promote national unity by rendering service through Constructive programme to all persons irrespective of caste and creed;

3. to improve the health and physique of the Indian people through physical culture and training; and

4. in times of emergency to act as a peace and relief brigade and undertake to protect the life, honour and property of the people.

The Working Committee will put one of its members or any other person in charge of the work of organising Seva Dals in the country.

The member or person will have a Board of five qualified persons to advise him in his work.

The member or any other person in charge will do the work of co-ordinating, supervising and guiding the Provincial Seva Dal Organisations. He will also help the Provinces to evolve and work out all measures which are and will be found common to all Provincial Dals, such as the training of Volunteers, the technique of organisation, the drafting of the Volunteers' pledge, the procedure regarding Flag Salutation, the question of a common Uniform and such other objects.

The P.C.C. shall appoint every year or at the end of every defined period, as may be provided in the rules, a Provincial Board which will be in sole charge and be responsible for the Volunteer Organisation and movement in the Province. The G.O.C. of the P.C.S. Dal will be an ex-officio member of this Board.

One of the Secretaries of the P.C.C. will act as the Secretary of the Board.

The P.V.B. will appoint a G.O.C. for the Provincial Congress Seva Dal with the approval of the member or person in charge of All India Volunteer work, and whose appointment will be for a period of three years.
The Congress Seva Dal will compose of three sections: Children, Boys and Girls and Adults.

The Volunteer Organisation shall hold aloof from party politics within the Congress, and no officers will be entitled to hold any elective post in Congress Organisation, but they are free to exercise their right of vote. This rule may be relaxed in the case of the primary village committees at the discretion of the Provincial G.O.C.

Volunteers must not expect any payment. Their work will be honorary, but whole-time officers and inspectors may be paid.

No Congressman shall organise or join any Volunteer Dal other than the Congress Seva Dal.

The Provincial Volunteer Board shall frame rules for carrying out the Volunteer work in the Province not inconsistent with the rules framed by the Working Committee in this behalf.

The Provincial Volunteer Board is authorised to raise funds to meet the necessary expenses with the consent of the P. C. C.

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10. Muslim League

Note: The All-India Muslim League was formally founded in December, 1906 at Dacca. Some historians believe that its seeds were sown in 1820 when Saiyyad Ahmed Brelvi started Wahabi movement to purify and reform Islam. This movement though primarily was a religious one but as described by Sir William Hunter, it was proletarian and revolutionary. Because of its revolutionary character it was ruthlessly suppressed by the British Government especially in 1857. Besides, the British believed that the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was more of a Muslim than a Hindu or National Revolt.

When Sir Syed Ahmed appeared at the scene, the Muslim politics took a new turn. Some eminent Britishers felt that in the interest of the Empire, they should not lose the support of the Muslims particularly after the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885. They realized that without adopting the policy of Divide et Impera (Divide and rule) it was impossible for them to establish their Empire on sound footings. They applied all possible ways and means to create gulf between the two communities. This gulf was further widened on the issue of the Partition of Bengal in 1905. A deputation of eminent Muslims met the Viceroy and on the 9th of November, 1906, Nawab Salimullah issued a circular in which
he suggested that an organization to be known as All-India Muslim Confederacy should be established and ultimately in December following a conference was held at Dacca attended by representatives and leaders from all over India.

Among the resolutions adopted and passed, the eminent was to support the Partition of Bengal and to oppose the Boycott Movement. The establishment of the Muslim League was welcomed by the Time of London. It is curious to note that the Hindu Mahasabha was also established in the same year.

In the beginning the Muslim League was a loyalist association organised for pressing the special demands of the Muslims but as time went on it assumed a more independent attitude and even began to issue threats of disloyalty, if its demands were not granted. The famous Pact signed at Lucknow between the League and the Congress, was the culmination of the threats of the League. The British Government did not allow this unity among the League and the Congress to prosper for long and ultimately on the issue of the Communal Award, negotiations between the League and the Congress had broken down. The angle of difference continued to be wider day by day. Ultimately the All-India Muslim League at its Lahore Session in March, 1940, passed the famous resolution on Pakistan. The text of the documents quoted below gives a detailed account of the origin, development and creation of Pakistan.

* * *

Lord Morley on Indian Member in Viceroy's Executive Council, 1909*

I want to say that reference to the Hindu community or the Mohammedan community, in respect to the position of the Viceroy’s Executive, is entirely wide of the mark in the view, I know, both of the Viceroy and of myself. If......it may be my duty by-and-by to recommend to the Crown the name of an Indian member, it will not be solely for the sake of placing on the Viceroy's Executive Council an Indian member simply as either a Hindu or a Mohammedan. Decidedly we are of opinion that the Governor-General-in-Council will be all the more likely to transact business wisely, if he has a responsible Indian adviser at his elbow. But the principle in making such a recommendation to the Crown, would be to remove the apparent disability in practice—for there is no disability in law—of an Indian holding a certain appointment because he is an Indian.

*Reply to a deputation of the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League, January, 1909.*
That is a principle we do not accept; and the principle I should go upon—and I know Lord Minto would say exactly the same—is the desirability of demonstrating that we hold to the famous promise made in the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, that if a man is fully qualified in proved ability and character to fill a certain post, he shall not be shut out by race or religious faith....I see no chance of our being able to comply with your present request.

"That this Congress places on record its warm appreciation of the adoption by the All-India Muslim League of the ideal of Self-Government for India within the British Empire and expresses its complete accord with the belief that the League has so emphatically declared at its last sessions that the political future of the country depends on the harmonious working and co-operation of the various communities in the country which has been the cherished ideal of the Congress. This Congress most heartily welcomes the hope expressed by the League that the leaders of the different communities will make every endeavour to find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action on all questions of national good and earnestly appeals to all the sections of the people to help the object we all have at heart."

28: 1913: Karachi: IV.

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on Development of Contact with Muslim Masses, 19th March, 1937*

Only in regard to the Muslim seats did we lack success. But our very failure on this occasion has demonstrated that success is easily in our grasp and the Muslim masses are increasingly turning to the Congress. We failed because we had long neglected working among the Muslim masses and we could not reach them in time. But where we reached, especially in the rural areas, we found almost the same response, the same anti-imperialist spirit, as in others. The communal problem, of which we hear so much, seemed to be utterly non-existent, when we talked to the peasant, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh. We failed also among the Muslims because of their much smaller electorate which could be easily manipulated and coerced by authority and vested interests. But I am convinced that, even so, we would have had a much larger measure of success if we had paid more attention to the Muslim masses. They have been too

*Extract from Presidential Address of the All-India National Convention of Congress Legislators.—The Indian Annual Register (1937), Vol. I. pp. 207-8.*
long neglected and misled and they deserved special consideration. I have no manner of doubt that they are turning to the Congress to seek relief from their innumerable burdens and their future cooperation is assured, provided we approach them rightly and on the basis of economic questions.

We have too long thought in terms of pacts and compromises between communal leaders and neglected the people behind them. That is a discredited policy and I trust that we shall not revert to it. And yet some people still talk of the Muslims as a group, dealing with the Hindus or others as a group, a medieval conception which has no place in the modern world. We deal with economic groups today and the problems of poverty and unemployment and national freedom are common for the Hindu, the Muslim, the Sikh and the Christian. As soon as we leave the top fringe, which is continually talking of percentages of seats in the Legislatures and state jobs, and reach the masses, we come up against these problems. This way lies the ending of what has long been known as the communal problem.

One of the most remarkable signs of the times is the ferment amongst the Muslims in India, both the intelligentsia and the masses. Without any effective leadership they have drifted aimlessly, and they resent this helpless position and feel that the communal leadership they have had has weakened them politically, in spite of the trivial and superficial gains which they are supposed to have got from an imperialism which seeks to wean them away from the national movement. Muslim young men and old, and the Muslim Press, are full of this self-analysis, and the desire to get out of the communal rut and line up with the forces of freedom and progress is strong within them. They see how the Congress has swept away Hindu communal organisation, how it has captured the imaginations of the masses, and they feel a little desolate and left out. They want to share in the triumphs of today and tomorrow and are prepared to take their share of the burden also. And so this election and our campaign, though they resulted in the loss of Muslim seats as a rule, have been a triumph for us even in regard to the Muslims. They have gone some way to lay the ghost of communalism. It is for us now to go ahead and welcome the Muslim masses and intelligentsia in our great organization and rid this country of communalism in every shape and form.

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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 6 April 1938

I am glad that you have indicated in your last letter a number of points which you have in mind. The enclosures you have sent mention these and I take it that they represent your view-point. I was somewhat surprised to see this list as I had no idea that you wanted to discuss many of these matters with us. Some of these are wholly covered by previous decisions of the Congress, some others are hardly capable of discussion.

As far as I can make out from your letter and the enclosures you have sent you wish to discuss the following matters:

1. The Fourteen Points formulated by the Muslim League in 1929.
2. The Congress should withdraw all opposition to the Communal Award and should not describe it as a negation of nationalism.
3. The share of the Muslims in the State Services should be definitely fixed in the Constitution by statutory enactment.
4. Muslim personal law and culture should be guaranteed by statute.
5. The Congress should take in hand the agitation in connection with the Shahidganj mosque and should use its moral pressure to enable the Muslims to gain possession of the mosque.
6. The Muslims' right to call Azan and perform their religious ceremonies should not be fettered in any way.
7. Muslims should have freedom to perform cow-slaughter.
8. Muslim majorities in the Provinces, where such majorities exist at present, must not be affected by any territorial re-distribution or adjustments.
9. The Bande Mataram song should be given up.
10. Muslims want Urdu to be the national language of India and they desire to have statutory guarantees that the use of Urdu shall not be curtailed or damaged.
11. Muslim representation in local bodies should be governed by the principles underlying the Communal Award, that is separate electorates and population strength.
12. The tri-colour flag should be changed or, alternatively the

* Nehru-Jinnah Correspondence (All India Congress Committee, Allahabad), pp. 61-73.
flag of the Muslim League should be given equal importance.

13. Recognition of the Muslim League as the one authoritative and representative organization of Indian Muslims.


It is further stated that the formula evolved by you and Babu Rajendra Prasad in 1935 does not satisfy the Muslims now and nothing on those lines will satisfy them.

It is added that the list given above is not a complete list and that it can be augmented by the addition of further demands. Not knowing these possible and unlimited additions I can say nothing about them. But I should like to deal with the various matters specifically mentioned and to indicate what the Congress attitude has been in regard to them.

But before considering them, the political and economic background of the free India we are working for has to be kept in mind, for ultimately that is the controlling factor. Some of these matters do not arise in considering an independent India or take a particular shape or have little importance. We can discuss them in terms of Indian independence or in terms of the British dominance of India continuing. The Congress naturally thinks in terms of independence, though it adjusts itself occasionally to the present transitional and temporary phases. It is thus not interested in amendments to the present Constitution, but aims at its complete removal and its substitution by a Constitution framed by the Indian people through a Constituent Assembly.

Another matter has assumed an urgent and vital significance and this is the exceedingly critical international situation and the possibility of war. This must concern India greatly and affect her struggle for freedom. This must, therefore, be considered the governing factor of the situation and almost everything else becomes of secondary importance, for all our efforts and petty arguments will be of little avail if the very foundation is upset. The Congress has clearly and repeatedly laid down its policy in the event of such a crisis and stated that it will be no party to imperialist war. Peace, therefore, and Indian independence is its basic policy. The Congress will very gladly and willingly co-operate with the Muslim League and all other organizations and individuals in the furtherance of this policy.

I have carefully looked through the various matters to which you have drawn attention in your letter and its enclosures and I find that there is nothing in them which refers to or touches the economic demands of the masses or affects the all-important questions of poverty and unemployment. For all of us in India these
are the vital issues and unless some solution is found for them, we function in vain. The question of State Services, howsoever important and worthy of consideration it might be, affects a very small number of people. The peasantry, industrial workers, artisans and petty shopkeepers form the vast majority of the population and they are not improved in any way by any of the demands listed above. Their interests should be paramount.

Many of the 'demands' involve changes of the Constitution which we are not in a position to bring about. Even if some such changes are desirable in themselves, it is not our policy to press for minor constitutional changes. We want to do away completely with the present Constitution and replace it by another for a free India.

In the same way the desire for statutory guarantees involves constitutional changes which we cannot give effect to. All we can do is to state that in a future Constitution for a free India we want certain guarantees to be incorporated. We have done this in regard to religious, cultural, linguistic and other rights of Minorities in the Karachi resolution on Fundamental Rights. We would like these fundamental rights to be made a part of the Constitution.

I now deal with the various matters listed above.

1. The Fourteen Points, I had thought, were somewhat out of date. Many of their provisions have been given effect to by the Communal Award and in other ways; some others are entirely acceptable to the Congress; yet others require constitutional changes which, as I have mentioned above, are beyond our present competence. Apart from the matters covered by the Communal Award and those involving a change in the Constitution, one or two matters remain which give rise to differences of opinion and which are still likely to lead to considerable argument.

2. The Congress has clearly stated its attitude towards the Communal Award, and it comes to this that it seeks alterations only on the basis of mutual consent of the parties concerned. I do not understand how anyone can take objection to this attitude and policy. If we are asked to describe the Award as not being anti-national, that would be patently false. Even apart from what it gives to various groups, its whole basis and structure are anti-national and come in the way of the development of national unity. As you know it gives an overwhelming and wholly undeserving weightage to the European elements in certain parts of India. If we think in terms of an independent India we cannot possibly fit in this Award with it. It is true that under stress of circumstances we have sometimes to accept as a temporary measure something that is on the face of it anti-national. It is also true that in the
matters governed by the Communal Award we can only find a satisfactory and abiding solution by the consent and goodwill of the parties concerned. That is the Congress policy.

3. The fixing of the Muslims’ share in the State Services by statutory enactment necessarily involves the fixing of the shares of other groups and communities similarly. This would mean a rigid and compartmental State structure which will impede progress and development. At the same time it is generally admitted that State appointments should be fairly and adequately distributed and no community should have cause to complain. It is far better to do this by convention and agreement. The Congress is fully alive to this issue and desires to meet the wishes of various groups in the fullest measure, so as to give to all minority communities, as stated in No. 11 of the Fourteen Points, ‘an adequate share in all the services of the State and in Local Self-Governing Bodies having due regard to the requirements of efficiency.’ The State today is becoming more and more technical and demands expert knowledge in its various departments. It is right that, if a community is backward in this technical and expert knowledge, special efforts should be made to give it this education to bring it up to a higher level.

I understand that at the Unity Conference held at Allahabad in 1933 or thereabouts, a mutually satisfactory solution of this question of State services was arrived at.

4. As regards protection of culture the Congress has declared its willingness to embody this in the fundamental laws of the Constitution. It has also declared that it does not wish to interfere in any way with the personal law of any community.

5. I am considerably surprised at the suggestion that the Congress should take in hand the agitation in connection with the Shahidganj mosque. That is a matter to be decided either legally or by mutual agreement. The Congress prefers in all such matters the way of mutual agreement and its services can always be utilized for this purpose where there is an opening for them and a desire to this effect on the part of the parties concerned. I am glad that the Premier of the Punjab has suggested that this is the only satisfactory way to a solution of the problem.

6. The right to perform religious ceremonies should certainly be guaranteed to all communities. The Congress resolution about this is quite clear. I know nothing about the particular incident relating to a Punjab village which has been referred to. No doubt many instances can be gathered together from various parts of India where petty interferences take place with Hindu, Muslim or Sikh
cereonies. These have to be tactfully dealt with wherever they arise. But the principle is quite clear and should be agreed to.

7. As regards cow-slaughter there has been a great deal of entirely false and unfounded propaganda against the Congress suggesting that the Congress was going to stop it forcibly by legislation. The Congress does not wish to undertake any legislative action in this matter to restrict the established rights of the Muslims.

8. The question of territorial redistribution has not arisen in any way. If and when it arises it must be dealt with on the basis of mutual agreement of the parties concerned.

9. Regarding the Bande Mataram song the Working Committee issued a long statement in October last to which I would invite your attention. First of all it has to be remembered that no formal national anthem has been adopted by the Congress at any time. It is true, however, that the Bande Mataram song has been intimately associated with Indian nationalism for more than thirty years and numerous associations of sentiment and sacrifice have gathered round it.

* * *

Resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, 4-5 June, 1938*

Resolution No. 1

The Executive Council of the All-India Muslim League...... find that it is not possible for the All-India Muslim League to treat or negotiate with the Congress the question of the Hindu-Muslim settlement except on the basis that the Muslim League is the authoritative and representative organization of the Mussulmans of India.

Resolution No. 2

The Council have also considered the letter of Mr. Gandhi dated the 22nd May, 1938 and are of opinion that it is not desirable to include any Muslim in the personnel of the proposed Committee that may be appointed by the Congress.

* All-India Muslim League, Resolutions, 1937-8, p. 28.
Resolution No. 3

The Executive Council wish to make it clear that it is the declared policy of the All-India Muslim League that all other Minorities should have their rights and interests safeguarded so as to create a sense of security amongst them and win their confidence and the All-India Muslim League will consult the representatives of such Minorities and any other interest as may be involved, when necessary.

The Communal Problem*

The communal problem in India has long defied settlement. It has been approached by the responsible leaders of various communities and political parties from different angles, but each attempt to arrive at a final and satisfactory settlement has generally resulted in increased bitterness, because, during the pendency of negotiations, it is usually the first and foremost endeavour of each party to put the other in the wrong and to throw upon it the whole blame for the failure of the peace parleys. The problem is so baffling that there is a tendency on the part of some of the leaders to adopt the ostrich-like policy of ignoring the problem altogether, or at least of deferring its solution till such time as India is 'free'. In our humble opinion however, the problem is a real one and the sooner it is solved the better will it be for the country. To postpone its decision is simply to create a vicious circle: the communal problem can only be solved when India is free; India can only be free when the communal problem is solved. Such a circle can lead us nowhere and will only make the country a prey to any foreign exploiter.

Recently the Minorities have been asked to think in terms of international politics and appeals have been made to present a united front to protect India against the perils involved in the international situation. It has been deemed sufficient to assure the Minorities in repeated resolutions, which have now assumed a monotonous formality, that their 'language, culture and religion' will be protected and the Minorities are expected to accept those assurances without any further safeguard. In our opinion this is a wholly incorrect approach of the problem. The communal problem remains unsettled not because of the communalism of the Minorities, but because of the communalism of the Majorities. In each Province it is for the majority community to win the confidence of the minority, and this can only be done by deeds and not by words.

*The report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League to inquire into Muslim grievances in Congress Provinces, 15th November, 1938.
No one who is familiar with Indian affairs would deny the fact that the Congress has failed to inspire confidence in the Minorities and has failed to carry them with it in spite of its oft-repeated resolution guaranteeing religious and cultural liberty to the various communities because its actions are not in conformity with its words. Consequently, though it has succeeded in bringing to its fold a few Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, the Congress continues to be a predominately Hindu organization and the majority of its members, in spite of their pretensions to nationalism, are still imbued with narrow communalism.

Intoxicated with power after their success in the last general election, the leaders of the Congress initiated a closed-door policy by declaring that they were opposed to the formation of coalitions or alliances with any other party in the Legislatures. The fact that separation and exclusiveness is not conducive to the evolution of a common national life was conveniently lost sight of in the hour of triumph.

We in India have been brought up in the traditions of the British parliamentary democracy and the Constitution foisted on us is also modelled, more or less, on the British pattern. There is, however, an essential difference between the body politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are interchangeable: their complexion and strength go on changing with the conditions of the country. Today a National Government is in power, but the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties have an equal chance of running the Government of the country. Here, in India, we have a permanent Hindu majority and the other communities are condemned to the position of perpetual minority. Thus it is easy for the Majority to assume a non-communal label and do things communal under the cloak of nationalism.

Any attempt to apply the Western principles of nationalism without paying due regard to the peculiar conditions of the country is bound to confuse the issue. For the evolution of healthy nationalism and advancement of the country on the path of freedom, it is absolutely necessary that this problem, at once so important and so full of difficulties, should be dispassionately examined and clearly stated.

The Indian National Congress's conception of nationalism is based on the establishment of a national state of the majority community in which other nationalities and communities have only secondary rights. The Muslims think that no tyranny can be as great as the tyranny of the Majority and they believe that only that state
can be stable which gives equal rights and equal opportunities to all communities no matter how small. They attach great importance
to this principle, which alone can safeguard the rights of the Muslims
and other Minorities. The Muslims have made it clear more than
once that besides the question of religion, culture, language and
personal laws, there is another question equally important for their
future. They must secure definitely their political rights and their
due share in the national life, government and administration of the
country.

*Economic Aspect of the Communal Problem*

What may appear to a foreigner a purely economic question
can be the source of real friction between communities. Religious
passions of the ignorant masses can be excited on a question that on
the face of it appears quite harmless.

In countries where professions are freely chosen and the com-
mmercial community consists of people joined together by common
interests this possibility does not exist. But conditions in India are
quite different. In other countries a taxation measure adopted by
the Legislature would equally affect all communities which constitute
a certain trade or profession and its consequences can be termed
national. But in India the majority of people affected by a similar
measure will belong to a particular community, caste or religion.
Thus even an economic measure, which is national elsewhere, as-
sumes a communal complexion in this country. It is easy for
Governments and Local Bodies to justify such discriminatory legisla-
tion by Western standards, to term it national and economic and to
dismiss the just and reasonable protest of a particular community
vitally affected by accusing it of narrow communalism. People who
are not familiar with the conditions that exist in this country can
very easily be persuaded to condemn the protest of such a commu-
ity against whose interests such measures are so cleverly conceived.

Congress leaders have declared in season and out of season that
the Congress will always think in terms of the poor, but in the
course of our inquiry it has been shown and proved to us that discri-
mination has been made in the case of Muslim peasants and
workers by the Congress and Socialist organizations. Agents of
zemindars and capitalists have given communal colour to disputes
that were purely economic. And once communal colour was given
the poor victims of oppression were deprived of all protection from
the very organizations which boast of nationalism.
Political v. Communal Parties

The growing tendency of political parties to become more and more communal is the chief danger to which democracy is exposed in India. In other countries, political parties are formed on such a basis that the majority and minority parties are interchangeable. Those who vote for Socialists today, can, if they feel dissatisfied, support the Nationalists or Conservatives tomorrow. The strength and following of various political parties vary according to the confidence they inspire among the people and to the extent they are able to fulfil their election pledges. Moreover, the success of a Government is reflected in the popularity of its legislative measures and constant efforts are needed to maintain the majority.

In India, owing to the existence of a permanent religious majority, the complexion of political parties is quite different from those in other democracies. There is always a danger that a party, composed mainly of members of a particular community or followers of a particular religion may pass under the name of a nationalist party. Such a party is exposed to the temptation of raising the communal bogey in order to keep together its dissatisfied elements, who are too insistent on the fulfilment of election pledges, and thus to continue in perpetual majority.

Expectations were raised high by the promises made during the last general elections by the Congress to better the condition of the poor. The Muslims being the poorest community in India were the first to show disaffection towards the Congress because they felt that its economic programme was a mere camouflage to enlist their support at the elections and brought them no substantial relief. In any other country these poor classes could have gone over to the opposition without being dubbed communalists.

Speaking at the Students' Federation meeting at Calcutta, Mr. M. A. Jinnah stated that the League's fight was not against the Hindu community but against the Congress High Command. The Muslim League Party was allowed to coalesce with other progressive groups or parties whose ideals were nearly the same. This makes it clear that the aim of the Muslim League was not to wage war against other communities in India but to organize the Muslims and devote its energy to the solution of political and economic problems that face the country as a whole.

In order to work with other communities the programme of the Muslim League has to be such as would make it possible for other communities to co-operate with it. If the party adopts an aggressive communal attitude it would be impossible to maintain harmony
with other communities. Thus it is to the advantage of the Muslims to have a truly national and liberal programme so that others may co-operate with them. On the other hand if the Muslim League chooses a narrow and communal policy, the Muslims will be condemned to perpetual minorities in almost all the Provinces of India. They will be deprived of all opportunity of having, at any time, an effective voice in the administration of the country. Even in each of the two major Muslim Provinces—the Punjab and Bengal—it is not possible for the Muslims to have a majority without the cooperation of other communities. Thus it is clear that the Muslim League cannot afford to take up an aggressive communal attitude. But unfortunately responsible Congressmen and a section of the Press have made it their duty to misrepresent the views of the leaders of the Muslim League and its activities.

The attitude of the Congress, however, made it impossible for the League to co-operate with it in spite of the efforts of a number of League leaders to maintain cordial relations. The just and legitimate demands of the Muslims were regarded as an inconvenient feature of political life. Contemptuous offers were made to the leaders of the Muslim League. They were asked to liquidate the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, disband the League parties in the Legislatures and to sign unconditionally the Congress pledge. To the patriotic Muslims such a course meant the denial of their right to organize themselves in order to maintain their separate identity and preserve their culture, and a complete surrender to the party which, on its own admission, was mostly composed of Hindus and which had failed to win the confidence of the Muslim voters in the general election.

The Congress parties adopted the very methods for which they had hitherto condemned the British Government. Rival Muslim organizations were started and spoon-fed by Congress Cabinets and Committees. Attempts were made not only to disregard the true representatives of the Muslims, but a virulent campaign of vilification was started against the Muslim League and its leaders with the help of a few Muslims who signed the Congress pledge. The temptation of office was held out to those who joined the Congress and a few Muslims, who had been returned to the Legislatures on the ticket of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board, were persuaded to sign the Congress pledge and were given places in the Ministries as representatives of the Muslim masses.
Muslim Mass Contact Movement

The last provincial elections brought home to the Congress High Command the fact that the prestige of the Congress as a national organization was in danger. The decision of the Congress not to contest elections in Muslim constituencies generally and the overwhelming defeats of its Muslim candidates in the very few elections that it contested completely exposed the hollowness of its pretensions to represent the Muslim masses.

The significance of the Congress defeats becomes more pronounced in view of the fact that the Congress possessed an unparalleled and a most powerful organization in the country and that no Muslim party was in a position effectively to offer any strong opposition to it. The statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the defeats of the Congress candidates in the general election clearly shows that the Congress leadership was greatly alarmed at the opposition. But unfortunately, instead of trying to find out the real cause of this antipathy, the Congress High Command launched the Muslim Mass Contact Movement.

There are many Muslims who firmly believe that the Congress by this movement is trying to destroy Muslim solidarity and create disruption in the community. A number of Muslim workers have been employed to fight their co-religionists by a political party which is predominantly Hindu. Concerted efforts are being made not only to induce Muslims to join the Congress, but also to bring into disrepute the Muslim League.

It has been claimed that the Mass Contact Movement has been in existence for many years and only took a more definite shape at the Lucknow Congress of 1937. It has also been claimed that the movement had never been designed in terms of Muslims only, nor was it merely confined to them.

To understand this movement properly, the methods employed by its promoters must be taken into consideration as well as its effect on the minority community.

Whatever be the idea behind this movement, it remains an undisputed fact that after the general election Mass Contact was carried on amongst the Muslim masses alone. We have not heard of the religious heads of other Minorities working on behalf of the Congress to bring their co-religionists into its fold.

It has been asserted that only such Ulemas as had associated with the Congress and were its old friends were asked to support the Congress candidates in the by-elections. Besides, the candidates particularly asked for the support of such men. We think that the
argument put forward by an eminent leader of the Congress fully brings to light one fact. We all know that though Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his by-election speeches emphasized economic problems, the candidates themselves were not confident of the efficacy of this programme of the Congress in enlisting the support of the Muslim electors.

The activities of these Congress Ulema are not confined to those enumerated by the Congress leaders. Recently just after a communal outbreak had occurred in Pilibhit, Seth Damodar Dass, accompanied by two Maulanas, visited the locality and issued a statement throwing the responsibility for the trouble on the Muslim League, which on inquiry proved to be unfounded. This fact throws some light on the use which is made of some of these learned theologians and also why so much importance is given to these old friends. We wonder if the majority of such persons could have a place in any self-respecting organization. We can now understand the reluctance of the Congress to recognize the Muslim League as the sole representative of the Muslims for this would deprive it of such convenient tools as the Ulema who went to Pilibhit with the Bareilly Congress President.

The Congress secured overwhelming majorities in five Provinces and a working majority in the sixth as the result of the first General Election held under the new reforms. The attention of the whole of India was focussed on the Congress and its decision on acceptance of office was eagerly awaited. Everyone believed that a new era would set in with the acceptance of office by the Congress. It was generally taken for granted by progressive Muslims that the gulf that has existed so long between the various communities in India would be bridged once for all, that the differences, for which an alien Government had been held responsible so far, would disappear and that all progressive national elements, whose political ideals were similar, would be brought together for the service of the motherland, and would work a common programme for the freedom of the country.

It was at this moment that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Congress President, launched the Muslim Mass Contact programme in right earnest. It was pointed out to the Muslims that the real fight was for bread and butter and there was no sense in their keeping aloof under the banner of the Muslim League. But,...... even economics in India is communal. Urdu newspapers were started to carry on Congress propaganda among the Muslims and every attempt was made to win over the Muslims. A campaign of vilification against Muslim League leaders, specially Mr. Jinnah, formed a part of this movement. An attempt was also made to set up a rival
organization to the All-India Muslim League under the name ‘Azad’ Muslim League. It was further declared that the Congress, in view of its principles of nationalism, could not enter into an alliance with any communal organization however national may be the latter’s policy and programme. Since then, however, we have seen how this declaration has been stretched to make it possible for the Congress to form Ministries in the Frontier and Assam as it suited the interests of the majority community.

It was but natural for patriotic Muslims to feel aggrieved at the attitude taken up by the Congress High Command. The change in the attitude of the Congress leaders, specially those of the United Provinces, was simply a revelation. Though the Mass Contact Movement was on the programme of the Congress no one heard about it until the general election was over and Congress majorities were assured. Even then the Congress leaders, who made and unmade Cabinets and who appointed and dismissed Ministers, avoided the Muslim masses and employed *Maulevis* to convert the Muslim masses to the Congress creed. The *Maulevis*, having no voice in the moulding of the Congress policy and programme, naturally could not promise to solve the real difficulties of the masses, a promise which would have drawn the masses towards the Congress. The *Maulevis* and others employed for the work adopted the line of least resistance by creating a division among the Muslim masses by carrying on a most unworthy propaganda against the leaders of the Muslim League. Under these circumstances it was but natural for the Muslims to conclude that this movement was directed only to lure the Muslims into the Congress fold and a policy of ‘divide and rule’ was being followed by the Congress to avoid a settlement with the Muslim community on the real issues.

It will not be out of place here to point out that in other countries where political situations are complicated by religious and racial differences, no political party would think of adopting such methods of propaganda as would lead to emphasize the religious differences between various communities. In Great Britain when the question of Irish Home Rule was put in the forefront of the Liberal Party’s programme by Gladstone, in spite of a split in the Party itself, no mass contact movement was started to bring the Protestants of Ulster into the fold of the Liberal Party. Discrimination on a communal basis is the last thing to be undertaken by a party which forms the Government.

The Congress Governments should give the right lead to the country. They should attempt to work on the principles of true nationalism and gain the confidence of the Minorities by removing
all their suspicions. It was the failure of the Congress in this respect which, together with the correct lead given by the Muslim League and its policy and programme, helped to make the League, in such a short time, such a powerful and representative organization of the Muslims of India.

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Inquiry into Muslim Grievances in Congress Provinces*  
Letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Mr. Jinnah  
5 October, 1939

We feel that these charges (of anti-Muslim policy pursued by the Congress Ministries) are wholly unfounded and are based on misapprehension and one-sided reports that might have reached you and the League. The Governments concerned have inquired into the matter whenever such charges have been made and have denied them. On a previous occasion we expressed our willingness to have any specific instances investigated by impartial authority. We feel strongly, and I am sure you will agree with us, that such charges, when seriously made, should be inquired into, be either substantiated or disproved. We would like this course to be adopted in regard to any specific instances that are put forward. If you agree, we could request the highest judicial authority in India, Sir M. Gwyer, Chief Justice of the Federal Court to inquire into this matter. In the event of his not being available, some other person of a similar status and judicial position might be approached.

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to Dr. Rajendra Prasad  
6 October, 1939

I beg to inform you that I have already placed the whole case before the Viceroy and the Governor-General and have requested him to take up the matter without delay as he and the Governors of Provinces have been expressly authorized under the Constitution and are entrusted with the responsibility to protect the rights and the interests of the Minorities.

The matter is now under His Excellency's consideration and he is the proper authority to take such action and adopt such measures as would meet our requirements and would restore complete sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussulmans in those Provinces where the Congress Ministries are in charge of the administration.

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MR. JINNAH ON "DELIVERANCE DAY", 1939

Appeal for the observance of "Deliverance Day", Bombay, December 2, 1939.

I wish the Mussalmans all over India to observe Friday the 22nd December as the "day of deliverance" and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function. I hope that the Provincial, District and Primary Muslim Leagues all over India will hold public meetings and pass the following resolution with such modifications as they may be advised, and after Jumma prayers offer prayers by way of thanksgiving for being delivered from the unjust Congress regime. I trust that all public meetings will be conducted in an orderly manner and with all due sense of humility, and nothing should be done which will cause offence to any other community, because it is the High Command of the Congress that is primarily responsible for the wrongs that have been done to the Mussalmans and other minorities.

* * *

Resolution passed at the Deliverance Day Meetings organized by the All-India Muslim League, 22nd December, 1939

This public meeting of the Mussalmans of (name of the place) records its opinion that the Congress Ministry has conclusively demonstrated and proved the falsehood of the Congress claim that it represents all interests justly and fairly, by its decidedly anti-Muslim policy. It is the considered opinion of this meeting that the Congress Ministry has failed to safeguard the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other Minorities and interests.

That the Congress Ministry both in the discharge of their duties of the Administration and in the Legislatures have done their best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, and have interfered with their religious and social life, and trampled upon their economic and political rights; that in matters of differences and disputes the Congress Ministry invariably have sided with, supported and advanced the cause of the Hindus in total disregard and to the prejudice of the Muslim interests.

The Congress Governments constantly interfered with the legitimate and routine duties of District Officers even in petty matters to the serious detriment of the Mussalmans, and thereby created an atmosphere which spread the belief amongst the Hindu

* Jinnah, M.A. Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah. Ed. by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed, Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1943, pp. 96-97.
public that there was established a Hindu raj, and emboldened the Hindus, mostly Congressmen, to ill-treat Muslims at various places and interfere with their elementary rights of freedom. This meeting, therefore, expresses its deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various Provinces and rejoices in observing this day as the ‘Day of Deliverance’ from tyranny, oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years, and prays to God to grant such strength, discipline and organization to Muslim India as to successfully prevent the advent of such a Ministry again and to establish a truly popular Ministry which would do even justice to all communities and interests.

This meeting urges upon His Excellency the Governor of (name of the Province) and his Council of Advisers to inquire into the legitimate grievances of the Mussulmans and the wrongs done to them by the outgoing Congress Ministry, and redress the same at the earliest moment in accordance with the announcements that have been made by the Governors in taking over the Government of various Provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935 and thus assure people that the new regime stands for even justice to all communities and interests concerned.

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Mr. M. A. Jinnah on the Formation of Ministries in the Congress Provinces without Muslim Leaguers, 19th January, 1940*

This situation had two very unsatisfactory aspects. First it brought but the completely Hindu composition of the Congress and secondly it would be difficult to ignore and override Muslim-led oppositions as long as Governors of the Provinces were in possession of special powers granted to safeguard Minority interests. Realizing at once that such circumstances would considerably hinder their plans, the Congress played its trump card. It refused to accept office. To the consternation of the Muslims and other Minorities, overnight, the Viceroy and the Governors became suppliants. What would the Congress have them do? What assurances did the Congress need? The answer was ready. Give us the undertaking that you will not exercise your special powers and we will accept office. Hastily, the constitutional guardians of Minority and other rights jettisoned their trust and, amidst much mutual appreciation of each other’s ‘statesmanship’, the Congress and the British Government came into political alliance. Victory number one.

But there was still that troublesome first point. The whole game would be up if purely Hindu Governments took office and in at least three of the six Provinces not a single Muslim had been returned on the Congress ticket and not more than one or two in the others. But what of it? Surely there must be at least one amongst the Muslim members who would be unable to resist the bait of a Ministership. They would offer the Ministership provided he signed the Congress pledge.

But would the Governor agree to this camouflage? What did his Instrument of Instructions advise? 'In making appointments to his Council of Ministers our Governor shall use his best endeavour to select his Ministers in the following manner, that is to say, in consultation with the person who in his judgement is likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature to appoint those persons (including so far as practicable members of important minority communities) who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature. But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need of fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers.'

Anxiously the Working Committee analysed the implication. The instructions seemed to be in two parts. In the first the Governor was instructed to use 'his best endeavour to select as Ministers...... persons (including as far as practicable members of important minority communities)......'. The spirit underlying these words was clear. It was to secure important Minorities a Minister who commanded their confidence and since there was no difference in the political programmes of the Congress and Muslim League Parties in the Legislatures, there was no reason why it was not 'practicable' for a Muslim League member to be appointed a Minister.

But what about the last words: 'But in so acting he shall bear constantly in mind the need for fostering a sense of joint responsibility among his Ministers'? This fortunately could be turned to suit their purpose if the Governor was prepared to allow this second part, advisory and subsidiary to the main instruction, to overrule the first.

They had but to claim that joint responsibility was impossible unless the Muslim Minister was prepared to abide by the decisions of the Working Committee and their point was won. Meekly the Governors acquiesced and in order to allow the Congress to deceive the public by making it appear that it was 'national' and looking after the interests of the Minorities by including a 'representative' of them in the Council of Ministers, accepted as Muslim Ministers individuals who by no stretch of imagination could be regarded as
representatives' of the Muslim community and who, by signing the Congress pledge, were responsible to the Working Committee alone.

*Extracts from Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Speech, Muslim League Session, Lahore, March, 1940*

Now, what is our position with regard to the future constitution? It is that, as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations.

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The problem in India is not of an inter-communal character but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such......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 for us 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 the 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 our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs, literatures. They neither intermarry nor interdine together, and, indeed, they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects 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.

.....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 1200 years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during 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.....will be the herald of the entire break-up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last 1000 years under Muslims.....

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 Raj. Democracy of the kind with which the Congress High Command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam.....

Mussalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood......Mussalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State.....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......

* * *

League Memorandum, May 12, 1946

Principles to be agreed to as our offer :

1. The six Muslim Provinces (Punjab, N. W. F. P., Baluchistan, Sind, Bengal and Assam) shall be grouped together as one Group and will deal with all other subjects and matters except Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for Defence, which may be dealt with by the constitution-making bodies of the two Groups of Provinces—Muslim provinces (hereinafter named Pakistan Group) and Hindu provinces—sitting together.
2. There shall be a separate constitution-making body for the six Muslim provinces named above, which will frame constitutions for the Group and the provinces in the Group and will determine the list of subjects that shall be Provincial and Central (of the Pakistan Federation) with residuary sovereign powers vesting in the provinces.

3. The method of election of the representatives to the constitution-making body will be such as would secure proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their population in each province of the Pakistan Group.

4. After the constitutions of the Pakistan Federal Government and the provinces are finally framed by the constitution-making body, it will be open to any province of the Group to decide to opt out of its Group, provided the wishes of the people of that province are ascertained by a referendum to opt out or not.

5. It must be open to discussion in the joint constitution-making body as to whether the Union will have a Legislature or not. The method of providing the Union with finance should also be left for the decision of the joint meeting of the two constitution-making bodies, but in no event shall it be by means of taxation.

6. There should be parity of representation between the two Groups of provinces in the Union Executive and the Legislature, if any.

7. No major point in the constitution which affects the communal issue shall be deemed to be passed in the joint constitution-making body, unless the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Hindu provinces and the majority of the members of the constitution-making body of the Pakistan Group, present and voting, are separately in its favour.

8. No decision, legislative, executive or administrative, shall be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of controversial nature, except by a majority of three-fourths.

9. In Group and provincial constitutions fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and other matters affecting the different communities will be provided for.

10. The constitution of the Union shall contain a provision whereby any province can, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for reconsideration of the terms of the constitution, and will have the liberty to secede from the Union at any time after an initial period of ten years.

These are the principles of our offer for a peaceful and amicable settlement and this offer stands in its entirety and all matters mentioned herein are interdependent.
1. The Constituent Assembly to be formed as follows:—
   (i) Representatives shall be elected by each Provincial Assembly by proportional representation (single transferable vote). The number so elected should be one-fifth of the number of members of the Assembly and they may be members of the Assembly or others.
   (ii) Representatives from the States on the basis of their population in proportion to the representation from British India. How these representatives are to be chosen is to be considered later.

2. The Constituent Assembly shall draw up a Constitution for the Federal Union. This shall consist of an All-India Federal Government and Legislature dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Fundamental Rights, Currency, Customs and Planning as well as such other subjects as, on closer scrutiny, may be found to be intimately allied to them. The Federal Union will have necessary powers to obtain for itself the finances it requires for these subjects and the power to raise revenues in its own right. The Union must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the Constitution and in grave public emergencies.

3. All the remaining powers will vest in the provinces or units.

4. Groups of provinces may be formed and such Groups may determine the provincial subjects which they desire to take in common.

5. After the Constituent Assembly has decided the Constitution for the All-India Federal Union as laid down in paragraph two above, the representatives of the provinces may form Groups to decide the provincial Constitutions for their Group and, if they wish, a Group Constitution.

6. No major point in the All-India Federal Constitution which affects the communal issue shall be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities connected present in the Assembly and voting are separately in its favour provided that in case there is no agreement on any such issue it will be referred to arbitration. In case of doubt as to whether any point is a major communal issue the Speaker will decide, or, if so desired, it may be referred to the Federal Court.

7. In the event of a dispute arising in the process of constitution-making the specific issue shall be referred to arbitration.
8. The constitution should provide machinery for its revision at any time subject to such checks as may be devised. If so desired, it may be specifically stated that this whole constitution may be reconsidered after ten years.

* Congress Note on League Suggestions, May 12, 1946 *

The approach of the Muslim League is so different from that of the Congress in regard to these matters that it is a little difficult to deal with each point separately without reference to the rest. The picture as envisaged by the Congress is briefly given in a separate note. From consideration of this note and the Muslim League’s proposals the difficulties and the possible agreement will become obvious.

The Muslim League’s proposals are dealt with below:

1. We suggest that the proper procedure is for one constitution-making body or one Constituent Assembly to meet for the whole of India and later for Groups to be formed if so desired by the provinces concerned. The matter should be left to the provinces and if they wish to function as a Group they are at liberty to do so and to frame their own constitution for the purpose.

In any event Assam has obviously no place in the Group mentioned, and the North-West Frontier Province, as the election shows, is not in favour of this proposal.

2. We have agreed to residuary powers, apart from the Central subjects, vesting in the provinces. They can make such use of them as they like and, as has been stated above, function as a Group. What the ultimate nature of such a Group may be cannot be determined at this stage and should be left to the representatives of the provinces concerned.

3. We have suggested that the most suitable method of election would be by single transferable vote. This would give proper representation to the various communities in proportion to their present representation in the Legislatures. If the population proportion is taken, we have no particular objection, but this would lead to difficulties in all the provinces where there is weightage in favour of certain communities. The principle approved of would necessarily apply to all the provinces.

4. There is no necessity for opting out of a province from its Group as the previous consent of the provinces is necessary for joining the Group.

5. We consider it essential that the Federal Union should have a legislature. We also consider it essential that the Union should have power to raise its own revenue.
(6 and 7). We are entirely opposed to parity of representation as between Groups of provincees in the Union executive or legislature. We think that the provision to the effect that no major communal issue in the Union constitution shall be deemed to be passed by the Constituent Assembly unless a majority of the members of the community or communities concerned present and voting in the Constituent Assembly are separately in its favour, is a sufficient and ample safeguard of all minorities. We have suggested something wider and including all communities than has been proposed elsewhere. This may give rise to some difficulties in regard to small communities, but all such difficulties can be got over by reference to arbitration. We are prepared to consider the method of giving effect to this principle so as to make it more feasible.

(8) This proposal is so sweeping in its nature that no Government or legislature can function at all. Once we have safeguarded major communal issues, other matters, whether controversial or not, require no safeguard. This will simply mean safeguarding vested interests of all kinds and preventing progress, or indeed any movement in any direction. We, therefore, entirely disapprove of it.

(9) We are entirely agreeable to the inclusion of fundamental rights and safeguards concerning religion, culture and like matters in the constitution. We suggest that the proper place for this is the All-India Federal Union constitution. There should be uniformity in regard to these fundamental rights all over India.

(10) The constitution of the Union will inevitably contain provisions for its full reconsideration at the end of ten years. The matter will be open then for a complete reconsideration. Though it is implied, we would avoid reference to secession as we do not wish to encourage this idea.

* * * 

Mr. Jinnah’s Statement, May 22, 1946

I have now before me the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy dated 16th of May issued at Delhi. Before I deal with it I should like to give a background of the discussions that took place at Simla from the 5th of May onwards till the Conference was declared concluded and its breakdown announced in the official communiqué dated May 12.

We met in the Conference on May 5 to consider the formula embodied in the letter of the Secretary of State for India dated April 27 inviting the League representatives.

The formula was as follows: —

“A Union Government dealing with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications. There will be two
Groups of provinces, the one of the predominantly Hindu provinces and the other of the predominantly Muslim provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the provinces in the respective Groups desire to be dealt with in common. The Provincial Governments will deal with all other subjects and will have all the residuary sovereign rights."

The Muslim League position was that, firstly, the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the North-East and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the North-West of India constituted Pakistan zones and should be constituted as a sovereign independent State and that an unequivocal undertaking be given to implement the establishment of Pakistan without delay; secondly, that separate constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions; thirdly, that minorities in Pakistan and Hindustan be provided with safeguards on the lines of the Lahore resolution; fourthly, that the acceptance of the League demand and its implementation without delay were a sine qua non for the League co-operation and participation in the formation of an interim Government at the Centre; fifthly, it gave a warning to the British Government against any attempt to impose a Federal constitution on a United India basis or forcing any interim arrangement at the Centre contrary to the League demand and that Muslim India would resist if any attempt to impose it were made. Besides, such an attempt would be the grossest breach of the faith, of the declaration of His Majesty's Government made in August, 1940, with the approval of the British Parliament and subsequent announcements by the Secretary of State for India and other responsible British statesmen from time to time, reaffirming the August declaration.

We accepted the invitation to attend the Conference without prejudice and without any commitment and without accepting the fundamental principles underlying this short formula of the Mission on the assurance given by the Secretary of State for India in his letter dated April 29 wherein he said: "We have never contemplated that acceptance by the Muslim League and the Congress of our invitation would imply as a preliminary condition full approval by them of the terms set out in my letter. These terms are our proposed basis for a settlement and what we have asked the Muslim League Working Committee to do is to agree to send its representatives to meet ourselves and representatives of the Congress in order to discuss it."

The Congress position in reply to the invitation was stated in their letter of April 28, that a strong Federal Government at the
Centre with present provinces as federating units be established and they laid down that Foreign Affairs, Defence, Communications, Currency, Customs, Tariffs "and such other subjects, as may be found on closer scrutiny to be intimately allied to them," should vest in the Central Federal Government. They negatived the idea of Grouping of provinces. However, they also agreed to participate in the Conference to discuss the formula of the Cabinet Delegation.

After days of discussion no appreciable progress was made and finally I was asked to give our minimum terms in writing. Consequently we embodied certain fundamental principles of our terms in writing as an offer to the Congress in the earnest desire for a peaceful and amicable settlement and for the speedy attainment of freedom and independence of the peoples of India. It was communicated to the Congress on the 12th of May and a copy of it was sent to the Cabinet Delegation at the same time.

The crux of our offer, as it will appear from its text, was *inter alia* that the six Muslim provinces should be grouped together as Pakistan Group and the remaining as Hindustan Group and on the basis of two Federations we were willing to consider the Union or Confederation strictly confined to three subjects only, *i.e.*, Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications necessary for Defence, which the two sovereign Federations would voluntarily delegate to the Confederation. All the remaining subjects and the residue were to remain vested in the two Federations and the provinces respectively. This was intended to provide for a transitional period as after an initial period of ten years we were free to secede from the Union.

But unfortunately this most conciliatory and reasonable offer was in all its fundamentals not accepted by the Congress as will appear from their reply to our offer. On the contrary their final suggestions were the same as regards the subjects to be vested with the Centre as they had been before the Congress entered the Conference and they made one more drastic suggestion for our acceptance, that the Centre must also have power to take remedial action in cases of breakdown of the constitution and in grave public emergencies. This was stated in their reply dated May 12 which was communicated to us.

At this stage the Conference broke down and we were informed that the British Cabinet Delegation would issue their statement which is now before the public.

To begin with, the statement is cryptic with several lacunae and the operative part of it is comprised of a few short paragraphs to which I shall refer later.
I regret that the Mission should have negatived the Muslim demand for the establishment of a complete sovereign State of Pakistan which we still hold is the only solution of the constitutional problem of India and which alone can secure stable government and lead to the happiness and welfare not only of the two major communities but of all the peoples of this sub-continent. It is all the more regrettable that the Mission should have thought fit to advance commonplace and exploded arguments against Pakistan and restored to special pleadings couched in a deplorable language which is calculated to hurt the feelings of Muslim India. It seems that this was done by the Mission simply to appease and placate the Congress because when they come to face the realities, they themselves have made the following pronouncement embodied in Paragraph 5 of the statement which says:

"This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India, it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests."

And again in Paragraph 12—"This decision does not, however, blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element."

And now what recommendations have they made to effectively secure the object in view and in the light of the very clear and emphatic conclusion they arrived at in Paragraph 12 of the statement?

I shall now deal with some of the important points in the operative part of the statement:

(1) They have divided Pakistan into two: what they call Section B (for the North-Western Zone) and Section C (for the North-Eastern Zone).

(2) Instead of two constitution-making bodies only one constitution-making body is devised with three Sections A, B and C.

(3) They lay down that "there should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communi-
cations and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects."

There is no indication at all that the Communications would be restricted to what is necessary for Defence nor is there any indication as to how this Union will be empowered to raise finances required for these three subjects, while our view was that finances should be raised only by contribution and not by taxation.

(4) It is laid down that "the Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives.

Any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

While our view was—

(A) That there should be no legislature for the Union but the question should be left to the Constituent Assembly to decide.

(B) That there should be parity of representation between Pakistan Group and the Hindustan Group in the Union Executive and Legislature, if any, and

(C) That no decision, legislative, executive or administratve, should be taken by the Union in regard to any matter of a controversial nature except by a majority of three-fourths. All these three terms of our offer have been omitted from the statement.

No doubt there is one safeguard for the conduct of business in the Union Legislature, that "any question raising a major communal issue in the legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting."

Even this is vague and ineffective. To begin with, who will decide and how as to what is a major communal issue and what is a minor communal issue and what is a purely non-communal issue?

(5) Our proposal that the Pakistan Group should have a right to secede from the Union after an initial period of ten years, although the Congress had no serious objection to it, has been omitted and now we are only limited to a reconsideration of terms of the Union constitution after an initial period of ten years.

(6) Coming to the constitution-making machinery, here again a representative of British Baluchistan is included in Section B but how he will be elected is not indicated.

(7) With regard to the constitution-making body for the purpose of framing the proposed Union constitution, it will have an
overwhelming Hindu majority as in a House of 292 for British India the Muslim strength will be 79 and if the number allotted to Indian States (93) is taken into account, it is quite obvious that the Muslim proportion will be further reduced as the bulk of the State representatives would be Hindus. This Assembly so constituted will elect the Chairman and other officers and it seems also the members of the Advisory Committee referred to in paragraph 20 of the statement by a majority and the same rule will apply to other normal business. But I note that there is only one saving clause which runs as follows:

"In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities. The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any) of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision."

It follows, therefore, that it will be the Chairman alone who will decide. He will not be bound by the opinion of the Federal Court nor need anybody know what that opinion was as the Chairman is merely directed to consult the Federal Court.

(8) With regard to the provinces opting out of their Group it is left to the new Legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution to decide instead of a referendum of the people as was suggested by us.

(9) As for paragraph 20 which runs as follows: "The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of fundamental rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the provincial, Group or Union constitution."

This raises a very serious question indeed for if it is left to the Union Constituent Assembly to decide these matters by a majority vote whether any of the recommendations of the Advisory Committee should be incorporated in the Union constitution then it will open a door to more subjects being vested in the Union Government. This will destroy the very basic principle that the Union is to be strictly confined to three subjects.

These are some of the main points which I have tried to put before the public after studying this important document. I do not
wish to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League which are going to meet shortly at Delhi. They will finally take such decisions as they may think proper after a careful consideration of the 'pros and cons' and a thorough and dispassionate examination of the statement of the British Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy.

* * *

Resolution passed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League, 6 June, 1946.

1. This meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, after having carefully considered the statement issued by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy on 16th May 1946 and other relevant statements and documents officially issued in connexion therewith, and after having examined the proposals set forth in the said statement in all their bearings and implications places upon record the following views for the guidance of the nation and direction of the Working Committee.

2. That the references made, and the conclusions recorded, in paras 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the statement, concerning the Muslim demand for the establishment of a full sovereign Pakistan as the only solution of the Indian constitutional problem are unwarranted, unjustified, and unconvincing, and should not, therefore, have found a place in a state document issued on behalf and with the authority of the British Government. These paragraphs are couched in such language, and contain such mutilations of the established facts, that the Cabinet Mission have clearly been prompted to include them in their statement solely with the object of appeasing the Hindus, in utter disregard of Muslim sentiments. Furthermore, the contents of the aforesaid paragraphs are in conflict and inconsistent with the admissions made by the Mission themselves in paragraphs 5 and 12 of their statement, which are to the followings effect: First, the Mission 'were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-Majority rule'. Second, 'this feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards'. Third, 'If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, economic or other interests'. Fourth, 'Very real Muslim apprehensions exist that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus, with their greatly superior numbers, must be the dominating element'. In order
that there may be no manner of doubt in any quarter, the Council of the All-India Muslim League reiterates that the attainment of the goal of a complete sovereign Pakistan still remains the unalterable objective of the Muslims in India for the achievement of which they will, if necessary, employ every means in their power, and consider no sacrifice or suffering too great.

3. That notwithstanding the affront offered to Muslim sentiments by the choice of injudicious words in the preamble to the statement of the Cabinet Mission, the Muslim League, having regard to the grave issues involved, and prompted by its earnest desire for a peaceful solution, if possible, of the Indian constitutional problem, and inasmuch as the basis and the foundation of Pakistan are inherent in the Mission’s plan by virtue of the compulsory grouping of the six Muslim Provinces in Sections B and C, is willing to co-operate with the constitution-making machinery proposed in the scheme outlined by the Mission, in the hope that it would ultimately result in the establishment of complete 4 sovereign Pakistan, and in the consummation of the goal of independence for the major nations, Muslims and Hindus, and all the other people inhabiting the vast subcontinent.

It is for these reasons that the Muslim League is accepting the scheme, and will join the constitution-making body, and it will keep in view the opportunity and right of secession of Provinces or groups from the Union, which have been provided in the Mission’s plan by implication. The ultimate attitude of the Muslim League will depend on the final outcome of the labours of the constitution-making body, and on the final shape of the Constitutions which may emerge from the deliberations of that body jointly and separately in its three Sections. The Muslim League also reserves the right to modify and revise the policy and attitude set forth in this resolution at any time during the progress of the deliberations of the constitution-making body, or the Constituent Assembly, or thereafter if the course of events so require, bearing in mind the fundamental principles and ideals herebefore adumbrated, to which the Muslim League is irrevocably committed.

4. That with regard to the arrangement for the proposed Interim Government at the Centre, the Council authorizes its President to negotiate with the Viceroy and to take such decisions and actions as he deems fit and proper.
Mr. Jinnah’s Statement, June 29, 1946.

The Cabinet Delegation and His Excellency the Viceroy have thought fit to release only a few letters torn from the rest of the correspondence that passed between me and the Delegation and the Viceroy, which have a very important bearing on the present controversy.

The Viceroy did make a clear representation to me that he would proceed to form his Interim Government on the basis of the formula 5 : 5 : 2 i.e., 5 representatives of the Muslim League, 5 of the Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian, and that as regards the portfolios, the most important portfolios will be equally divided between the League and the Congress in distribution thereof, further details being left open, for discussion.

The Viceroy further authorised me to make that representation to my Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League, which I did, and it was on that basis that, both the Working Committee and the Council were induced to accept the long-term plan and the proposal for the Interim Government together as a whole.

This formula had a vital bearing and did greatly weigh with the Council of the All-India Muslim League in coming to their final decision, which was communicated to the Viceroy on the 7th June. Immediately thereafter a sinister agitation was set on the foot by the Congress Press against this formula and I informed the Viceroy by my letter of 8th June, by way of caution, that there should be no departure from this formula. Below is the full text of this letter which speaks for itself.

Mr. Jinnah’s Statement, July 13, 1946.

“Pandit Nehru’s interpretation of the Congress acceptance of the Cabinet Mission’s proposal of May 16 is a complete repudiation of the basic form upon which the Long-term scheme rests and all its fundamentals and terms and obligations and rights of parties accepting the scheme,” said Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in an interview (at Hyderabad, Deccan) to the Associated Press to-day, commenting on the statement made by Pandit Nehru at the recent Press Conference in Bombay.

“The Muslim League,” Mr. Jinnah says, “shall have to consider the situation when the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League meet on July 26, 27 and 28 and adopt such action as we may think proper in the circumstances that have arisen.”
Mr. Jinnah says: "It has been clear from the outset to those who understand from the letter of the President of the Congress of June 25 addressed to the Viceroy and the resolution of the Congress Working Committee that followed it next day rejecting the Interim Government proposals contained in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and Viceroy dated June 16, that the so-called 'acceptance' by the Congress only of Long-term plan of May 16 was never intended to honour its terms and obligations with the desire to carry out the scheme in the spirit of constructive and friendly co-operation. It ended with covert threat that the successful working of the Constituent Assembly will depend upon the formation of a satisfactory provisional Interim Government. After that they themselves had wrecked the final proposal put forward by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy in their statement of June 16.

In their resolution they make reservations and put fantastic interpretations upon the fundamentals of Long-term plan and finally they make it clear that they were only going to prevent other people, whom they consider undesirable, from getting into the Constituent Assembly and seek election to wreck the Long-term plan also. Their going into the Constituent Assembly is, as has now been seen, so frankly and clearly defined by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on his assumption of office as the President of the Congress, 'to achieve their objective'. He has also made it quite clear that they are not going to honour any of the terms of the Long-term plan and that they are only entering, to put it shortly, to use it as platform for their propaganda in utter disregard of rights and obligations of those agreeing and who are in honour bound to fulfil or abide by it. This is simply because they have secured a brute majority of 292 against 79 Muslims in the Constituent Assembly.

What Pandit Nehru says while referring to the correspondence that passed between the Cabinet Mission and Viceroy and the Congress and of their final decision of June 25-26 is: 'You will see on what conditions and circumstances we agreed to go into Constituent Assembly. We have agreed to go into the Constituent Assembly and we have agreed to nothing else.'

This is complete repudiation of the basic form upon which the Long-term scheme rests and all its fundamentals and terms and obligations and rights of parties accepting the scheme.

I understand that there is going to be a debate in the British Parliament very soon on the report of the Cabinet Delegation and it is for the British Parliament and His Majesty's Government to make it clear beyond doubt and remove the impression that the Congress has accepted the Long-term scheme which is sought to be conveyed
abroad by the timid efforts of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, who throughout these negotiations suffered from a fear complex and constant threat of the Congress of resorting to civil disobedience, which is now repeated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his present statement to the Press Conference and further, in their undue anxiety to secure success of their Mission at any cost and the sacrifice of everybody else. In spite of knowing full well the true situation and the intentions of the Congress, the Mission have tried to treat the decision of the Congress as acceptance of a party who did so with real spirit of constructive co-operation to honour their obligations as an honourable organisation, according to spirit and letter of the Long-term scheme.”

* * *

Resolutions of the Council of the All-India Muslim League,
29th July, 1946

Resolution No. 1

On the 6th of June, 1946, the Council of the All-India Muslim League accepted the scheme embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May, 1946 and explained by them in their statement dated 25th May, 1946. The scheme of the Cabinet Delegation fell far short of the demand of the Muslim nation for the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign state of Pakistan comprising the six Muslim Provinces, but the Council accepted a Union Centre for ten years strictly confined to three subjects, viz. Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications, as the scheme laid down certain fundamentals and safeguards and provided for the grouping separately of the six Muslim Provinces in Sections B and C for the purpose of framing their Provincial and group Constitutions unfettered by the Union in any way; and also with a view to end the Hindu-Muslim deadlock peacefully and accelerate the attainment of freedom of the peoples of India. In arriving at this decision, the Council was also greatly influenced by the statement of the President which he made with the authority of the Viceroy that the Interim Government, which was an integral part of the Mission’s scheme, was going to be formed on the basis of a formula, viz. 5 Muslim League, 5 Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian stipulating that the most important portfolios would be distributed equally between the two major parties, the Muslim League and the Congress. The Council authorized the President to take such decision and action with regard to further details of setting up the Interim Government as
he deemed fit and proper. In that very resolution the Council also reserved the right to modify and revise this policy, if the course of events so required.

The British Government committed a breach of faith with the Muslim League in that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy went back on the original formula of 5:5:2 for setting up of the Interim Government to placate the Congress.

Having gone back on the original formula upon the faith of which the Muslim League Council had come to their decision on the 6th of June, the Viceroy suggested a new basis of 5:5:3 and, after carrying on considerable negotiations with the Congress and having failed to get the Congress to agree to it, intimated to the parties on the 15th of June that he and the Cabinet Delegation would issue their final statement with regard to the setting up of the Interim Government.

Accordingly on the 16th of June the President of the Muslim League received a statement embodying what was announced to be the final decision for setting up the Interim Government by the Viceroy making it clear that if either of the two major parties refused to accept the statement of June 16, the Viceroy would proceed to form the Interim Government with the major party accepting it and such other representatives as were willing to join. This was explicitly laid down in paragraph 8 of the statement of June 16.

Even this final decision of the Cabinet Mission of the 16th of June with regard to the formation of the Interim Government was rejected by the Congress, whereas the Muslim League definitely accepted it. Though this proposal was different from the original formula of 5:5:2, the Muslim League accepted it because the Viceroy had provided safeguards and given other satisfactory assurances which were contained in his letter dated the 20th of June, 1946, addressed to the President of the Muslim League.

The Viceroy, however, scrapped the proposal of the 16th of June and postponed the formation of the Interim Government on the plea concocted by the 'legalistic talents' of the Cabinet Mission putting a most fantastic and dishonest construction upon paragraph 8 of the statement to the effect that as both the major parties, i.e. the Muslim League and the Congress, had accepted the statement of May 16, the question of the Interim Government could only be taken up in consultation with the representatives of both the parties de novo.

Even assuming that this construction was tenable, for which there is no warrant, the Congress, by their conditional acceptance with reservations and interpretations of their own as laid down in
the letter of the President of the Congress dated the 25th of June and the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress passed at Delhi on the 26th of June, repudiating the very fundamentals of the scheme had, in fact, rejected the statement of the 16th of May and there was, therefore, no justification, whatsoever, for abandoning the final proposals of the 16th of June.

As regards the proposal embodied in the statements of the 16th and 25th of May of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the Muslim League alone of the two major parties has accepted it.

The Congress have not accepted it because their acceptance is conditional and subject to their own interpretation which is contrary to the authoritative statements of the Delegation and the Viceroy issued on the 16th and the 25th of May. The Congress have made it clear that they do not accept any of the terms or the fundamentals of the scheme but that they have agreed only to go into the Constituent Assembly and to nothing else; and that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and can take such decisions as it may think proper in total disregard of the terms and the basis on which it was proposed to be set up. Subsequently this was made further clear and beyond any doubt in the speeches that were made at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on the 6th of July by prominent members of the Congress and in the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the President of the Congress, to a press conference on 10th July in Bombay and then again even after the debate in the Parliament in a public speech by him at Delhi on the 22nd of July.

The result is, that of the two major parties, the Muslim League alone has accepted the statements of May 15 and 25 according to the spirit and the letter of the proposals embodied therein and in spite of the attention of the Secretary of State for India having been drawn to this situation by the statement of the President of the Muslim League of 13th July from Hyderabad Deccan, neither Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons, nor Lord Pethick Lawrence in the House of Lords, in the course of the recent debate, have provided or suggested any means or machinery to prevent the Constituent Assembly from taking decisions which would be ultra vires and not competent for the Assembly to do so. The only reference that the Secretary of State made to this serious situation was a mere expression of pious hope when he stated that 'that would not be fair to the other parties who go in'.

Once the Constituent Assembly were summoned and met there was no provision or power that could prevent any decision from being taken by the Congress, with its overwhelming majority, which
would not be competent for the Assembly to take or which would be *ultra vires* of it, and however repugnant it might be to the letter or the spirit of the scheme. It would rest entirely with the majority to take such decisions as they may think proper or suit them and the Congress have already secured by sheer numbers an overwhelming Hindu-Caste majority whereby they will be in a position to use the Assembly in the manner in which they have already declared, *i.e.*, that they will wreck the basic form of the grouping of the Provinces and extend the scope, powers and subjects of the Union Centre which is confined strictly to three specific subjects as laid down in paragraph 15 and provided for in paragraph 19 of the statement of 16th May.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy collectively and individually have stated on more than one occasion that the basic principles were laid down to enable the major parties to join the Constituent Assembly and that the scheme cannot succeed unless it is worked in a spirit of co-operation. The attitude of the Congress clearly shows that these conditions precedent for the successful working of the constitution-making body do not exist. This fact, taken together with the policy of the British Government sacrificing the interests of the Muslim nation and some other weaker sections of the peoples of India, particularly the Scheduled Castes, to appease the Congress and the way in which they have been going back on their oral and written solemn pledges and assurances given from time to time to the Muslims, leaves no doubt that in these circumstances the participation of the Muslims in the proposed constitution-making machinery is fraught with danger and the Council, therefore, hereby withdraws its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission’s proposals which was communicated to the Secretary of State for India by the President of the Muslim League on the 6th of June, 1946.

*Resolution No. 2*

Whereas the Council of the All-India Muslim League has resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May, 1946 due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other; and

Whereas Muslim India has exhausted without success all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means; and

Whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste-Hindu Raj in India with the connivance of the British; and
Whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs; and whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest contented with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution-making machinery or any constitution, long-term or short-term, or the setting up of any Interim Government at the Centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim League;

The Council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim Nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination.

This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand to a man behind their sole representative and authoritative organization, the All-India Muslim League, and to be ready for every sacrifice.

This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy enunciated above and to organize the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Mussalmans to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government.

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Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on the Muslim League's rejection of the Cabinet Mission Plan,

10th August, 1946

The Working Committee regret to note that the Council of the All-India Muslim League, reversing their previous decision, have decided not to participate in the Constituent Assembly.

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The Committee have noted that criticisms have been advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that the Congress acceptance of the proposals contained in the statement of May 16 was conditional. The Committee wish to make it clear that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in this statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety. They interpreted it so as to resolve the inconsistencies contained in it and fill the omissions in
accordance with the principles laid down in that statement. They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each Province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not. Questions of interpretation will be decided by the procedure laid down in the statement itself, and the Congress will advise its representatives in the Constituent Assembly to function accordingly.

The Committee have emphasized the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, that is its right to function and draw up a Constitution for India without the interference of any external power or authority. But the Assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task, and will, therefore, seek the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up a Constitution of free India allowing the greatest measure of freedom and protection for all just claims and interests. It was with this object and with the desire to function in the Constituent Assembly and make it a success, that the Working Committee passed their resolution on June 26, 1946, which was subsequently ratified by the All-India Congress Committee on July 7, 1946. By that decision of the All-India Congress Committee they must stand and they propose to proceed accordingly with their work in the Constituent Assembly.

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Mr. Jinnah’s statement on the Congress resolution, Bombay, August 12, 1946.

The entire scheme of the British Cabinet Mission consisted of the Long-term plan statements of 16th May and 25th May and the Short-term proposal of setting up the Interim Government and these two formed integral parts of the whole scheme and were interdependent and indivisible. The Muslim League accepted both whereas the Congress rejected the Interim Government proposal of 16th June and accepted the statement of 16th May conditionally with reservations and their own interpretations.

The Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy scrapped the Interim Government proposal of 16th June and treated the Congress decision communicated to them on the 25th and 26th of June wrongly as acceptance. The so-called acceptance was in fact, a rejection.

After that the Viceroy declined to postpone the election of the Constituent Assembly on the plea that arrangements for it had gone far too ahead. Although the arrangements with regard to the Interim Government were complete and the resignations of his then members of the Executive Council were held by him, and according to the
statement of the 16th of June the Interim Government was to be set up on or about the 26th of June, yet it was scrapped. After this the Muslim League was free to take such decision as they thought proper as the entire basis of the scheme had fallen through. It was only the Council of the All-India Muslim League that could finally have decided our attitude and in these circumstances we summoned the Council of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay on 27-29th July and they decided to withdraw our acceptance formally.

In the meantime we decided to contest the elections to the Constituent Assembly in order to prevent undesirable people getting in as Muslim representatives and we captured 95 per cent. Muslim seats. Meanwhile, before the Council of the League had met, Congress leaders including the President in their speeches at the All-India Congress Committee meeting on the 6th and 7th of July made their pronouncements which created grave apprehensions in the League circles, and these were expressed by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, in his statement from Delhi and by me in my statement from Hyderabad on the 13th of July, notably with regard to the pronouncement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the 10th of July at a press conference which left no doubt as to the intentions of the Congress. Both these statements were broadcast in the press by news agencies.

The debates in the Parliament which took place on the 18th of July showed that the British Government approved of the scrapping of the Interim Government by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy and paid no attention whatever to the new situation that had arisen, not only by pronouncements and clarifications and interpretations given by the Congress leaders which were published throughout the country, but also by the fact that the Assam Assembly, while electing the Assam representatives to the Constituent Assembly, had, under the instructions of the Congress High Command, passed a resolution giving a mandate not only to the Congress members but also to the representatives of the Mussalmans elected by a separate bloc of Muslim members, to have nothing to do with the C Group from the very start. This clearly repudiated one of the fundamental terms of the statement of 16th May and this is an instance of how the majority acted although it is highly doubtful whether the Assam Assembly was competent to give such a mandate to the representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

The latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at Wardha on the 10th August does not carry us anywhere because it is only a repetition of the Congress stand taken by them from the very beginning, only put in a different language and
phraseology. This is what they say with regard to their decision on
the Long-term plan:

'The Committee further notes that criticism have been
advanced on behalf of the Muslim League to the effect that Cong-
ress acceptance of the proposals contained in the statement of May
16 was conditional. The Committee wish to make it clear that
while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in this
statement, they accepted the scheme in its entirety.

The resolution further continues:—

'They interpreted it so as to resolve the inconsistency
contained in it and fill the omissions in accordance with the prin-
ciple laid down in that statement.'

Therefore, to start with, they are free to resolve the inconsis-
tency and fill in the omissions. How can that be in accordance
with the principle laid down in that statement? What is the
inconsistency and what are the omissions?

The resolution proceeds further and says:

'They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and
each province has the right to decide whether to form or join a
Group or not.'

Therefore they maintain that it is open to the Congress to
decide whether any particular province could join the Group or not.
But they go on to say:—

'The question of interpretation will be decided by the proce-
dure laid down in the statement itself and the Congress will advise
its representatives to the Constituent Assembly to function
accordingly.'

Who will decide this question of interpretation and by what
procedure and what is the procedure laid down in the statement for
the purpose of interpreting the statement or any clause thereof
except by the brute majority? The resolution then goes on
further:—

'The Committee have emphasised the sovereign character of
the Constituent Assembly, that is, the right to function and draw
up the constitution for India without the interference of any exter-
nal power or authority, but the Assembly will naturally function
within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task and
will further seek, the largest measure of co-operation in drawing up
the constitution of free India, allowing the greatest measure of
freedom and protection for all just claims and interests.'

Therefore it is obvious that they will hold that this consti-
tution-making machinery is a sovereign Constituent Assembly but
they resent any interference of any external power and authority.
Whoever has suggested it and where has it been suggested? The question is how this Assembly will function and they make it clear that it will do so with internal limitations in the statement of May 16th which could not be overruled by a sovereign Constituent Assembly. If any decisions are taken by this Assembly which are repugnant, ultra vires or incompetent for the Assembly to adopt, what is the check provided for it either internally or externally except again the brute majority in the Assembly?

They conclude by saying that the resolution of the Working Committee passed on June 26 and confirmed by the A. I. C. C. 'must stand and they propose to proceed accordingly with their work in the Constituent Assembly.' Therefore it is quite clear that there is no change on the part of the Congress except the startling expression that they had accepted the scheme in its entirety, which is immediately contradicted by what follows in the resolution and they have reiterated their repudiation of the Grouping and emphasised once more the sovereign character of the Constituent Assembly, which can only mean that it will not be bound by anything laid down in the statement of 16th May and would be free to decide every question by majority.

I need not deal with the rest of the resolution which is nothing but verbiage and an appeal to the League to join the battle of India's independence. But there is no doubt left as to India's independence now because the statement of May 16th, at any rate, makes it clear on the part of the British and Mr. Patel, in his recent speech in Bombay, said there was no need any longer to fight the British and that the only revolution that was needed was internal revolution. With whom does the Congress ask us to join hands and for what purpose?

I am afraid the situation remains as it was and we are where we were.

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Announcement of the personnel of the Interim Government,
24 August, 1946

His Majesty the King has accepted the resignation of the present members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. His Majesty has been pleased to appoint the following:

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*Viceroy's House Communique.—The Indian Annual Register (1946), vol. II, p. 228.
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. M. Asaf Ali, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Dr. John Matthai, Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Syed Ali-Zaheer and Mr. Covesji Hormusji Bhabha.

Two more Muslim members will be appointed later. The Interim Government will take office on September 2.

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Broadcast by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, 24th August, 1946

You will have heard the announcement of the names of the members of the new Interim Government which will come into office very shortly. You will, I am sure, all realize that a very momentous step forward has been taken on India's road to freedom. Some of you who listen to me may feel, however, that the step should not have been taken in this way or at this time. It is to these that I want principally to address myself tonight.

You who are opposed to the formation of the new Government are not, I assume, opposed to the main policy of His Majesty's Government, namely, to fulfil their pledges by making India free to follow her own destiny. You will also, I think, all agree that we need at once a Government of Indians as representative as possible of political opinion in the country. This is what I set out to secure: but though 5 seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government is to operate under the existing Constitution, it has not been possible at present to secure a coalition. No one could be sorrier about the failure than I am. No one could be more sure that it is a Coalition Government in which both the main parties are represented that is needed at this moment in the interests of all parties and communities in India. This is a view which I know that the President of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and his colleagues hold as strongly as I do. His efforts, like mine, will still be directed to persuading the League to join the Government.

Let me state clearly the offer which has been made and is still open to the Muslim League. They can propose to me five names for places in a Government of 14, of which 6 will be nominees of Congress and three will be representatives of the Minorities. Provided these names are acceptable to me and approved by His Majesty, they will be included in the Government, which will at once be re-
formed. The Muslim League need have no fear of being outvoted on any essential issue; a Coalition Government can only exist and function on the condition that both main parties to it are satisfied. I will see that the most important portfolios are equitably shared. I sincerely trust that the League will reconsider their policy and decide to participate in the Government.

Meanwhile, however, the administration of India has to go on, and there are large issues which must be decided. I am glad that the representatives of a very large body or political opinion in the country will be my colleagues in carrying of the Government. I welcome them to my Council. I am also glad that the Sikhs have now decided to participate in the Constituent Assembly and in the Interim Government. I have no doubt that their decision is a wise one.

As I have already made clear, I shall implement fully His Majesty's Government's policy of giving the new Government the maximum freedom in the day-to-day administration of the country. In the field of provincial autonomy, of course, the Provincial Governments have a very wide sphere of authority in which the Central Government cannot intervene. My new Government will not have any power or indeed any desire to trespass on the field of provincial administration.

The recent terrible occurrences in Calcutta have been a sobering reminder that a much greater measure of toleration is essential if India is to survive the transition to freedom.

The War Member in the new Government will be an Indian, and this is a change which both the Commander-in-Chief and I warmly welcome. But the constitutional position of the Armed Forces is in no way changed. They still owe allegiance in accordance with their oath, to the King-Emperor, to whom and to Parliament I am still responsible.

In spite of all immediate appearances I believe there is yet a chance of agreement between the two principal parties. I am quite sure that there is a very large body of opinion in both parties and of non-party men who would welcome such an agreement, and I hope they will all work for it. I would appeal also to the Press to use its very great influence on the side of moderation and compromise. Remember that the Interim Government can be reformed tomorrow if the League decides to come in. Meanwhile it will administer in the interests of the country as a whole and not of any one party or creed.

It is desirable also that the work of the Constituent Assembly should begin as early as possible. I can assure the Muslim League
that the procedure laid down in the statement of May 16 regarding the framing of Provincial and group Constitutions will be faithfully adhered to; that there can be no question of any change in the fundamental principles proposed for the Constituent Assembly in paragraph 15 of the Cabinet Mission’s statement of May 16 or of a decision on a main communal issue, without a majority of both major communities; and that the Congress are ready to agree that any dispute of interpretation may be referred to the Federal Court. I sincerely trust that the Muslim League will reconsider their decision not to take part in a plan which promises to give them so wide a field in which to protect the interests and to decide the future of the Muslims of India.

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Statement by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 25th August, 1946

It is to be regretted that the Viceroy, in his broadcast last night, should have made such a misleading statement and contrary to facts that, ‘though 5 seats out of 14 were offered to the Muslim League, though assurances were given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down, and though the new Interim Government is to operate under the existing Constitution, it has not been possible to secure a coalition’. The truth is that the Viceroy wrote to me on July 22 making certain proposals which were vitally and substantially different from the Interim Government proposals embodied in the statement of June 16 and the assurances given to the Muslim League, enclosing a copy of a similar letter addressed by him to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This was on the eve of the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League and the Viceroy knew fully well that a grave situation had been created and that there were serious apprehensions and misgivings about the policy of His Majesty’s Government and his attitude in the matter. Nevertheless, there is not a single word in his letter of July 22 with regard to our position vis-a-vis Constituent Assembly in the light of the decision of the Congress, the pronouncements of the Congress leaders and the directive given by the Assam Assembly to Assam’s representatives on the Constituent Assembly to have nothing to do with the C Group.

I replied to the Viceroy on July 31, clearly stating our position with regard to his new move which was obviously intended to meet the Congress wishes, for else what justification was there for him to depart even from the final proposals embodied in the statement of
June 16? Will the Viceroy explain why there should be any departure from those proposals and the assurances that were given to us and for whose advantage is this new move being made by him?

I received a reply from him dated the 8th of August acknowledging my letter of 31st July; it is amazing that he should have stated therein that his suggestion in his letter of 22nd July was the same as the one the Muslim League Working Committee accepted at the end of June, namely, 6:5:3. This is entirely incorrect as has been already pointed out by me in my letter of 31st July. He further says: 'In view of the League resolution of 29th July I have now decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government, and I am sure that if they make a reasonable offer to you of a coalition I can rely on you for a ready response.'

I had, and have, no knowledge or information as to what actually transpired between the Congress and the Viceroy, but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, I suppose as arranged, came to see me on August 15. It was merely a formality and he made his offer: that the Congress were willing to give, out of 14, 5 seats to the Muslim League, and the remaining 9 were to be nominated by them, including 1 Muslim of their choice; that he was not forming the Executive Council under the present constitution but a 'Provisional National Government' responsible to the present Legislative Assembly; and he made it clear in his letter of August 15 in reply to mine of the same date that while he was willing to discuss the larger question with me, he had no new suggestion to make, and added, 'Perhaps you may be able to make a new approach', and when I did make a suggestion, he turned it down saying that the Congress stand was the same as laid down in their resolution of Delhi passed on June 26 and that the Wardha Resolution of August 10 had only reaffirmed that stand, and this was repeated by him at the press conference on August 16 before his departure for Delhi to meet the Viceroy.

I informed Pandit Nehru that in these circumstances there was no chance of the Working Committee or the Council of the All-India Muslim League accepting his proposals.

Thereafter the Viceroy, Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders have now for nearly a week carried on their discussions and negotiations behind my back and without any knowledge or information being furnished to me, except the communiqué that was issued last night announcing the formation of the Interim Government and the Viceroy's broadcast. As the Viceroy has already disclosed the alleged offer without stating what reply he had received from me, I am herewith releasing the correspondence.
Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian
National Congress, 22nd December, 1946

The Working Committee have given careful consideration to
the statement issued by the British Government on December 6,
1946, as well as other statements made recently on their behalf in
Parliament. These statements, though made by way of interpreta-
tion and elucidation, are clearly additions to and variations of the
British Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16, 1946, on which the
whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly was based.

The Working Committee deeply regret that the British Govern-
ment should have acted in a manner which has not been in keeping
with their own assurances, and which has created suspicion in the
minds of large numbers of people in India. For some time past the
attitude of the British Government and their representatives in India
has been such as to add to the difficulties and complexities of the
situation in the country. Their present intervention long after the
members of the Constituent Assembly had been elected has created
a new situation which is full of peril for the future. Because of this,
the Working Committee have given anxious and prolonged thought
to it.

The Congress seeks to frame, through the Constituent Assem-
bly, a Constitution of a free and independent India with the willing
co-operation of all elements of the Indian people. The Working
Committee regret that Muslim League members of the Constituent
Assembly have refrained from attending its opening session. The
Committee, however, appreciate and express their gratification at
the presence in the Constituent Assembly of representatives of all
other interests and sections of the people of India, and note with
pleasure the spirit of co-operation in a common task and a high
endeavour which has been in evidence during the session of the
Assembly. The Committee will continue their efforts to make the
Constituent Assembly fully representative of all the people of India
and trust that members of the Muslim League will give their co-
operation in this great task. In order to achieve this, the Committee
have advised Congress representatives in the Assembly to postpone
consideration of important issues to a subsequent meeting.

In their statement of December 6, 1946, the British Govern-
ment, in giving their interpretation of a doubtful point of procedure,
have referred to it as a 'fundamental point' and suggested that the
Constituent Assembly may refer it to the Federal Court at a very early date. Subsequent statements made on behalf of the British Government have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept the decision of this Court should it go against their own interpretation. On behalf of the Muslim League also it has been stated that they will not be bound by the decision of the Federal Court, and a demand for the partition of India, which is a negation of the Cabinet Mission’s scheme, continues to be put forward. While the Congress has always been willing to agree to a reference to the Federal Court, any reference now, when none of the other parties are prepared to join in it or to accept it, and none of them does not even accept the basis of the scheme, becomes totally uncalled for and unbecoming, and unsuited to the dignity of either the Congress or the Federal Court. By their repeated statements, British statesmen have ruled this out.

The Working Committee are still of opinion that the interpretation put by the British Government in regard to the method of voting in the Sections is not in conformity with provincial autonomy, which is one of the fundamental bases of the scheme proposed in the statement of May 16. The Committee are anxious to avoid anything that may come in the way of the successful working of the Constituent Assembly, and are prepared to do everything in their power to seek and obtain the largest measure of co-operation, provided that no fundamental principle is violated. In view of the importance and urgency of the issues facing the country and the far-reaching consequences which must follow any decision, the Working Committee are convening an emergent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Delhi early in January to consider the latest developments and to give such directions as it may deem fit.

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Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, 31st January, 1947

The situation created by the issue of the statement (of 6th December, 1946) by His Majesty’s Government 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, 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 December 9, 1946, pending settlement of the dispute over the fundamental points of principle and procedure which had been brought to the fore front by the statement of December 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 regret 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 His Majesty's Government as a whole and which destroy the very basis on which the constitutional plan set forth in that statement has been drawn up.

By their resolution of December 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 All-India Congress Committee for the purpose of giving a decision on the issues raised by the statement of December 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 All-India Congress Committee by its resolution passed on January 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 All-India Congress Committee, 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 December 6 statement, and this All-India Congress Committee 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 His Majesty's Government on December 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 His Majesty's Government's statement of December 6, namely, the procedure whereby either side could refer other questions of interpretation to the Federal Court, the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee makes no mention, but the mover of the resolution, Pandit Nehru, on being questioned on the second day of the All-India Congress Committee'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 December 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 shall 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 All-India Congress Committee 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 North-West Frontier Province, 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 December 9 and subsequent dates and thereafter on January 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 is 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 the Union 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.

And lastly, it has 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 His Majesty's Government 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 His Majesty's Government 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 have not accepted and does not accept them, although the Muslim League had accepted, by their 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 proposal 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 thereafter 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.


* See also

Pakistan and partition

11. National Liberal Federation

*Note*: This political party represented the liberal school of thought. Unable to subscribe to the policy of non-co-operation with the direct action against the Government, the liberals or "moderates" withdrew their allegiance to the Congress in 1919. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar were the eminent among the leaders of this party. A few important documents given below indicate the main aims and objects of the Party.


* Documents

To recapitulate we can say that Gandhism differed from Liberalism in*:

1. Rejecting any Providential significance in the Indo-British political link;
2. respecting the inevitability of gradualness in the achievement of Swaraj as a method of political strategy;
3. his political technique, means, methods and aims;
4. more emphasis on individual than on collective action, e.g., individual satyagraha;
5. more emphasis on ruralism than on urbanism, mass-contact *versus* Drawing room politicians, Khadi, village reconstruction, Nai Talim, etc.;
6. considering politics as an element of religion as against secularisation of politics;
7. a conservative rather than a radical approach to social questions, and

rejection of the implications of the modern idea of progress which the Liberals held so dear, e.g., modern industrialism, hospitals, railways, universities etc.

The Liberal Federation at its 1925 session again reiterated its demands for constitutional reforms. In a resolution Chintamani approved of the Minority Report, expressed disappointment at the speech of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in July and August, and laid down the lines of future reforms: viz.*

(1) Complete Provincial Autonomy;
(2) Central Government to be responsible to the Legislative Assembly in internal civil administration;
(3) Control of foreign and political relations and defence in the hands of the Governor-General for a definite period after which it was to be reviewed by a Commission on which Indian opinion ought to be adequately represented;
(4) During this period a fixed amount to be allotted to Governor-General.
(5) In emergency he can spend more but he shall apprise the Assembly of it at its next sitting;
(6) Indians to be trained for and freely admitted to all arms of the defence forces;
(7) Recruitment and other conditions of All-India Service should be determined by the Government of India through a Public Service Commission;
(8) Residual functions should vest in the Central Government;
(9) The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.
(10) Strength of legislative bodies to be increased with wider and lower franchise; adequate provision for the election of backward, depressed and labouring classes and equal women franchise.

The Liberal Federation also touched among others on two main themes of the hour (i) communal and (ii) political problems. In regard to the latter problem, the Liberal Federation urged†:

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1. immediate declaration of the Status of a Dominion for India;
2. release of political prisoners.
3. to set up representative governments in states;
4. "and to participate in solution of the present political deadlock and to promote the establishment of a national government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces."

As regards the communal problem, the Federation held:—
1. Pakistan is no solution of the problem of minorities.
2. The principle of self-determination raised by the Muslim League is dubious.
3. The Federation suggested the adoption of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference formula for resolving Indian deadlock.

Constitution of the National Liberal Federation of India*

1. The object of the National Liberal Federation of India and its component organisations is the attainment by constitutional means of Swaraj (Responsible Self-Government and Dominion Status for India) at the earliest possible date.

The Federation and its component organisations will aim at a higher standard of national efficiency by means of administrative reforms, the wider spread of education, the improvement of public health, economic development, the promotion of inter-communal unity and the amelioration of the condition of the backward communal classes of the population.

2. The Indian Association and the Bengal National Liberal League, Calcutta; the National Liberal Association of Western India, Bombay; the Madras Liberal League, Madras; the United Provinces Liberal Association, Allahabad; the Punjab Liberal League, Lahore; the National Liberal League of the Central Provinces, Nagpur; the Berar Liberal League, Akola; the Deccan Sabha, Poona and other Liberal Associations or Leagues which may adopt the objects and methods of the National Liberal Federation and may be recognised in this behalf by the Indian National Liberal Federation.

Council shall be component part of the National Liberal Federation of India.

3. The work of the Federation shall be carried on between one annual session and another by a council called the Indian

National Liberal Council, consisting of the office bearers, five members nominated by the President and not more than twenty-five members from each province elected by the Federation at the annual session.

4. The Office bearers shall be the President of the last previous annual session of the Federation, who shall be the Chairman of the Council; the ex-President of the last previous annual session of the Federation, who shall be the Chairman of the Council; the ex-president, who shall be the Vice Chairman, and one or more General Secretaries.

5. Every member of the Council shall pay an annual subscription of Rs. 25/.

6. The member of the Associations or Leagues which are component parts of the Federation and such other persons as may be elected by their committees are eligible for membership of the annual session of the Federation. Every member who attends a session shall pay such fee as may be fixed by the Reception Committee.

7. The Indian National Liberal Council is authorized to set up a working committee and to delegate to it such functions as it may deem fit and further to constitute from time to time standing or special committees to deal with specific subjects or matters. Standing and Special Committees may cooperate as members Liberals as well as other persons who approve of the general policy of the Federation, but do not belong to any Liberal organisation. The number of coopted members may not exceed one-third of the total number of members of a committee.

8. Every reception committee shall remit to the general secretary or secretaries after the conclusion of the annual session the equivalent of fifty pounds sterling for financing work in England in the furtherance of India’s cause.

* * *

The Presidential Address of the All-India Liberal Federation by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru
27 December, 1927*

‘It is our purpose’, said Lord Birkenhead, ‘that the Commission when it visits India, should establish contact with the Committee appointed for that purpose by the Central Legislature.’...

Stripped of all superfluous verbiage it comes to nothing more than this, that the Central Legislature will be asked to appoint a

*The Indian Annual Register, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 425-9,
Committee to prepare their own proposals and to place them before the Commission. Hitherto in the passages that I have quoted above there is not even an indication that these Committees will take part in the examination of witnesses or documents or that they will be at liberty even to submit any report. They are to place their proposals and try to persuade the Commission to accept them which will analyse and criticize those proposals and in the end may accept or reject them. They cannot vote at any stage of their contact with the Commission. They are simply there to plead, to persuade, to urge and then to withdraw, and yet we are told that these Committees will be the colleagues of the Commission. If an advocate can be a colleague of a judge, if a person who is put on his trial can be colleague of a jury, than no doubt those Committees will be the Colleagues of the Commission.

* * *

There is yet another palliative provided and we are asked to reconcile ourselves to this scheme by remembering that at the next stage 'after the Commission has presented its Report, the proposals of the Government on it will be sent, according to precedent, to both the Houses of Parliament.' I have a distinct recollection of the work of the Joint Select Committee in the year 1919. I was examined by it and so were many other Indian friends of mine. Constitutionally the creation of such a committee is perfectly understandable and defensible, but constitutionally again I ask, how is it possible for any Indian delegation, whether of the Committees of the Indian Legislatures or any other class of persons, to claim equality with the Select Committee of Parliament or to share responsibility with that Select Committee? Let not, therefore, the Indian position be misunderstood. At any rate the position of our party is and has been that while constitutionally the ultimate decision lies with Parliament there is nothing in the Act to prevent Parliament from taking in Indians into the Statutory Commission and giving them the right of participating in the recommendations of that Commission. A true spirit of co-operation and the broad-minded statesmanship required that Indians should have been taken into the Commission and the creation of this cumbersome machinery of Committees with all bombastic claims for its equality can be no substitute either for a mixed Commission or for a real Round Table Conference.

* * *
I do not think a worse challenge has been thrown out ever before to Indian nationalism and notwithstanding the profuse assurances in Mr. Baldwin’s speech and the yet more profuse assurances in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald’s speech, Indian nationalists of the Moderate school have been compelled to ask if the only way of recognizing the spirit of co-operation is by telling Indians that their lot is to be none other than that of petitioners, that they cannot be trusted to participate in the responsibility of making recommendations to Parliament for the future of their country, and that all that they may aspire to is to put their proposals before the Commission which may accept them or reject them, and again to repeat the same process of persuasion, argument and discussion before the Joint Committee of Parliament. Now, if this is what is meant by co-operation, if this is the new idea of equality of status on which we are to be fed, if our patriotism is a prejudice and if the patriotism of the seven Members of Parliament is to be treated as impartial justice, then we Liberals feel justified in telling the Government here and in England, ‘You may do anything you like in the assertion of your right as supreme power, but we are not going to acquiesce in this method of dealing with us. Neither our self-respect nor our sense of duty to our country can permit us to go near the Commission.

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12. Praja Socialist Party

Note: The Praja Socialist Party (PSP) came into existence after joint meeting of the K. M. P. P. and S. P. at Bombay on 26th and 27th September, 1952. The basis of the new party was, as indicated by the resolution for merger “close approximation, and often identity, of aims and policies”. The resolution also expressed the hope that the fusion would “set going a process of political consolidation that will build up a strong and massive party of radicalism and socialism.”

The main object of the “party is defined as ... the achievement by a peaceful revolution of a democratic socialist society free from social, political and economical exploitation”. The party emphasises upon “the purity of means, non-violent techniques of struggle and decentralized democracy and economy”.

The manifestoes given below explain further the aims and objects of the P. S. P.
The Praja Socialist Party greets the Indian people on the eve of the coming General Elections. This date with destiny significantly falls in the year 1957. On this occasion too the people are full of hope and hunger for new developments. In free India, wedded to democracy, worthwhile changes henceforth will be ushered in by the verdict of the people at the polls. The hour of revolution heralding democratic transformation draws near and the Praja Socialist Party appeals to the people to seize the historic moment to slough off old, obsolete ideas, institutions and administration and move forward to a shining future.

The Praja Socialist Party has been greatly disturbed by the functioning of the Government and the party in power. The Government has sought to make the administration all-enveloping, has systematically pulverized independent organizations and has not hesitated to disrupt the emerging countervailing forces against bureaucracy and authoritarianism in our infant democracy. The fast expanding administration, which sucks up all power and initiative, itself reeks with corruption and at the grass roots where the administration impinges upon the lives of the common folk it is at once inefficient and oppressive. These developments need to be checked and countered in the interest not of democracy alone but of the very health and well-being of society. The present Government is not interested in, and is incapable of, evoking enthusiasm of the people in the task of national reconstruction; if our people are to prosper forces that can impart energy and vision must come to the top. To that end, the Praja Socialist Party dedicates all its strength.

The people have experienced under the Congress rule, not the exhilaration of freedom but stifling of liberties. With the emergence of authoritarianism in the Government and the Congress the distinction, essential to democracy, between the State, Government and party is being obliterated and the resources of the State, the authority of the government and influence of public officials are being freely used to further party ends. Civil liberties are wantonly violated, and the police have become trigger-happy and persistent refusal to institute Judicial Enquiry into police firing further aggravates the situation. Public opinion is ignored and popular agitation is repressed. The will of the government and not the wishes of the people, becomes law of the land. As a result the people become dispirited, frustration spreads and the fabric of law and order gets loosened and weakened.
The Praja Socialist Party since the last General Elections sought to counter these tendencies by championing the grievances of the people and providing organised expression to people's urges. In keeping with the cherished tradition of our nation thousands of our workers peacefully trekked to prison in fighting injustice and oppression. If such widespread expression of opinion failed to alter the policies of the government it is because the ruling party has wielded against all opposition its sledge-hammer majority in the legislatures. Democracy in the country and the liberties of the people will not be safe unless a strong and alert opposition confronts the government. This desideratum has to be filled. That is the task of supreme importance. The Praja Socialist Party appeals with all sincerity that unless the coming elections provide effective opposition to whatever government be put in power people's rights will continue to be abridged and trampled upon.

The Party is keenly aware of the oppressive burden of the present administration, its costliness, wastefulness, top-heaviness, and lack of live contact with the people; of the vast expenditure only a fraction benefits the people. These repulsive features are the direct consequences of the refusal to decentralise power. Administration at the district and lower levels, remains almost unaltered in spite of the advent of freedom. This is the cardinal defect from which many prevailing evils flow. The Party stands for the complete overhaul of the administration, above all at the lower levels, and for enlarging vastly the powers and resources of local bodies and entrusting them with responsibilities of administration, development and welfare of the people. Swaraj, as the Father of the Nation taught us, is meaningful only to the extent every village becomes a republic and the higher organ of administration a federation of such republics. It is to realise that fond dream that the Party dedicates itself.

The Government flaunts its plans of development and is vastly proud of the factories and dams under construction. But behind these plans, the lives of the people get impoverished and anxiety gnaws deeper. The steep rise in prices has eaten deeply into the already low standard of living of the people and large sections get pushed below not just the poverty line but the destitution line. Rising prices, growing unemployment and the general economic insecurity experienced by the working people make a mockery of all claims of development and progress. The lower and middle classes today are getting crushed between insecure incomes and inflating prices. In the desperate struggle for making both ends meet, people forget moral values and corruption sweeps through life. The Praja Socialist Party decisively rejects the idea that development of the
country can be attempted on the impoverishment of the people. The economic policies of the Party are directed to raising the living standards of the people and assuring them employment and expanding opportunities.

The Party realises that the peasants and the rural people have received a raw deal so far. Evictions continue, land reforms are halting and often remain a dead letter. Extension services and state aid are cornered by the well placed and the privileged while the needy remain unattended. The party will stop evictions and those unjustly evicted will be restored. The party advocates comprehensive and integrated land reforms that will make the tiller of the soil its owner. There will be redistribution of land with a ceiling on holdings and facilities for personal cultivation to small holders. It will make the village panchayat the key agency for implementing on land reforms, and with its associated co-operatives make the panchayat the principal organ of administration and economic life. It will foster co-operative marketing, credit and development societies and endow the panchayat co-operatives with the authority and resources needed to provide extension services to every nook and corner of the country. It will provide housing sites and building facilities to rural areas and introduce crop insurance and similar measures to safeguard the peasants against the hazards of their occupation.

Enlistment of peasants who are in need of work in land armies, will reclaim land, fertilise waste lands and develop rural life and agriculture. Through co-operative warehousing and policy of price-support, the Party will assure fair and steady return to the peasants. By fostering village craft and encouraging inter-village exchange of commodities, varied occupations and balanced economy will be brought to the village. The Party will discourage, and where necessary restrict, opening of factories that tend to grow at the expense of rural artisans, and will concentrate on improving the tools and technique of village craftsmen. In the revival and reconstruction of rural society special attention will be paid, and necessary assistance provided to the scheduled castes, tribes, and other socially submerged sections. The peasant will ever be the pivot of the economic policies of the Party.

The industrial workers will be assured of the full enjoyment of the rights of association and collective bargaining with option to strike. Every assistance will be provided to build up strong, independent, and democratic trade unions and they will be entrusted with the responsibilities of operating and extending social security, and other schemes of welfare, and educational and technical improve-
ment of the workers. Housing for workers shall be an obligatory responsibility of industry whether public or private. Workers' participation in management will be widely introduced and the trade unions and factory committees will be invited to become leading organs of planning, production and development. Equal attention will be paid to increase in production as to increase in employment. Through production bonus and profit sharing workers' earnings will be raised to living wage. Wages of agricultural workers will be fixed, housing and other amenities provided to them and they shall be helped to settle on land as far as possible.

The Praja Socialist Party deeply sympathises with the mounting hardships of these people. The Party advocates provision of housing and social security for them.

Industrial Estates with facilities for running medium industrial enterprises, independently or co-operatively, will be established extensively under State auspices. State and co-operative banks will ensure adequate credit facilities for small businessmen. The Party is firmly opposed to growth of monopoly. It will, therefore, legislate against big business, whether conducted by the State and all the more so when it is in private hands, that encroaches upon the opportunities and occupations of small businessmen. While it will demand from salaried and professional people devoted service and uncorrupt behaviour, it will function on the recognition that such devotion can emerge only when the needs and susceptibilities of these sections of the people are faithfully looked after. The middle class is undoubtedly the backbone of our society and as such it needs to be supported and cherished, but it, in its turn, must release in society constructive energy, a kind of social kundalini, that is today coiled and locked up in them. National revival demands the evolution of new moves and moods; the party appeals to this class to pioneer in this direction.

The Praja Socialist Party believes that businessmen would prefer a Socialist Government that clearly and precisely announces its policies and sticks to it, to a government, as of today, that coverts its policies constantly to exercise continuous pressure and extend uncertainty in all business operations. The Party believes that in the interest of planned economic development it is essential to nationalise banks, mines and mineral oils. To accelerate capital formation it is necessary for the State to take over big plantations, and trade wholesale and foreign, in selected commodities. The Party is opposed to monopolist expansion of a few business houses that grow at the expense of a large number of existing or possible small and medium entrepreneurs. The Party disfavours institutions like the Managing Agency system and will take deter-
mined steps to break up industrial monopolies. While the Party would exercise strictest vigilance on big business, it would offer every possible assistance to small and medium enterprises because it believes that what does not need to be nationalised should be nurtured by State aid.

The Praja Socialist Party recognises that it is the responsibility of State enterprises to be a model of efficiency, honesty, and economic democracy. Mere extension of state ownership is not Socialism. Socialism should give new status to the workers, enlist their co-operation in management, and make employees' organisations strong and enthusiastic enough to set up production, efficiency and business integrity. Far from distrusting workers and therefore curtailing their rights in public enterprises, as the Government has done so far, the Party will entrust increasing responsibilities to the employees and enlarge the ambit of their rights and powers. The managerial cadre must be drawn from trained workers, technicians, independent businessmen, and government servants. The Indian Civil Service can possess the requisite administrative flexibility and drive only if it is thus widely selected and brought into effective conjunction with organised workers and consumers in the management of public enterprises.

The Praja Socialist Party is distressingly aware of the neglect of young people under Congress rule. The Party believes that provision of education and spread of literacy is a primary civic responsibility that democracy can ignore only at its peril. For the Party the Directive Principles of the Constitution are not pious platitudes but real directives to be scrupulously carried out. The Party believes that the responsibility of the state does not end with providing educational facilities, it must include the onus of finding gainful employment to the educated. The Party would, therefore, develop through local bodies and higher organs of administration a system of “follow-up” which would not leave the educated to tramp about unemployed and uprooted.

The Party will give sport and community building activities pride of place in the life of young people. The outflowing ardour of youth must be harnessed for social work and national planning will include at all levels the enlisting of full co-operation of youth both in the drawing up of plans and their implementation. By correcting the tone of education and fostering community life the young people will be made the principal agency of social and economic equality and fellowship. The Party of socialism will put youth at the helm of the nation's affairs, and end the shame and agony of treating youth as a forgotten element in the country.
The Praja Socialist Party deeply sympathises with the Indian people groaning under the crushing load of taxes. The tax burdens become more onerous because (1) they fall disproportionately on the poor and on their necessities of life; (2) widespread evasion of taxes by the privileged further lightens the burden on the rich, and (3) wasteful expenditure and bureaucratic administration return only a fraction of the taxes to the people in terms of concrete benefits.

For the Party the quintessence of Socialism lies in economic equality. The tax policy must, therefore, not merely correct the embedded inequalities of our society but squarely put on big business, which gains most under rising prices, taxes needed to check inflation. There is need for graduated annual tax on wealth, besides capital gains tax and excess profit tax. Inheritance tax is woefully incomplete without a gift tax. Princes' privy purses should be abolished and their personal income and property made subject to the general tax laws of the land.

Public enterprises need to be run efficiently and economically to yield increasing profits to the Nation's Exchequer. All imposts on food and other essentials of life shall be removed. Betterment levies and development cesses, such as increase in canal rates, need to be sealed down to evoke enthusiasm and co-operation of the peasants without which higher production and incomes will remain a mirage.

The Party is fully aware that the burden of taxes is greatly increased by the cumbrous machinery of collection. The Party will treat tax evasion as a crime of the highest order and deal with it as such. It believes that strong organisations of workers and consumers will offer it assistance in this direction that the present government can never evoke. In Sales Tax, the machinery will be simplified by introducing trade licenses for smaller tradesmen and taxation at the source of production wherever possible. The Party's ceaseless endeavour will be to see that the taxed rupee is so utilised as to increase the earning capacity of the people.

National unity and integration depend on justice and fair play to the minorities. The Party feels a special responsibility for tribal people who have to be assured not only development and welfare but enrichment of their distinctive culture. Regional Councils with administrative autonomy will help to introduce modern amenities and advanced techniques of production in tribal areas. Religious and cultural minorities will be assured the free profession and practice of their religions and maintenance of their educational institutions. There will be full equality before law and also equality in economic opportunities and social advancement for minorities.
Cultural traditions of the minorities will be cherished and encouraged to full development.

The Party is happy that States have recently been organised on linguistic lines and it is proud of the sustained role it played in ushering in this reform. The Party is committed to the realisation of unilingual States wherever they have been denied. Linguistic minorities in the reorganised States will be assured equal protection and opportunities. Every language group will be helped to develop its language, script, literature, culture and state assistance will be available for continuous enrichment of India’s many languages.

As a socialist movement, the Party’s prime and distinctive contribution lies in the sphere of social and economic development. It is no accident that many of the reforms and proposals long advocated by the Party and ignored and ridiculed by men in power, have been belatedly accepted. In the future as in the past, if the country is to move forward, the spread of socialist ideas will continue through the programme of the P. S. P. The Party lays special emphasis on regional development and believes that planning should fully utilise the special resources, aptitudes and opportunities in different regions. In locating State and aided industrial enterprises the present imbalance as between different regions shall be corrected.

The vast natural resources of India such as fishing, forests, water resources will be co-operatively as well as administratively developed. While concentration of ownership whether in agriculture, plantation, industry or commerce will be prevented, every encouragement will be given to small and medium enterprises. The nationalised sector will subserve the needs of the public and independent and co-operative producers. As concentration of economic power will be prevented so also will agglomeration of people in crowded urban areas discouraged. Industrial expansion will be entwined with agricultural progress and as an integral part of rural development. Fabricating industries will generally be decentralised and where industrial raw materials have to be produced in bulk co-operative enterprises will be set up. Processing raw materials will be done in rural areas through co-operatives. Cloth is eminently suited for decentralised production and weaving will be made a prosperous home industry adequately protected against competition from mills.

The party will work out a plan of national health service to provide free and subsidised medical care to the people, particularly in rural areas.

The party welcomes the relaxation of tension in the world and the general improvement of India’s relations with other countries.
The party, however, deplores the sad state of relations with our immediate neighbours and the neglect of the vital interests of the nation. The unending flow of refugees from Pakistan shows that the wounds of partition continue to bleed. The Party will seek to settle in a friendly spirit all outstanding differences with Pakistan, but will not hesitate to take firm and even stern action if the flow of refugees is not stopped.

The party salutes the freedom fighters of Goa and is proud of the part its members played in the liberation movement. The Government's mishandling of the Goa problem and its inability to find any solution for it and the inflexible opposition to popular efforts are greatly to be deplored. The Party is confident that voters, when they exercise their vote, will remember who fought for the liberation of Goa and who have frustrated the struggle.

The Party is second to none in its devotion to, and search for, international peace. But it believes that stable peace depends on extension of freedom and justice, national, political and racial. Only fighters for freedom can be partisans of peace. In the case of Hungary, Algeria, Kenya, and many other hapless countries the Indian Government has preferred expediency to the claims of freedom and justice. The Party will extend its support without hesitation or equivocation to all peoples struggling for national freedom, democratic rights and racial equality.

The Party supports the United Nations not as the organisation for world peace alone but also for fostering balanced economic development in the world. Within the United Nations close economic and cultural co-operation needs to be worked out between the Afro-Asian nations. The Party is convinced that able leadership can successfully direct men's thoughts and nation's efforts to disarmament and diversion of those resources for economic development and social uplift. Never in all history was the time so opportune for beating swords into plough-shares as today. Moral persuasion and enlightened public opinion will influence international relations far more if these forces are made fully effective in the domestic affairs of the countries themselves. For Indians that work has to be done in India.

The Praja Socialist Party can offer in this Manifesto only a blue-print of its programme of national revival and reconstruction. It believes that the General Elections provide an opportunity to the people to take into their hands again the key to the future. The Party believes that fellowship, community building and expanding opportunities for which people crave are within their grasp. The world over capitalism is on retreat, and communism has been shorn
of its myth and might. The people everywhere turn to democratic socialism as the sole programme of tomorrow, the only redemption for a suffering humanity. In India, the socialists, through their strenuous efforts, have given socialism national and ethical awareness and demonstrated that the essence of socialism lies not in democracy alone but in decentralisation of power and of production which alone makes democracy a living reality. The sole guarantee of good government is self-government broadening down from the higher to lower levels.

The Party appeals to the Indian people to rally to its banner and co-operative in the creation of a new social order where the community will be peaceful, progressive and prosperous, and where every individual shall have life, and have it abundantly.

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Election Manifesto, 1962*

The Praja Socialist Party welcomes the forthcoming General Elections as providing the sorely needed opportunity to the Indian people to give their verdict on the policies and programmes so far followed by the ruling party, to relax and whenever possible break the stranglehold of power which it has enjoyed all these years on the basis of minority votes polled in election, to arrest the growing sense of frustration and apathy in the country and to get back into the great current of endeavour and faith that characterised India's pilgrimage to freedom.

Frontiers Threatened

2. The inviolability of the territorial integrity is ever the basic tenet of a sovereign state. In India, freedom won with sacrifices that are now woven in legends and songs stand threatened; the sacred frontiers of our land remain violated. Vast tracts of Indian soil experience the humiliation of alien occupation, whether it be from Pakistan, China or Portugal. Not only the Government fails to meet the aggression but the very fact of aggression by China had to be wrung out of them by an alert Parliament.

3. The Indian people's natural response was to rally to the defence of the country. The insipid leadership of the Government

*Text supplied by the General Secretary, Praja Socialist Party, 18, Windsor Place, New Delhi.
allowed the waves of indignation to scatter into ineffective sprays. The historic task of mobilising the nation in the defence of its security and integrity awaits to be accomplished. The exposed outposts need to be manned by those with fortitude and faith. The over-arching importance and urgency of the task make the elections not mere manoeuvrings for power but veritable summons of destiny.

4. The threats to India’s frontiers that should evoke national solidarity and firming of national will and purpose have instead uncovered disenchantment, disunity and despair. While the nation stands menaced, the Government gropes for national integration whose weakening has been the direct consequence of its doings.

The Home Policies

5. The home policies of the Government have failed to convince the people of their impartiality, of responsiveness to people’s wishes. In rare cases where past mistakes were admitted and rectified, as in the former bilingual State of Bombay, a surge of health is visible today. Elsewhere as in the north and in the farther east, the usual vacillations of policy motivated by petty considerations of expediency continue, leaving the political situation distressingly disturbed.

6. National integration is hampered because linguistic minorities do not feel assured of justice and evenhanded treatment. Neglect and discrimination remain ignored until violence breaks out and blood is shed. Then patch-work relief occasionally comes, the deeper malaise, however, never gets corrected. Consequently the people oscillate between moods of anger and apathy. Among the minorities, frustration spreads where hope and faith would yearn to win.

7. Opportunistic policies followed by the Congress Party frequently result in encouragement to caste and communal loyalties which creates apprehensions, legitimate or otherwise, in the minds of religious minorities. These apprehensions are exploited by interested parties with a view to reintroducing communal considerations in politics.

Iniquitous Taxes

8. Economic policies of the Government have sharpened inequalities and through price rise and iniquitous taxes have depressed the already meagre standard of the working people. Shortage of employment, of housing, of necessities of life, of educational faci-
lities and medical aid coarsen men's lives and embitter mutual relations. As anxieties and insecurity grow, tensions mount and men, who yearn to be brothers, feel estranged and get embroiled in conflicts.

9. These weaknesses in Government and in administration flow directly from the pulls and pushes to which the Congress is subject. Only a strong and vigilant Opposition steadfastly loyal to the principles of democratic socialism can correct them by constantly keeping them under public scrutiny and by formulating alternate policies and programmes which it undertakes to adopt when returned to power.

10. Democracy cannot function effectively unless there is an alternate focus of loyalty available to the people which could ultimately provide an alternate government. Such an Opposition can be useful in strengthening democracy and in building a prosperous united nation capable of accepting the challenges of our times only if it accepts the basic tenets and discipline of democracy and, in our country, with its grinding poverty and the accumulated burden of communal sectarianism, of socialism and secularism that are enshrined in our Constitution.

11. In spite of the professions of the Congress Party that it has accepted the goal of establishing a socialist pattern of society, the working of the Congress Governments, even after its adoption of this objective, shows that its conception of socialism is confined to the adoption of modern techniques of production with the smatterings of welfare programmes whenever this could be conveniently accepted without disturbance to the present social order and to the enlargement of the public sector.

The Praja Socialist Party places its unshakable faith in the concept of socialism that challenges the present social order and accepts in its place an order based on equality of opportunity, on reduction in the disparities of incomes, on genuine participation of people in the control of social levers and on social mobility that helps every citizen in the country in the development and full utilising of all that is the most creative and enterprising with him.

12. The next five years are crucial to India. They will decide whether India prospers or perishes. Obviously, the bell can never toll for the ancient and great land of ours, if it tolls, it tolls for those who failed to be worthy of the trust reposed, of the power so long and amply given.

13. The Praja Socialist Party is proud of the confidence it has consistently enjoyed of the people. The Party greets the coming elections with hope and assurance; it is more united, its orga-
nisation more trim, its policies clearer and sharper than ever before. It is proud to welcome the nation’s storm-tossed vessel seeking anchorage in democratic socialism, in expanding freedom, in economic equality, in rapid social change.

*Prevailing Accent on Inequality*

14. The Five-Year Plans despite heavy burdens on the people and erosion of levels of living of the working people have meagre achievements to show. The Government pursues increase in aggregate wealth, yet improvement in living standards remains a tragic casualty. Aggregate wealth can enhance the power of a country, not the welfare of the people. The sacrifice of welfare, however, has proved wanton because the nation’s strength has not grown much. In the decade of planning, national income has grown just 3½ per cent per year. As the Plans become bigger and “bolder”, the gains become smaller: per capita income grew by 2 per cent in the First Plan, by 1½ per cent in the Second! The bigness and boldness of the Plans perhaps lie in the burden heaped on the people, in the widening of economic disparities.

15. In the myriad villages of India, the changes have been generally disadvantageons to the poorer sections of the people. Land reforms riddled with loop-holes have brought little justice to the villages. Ambiguous in enactment, they have been extensively evasive in implementation. The benefits of the development programme have gone to the richer elements in the villages. The programmes of aid, with their predilection for status and property stake, have been weighed in favour of the rich; administration’s delays and complexities likewise favour the privileged.

16. The industrial development is marked by the growth in concentration of wealth and power. The top business firms have been favoured with licenses, financial aid, bank credits and assured markets. The remarkable expansion of the private sector has meant mainly strengthening the oligopolies in the country. The disparities in growth between the rich and the poor remain the outstanding characteristic of planning in agriculture as well as in industry. Citizen’s dependence on small power groups has grown.

17. These concentrations of economic power must be broken through adequate fiscal and credit policies like Capital Levy and through legislative and administrative measures. The rapid progress of economy will be possible only when the enterprising young men are freed from the stranglehold or big oligopolies and are encouraged and helped to contribute their best in building up the myriad
economic units necessary for the welfare of the people and the strength and prosperity of the nation.

18. The Praja Socialist Party believes that in India the urge for freedom expresses itself in the fight for equality. This fight that the Party wages is directed against class distinctions of all kinds, whether they relate to economic position, social status or cultural advantages. The Party abhors differences in income caused by social and economic power, and accepts only those differentials which are due to differences in skill, responsibility, initiative and output. Such differentials could not justify the ratio between the minimum and maximum incomes which is wider than 1:10. The Party will therefore, endeavour to bring income disparities within this limit. That battle for equality must wage relentlessly if the imperilled nation is to be saved. Reducing disparities in urban incomes, through price policies and administrative credit and fiscal measures, is the crying need of the hour. It is equally important to safeguard the consumption level of the poor by abolishing all excise duties and sales-tax from articles of food and coarse cloth.

19. The PSP feels that in spite of all the talk of equality, women in India continue to suffer under a variety of taboos and social inequalities. The evil of dowry still persists. The inferior status of women in our society is not compatible with our endeavour to establish a socialist society. If the equality of sexes is not to remain a mere slogan we shall have to begin by adopting measures which will remove the present disabilities. The Praja Socialist Party will provide free education at all stages for women. In the Gram Panchayats and Municipalities substantial number of their jobs would be reserved for women. There are also several other fields like education where preference in employment can profitably be given to them.

20. Freedom is rooted in security. Freedom gains in meaning and asserts itself only when economic and social security are assured. The Praja Socialist Party’s programme strives to provide security to India’s anxious millions.

*Test of Democratic Socialism*

21. Democratic socialism’s test lies in the security it offers to the citizens. While comprehensive social security may not be possible here and now, the assurance of work to all and the universal right to receive education would mean substantial advance. To them will be added modest old age pension. To augment savings and relieve farmers’ anxiety crop and cattle insurance will be
progressively extended. Through wise fiscal and monetary policies price fluctuations would be vigorously restrained and tax burdens sought to be related to actual increase in incomes realised.

22. Freedom grows through participation; that is the surest way to arrest abuse of power, counter encroachment against individual rights whether they be committed by public bodies, private employers, organisations or individuals. Such a sense of belonging has to be imparted to every citizen through not only self-governing institutions, but also providing him a voice in the decisions in economic life which determine the direction of production and the pattern of distribution of the national product. The PSP aims to humanise the state and the economy, not statise man.

23. Only when freedom achieves such an enlivening role that the nation's defences will prove invincible. On the elan and enthusiasm evoked in the vulnerable sections of the people, on the confidence in justice and impartiality among all sections of the people the nation's integrity, internal and external, depends.

24. In this hour of peril to the nation, the Praja Socialist Party, with humility and faith, offers the blueprints of such a fundamental and urgent revival and renaissance that will restore to the nation's youth hope and initiative for rapid economic growth and pressing social change.

Planning by People for Plenty

25. The Praja Socialist Party believes that economic planning needs as much attention and emphasis at the base as it is wont to receive at the apex. Democratically organised district administration has to be the principal unit of economic planning. Under its directions integrated land reforms would be implemented as a time-bound programme. It would be closely connected with development plans so that land reforms and reorganisation proceed hand in hand. Credit and technical assistance would move closely together. Credit will be governed by needs as well as by the expanding capacity to use, not by status, and property as is the case today. Assistance will be weighed in favour of rehabilitating the six crores of village poor whose per capita income today hovers round 25 naye Paise per day. Those who are not credit-worthy are generally eminently aid-deserving, and that way alone can they be raised to economically viable status. These landless poor are to be assured prompt and effective implementation of the Minimum Wages Act and efforts will be made to improve their economic condition through rehabilitation on surplus and newly reclaimed land and through employment in pro-
jects of economic development. Tillers of the soil will be recognised
as owners of the land and those unjustly evicted will be restored
their lands.

*Employment for All*

26. The district development programme would embrace
village plans whose main purpose would be the full use of labour,
land and water resources. The PSP's firm conviction is that work
is the fundamental right of man, it is the supreme badge of citizen-
ship. The district plans will offer opportunities of gainful employ-
ment to every person. Through co-ordinated work projects, un-
tapped resources and idle hands will be brought together in fruitful
co-operation. The Government's principal responsibility is to foster
and facilitate these production programmes.

27. The promise of work for all can be implemented only in
a phased way. A beginning will be made in selected areas where
weaker sections of society like Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled
Classes predominate.

28. By providing the needed inducements and incentives the
holders of dwarf holdings will be invited into co-operatives. Pooling
of resources and implements will precede pooling of land. On re-
claimed land and such surplus land as becomes available the land-
less will find work and home and land.

29. Through rural re-development projects, rural housing
will be improved. Villages will not only be rebuilt, with varied
community facilities, but urgent attention will be given to housing
the landless and the socially depressed. These development activi-
ties will fully exploit local resources, reconstruct economical and
social life on the basis of full employment. It will be responsibility
of planning not just to assure full employment but also help,
through diffusion of skills and provision of improved tools and cre-
dit, to raise the technical level of production. The administrative
and economic organ of the development and change will be the
Panchayat and co-operative working as a united entity.

*Flood Control*

30. Floods threaten to become a constantly growing menace
in our country and every year vast areas are getting submerged with
incalculable damage to crops, cattle and houses and other property.
If urgent and co-ordinated efforts are not made, the Third Plan is
likely to be crippled to a great extent on account of floods. The
PSP considers it necessary to set up river controlling authorities for every major river and to empower it to undertake works like afforestation, bunding, river training and desilting. Steps will have to be taken to insure property and human life in urban and rural areas against damages caused by floods whether due to the act of God or human failures like the bursting of dams.

31. The PSP not merely favours dispersal of industries but believes it to be imperative to involve the rural people in the process of industrialisation. The processing industries and many of the consumer goods industries as also light engineering industries that will serve the needs of rural people and agricultural development, including irrigation, would be offered to district councils and they would be helped, technically and financially, to own and operate them. The District Councils may in their turn entrust the task to lower units like the Block Panchayats or a Group of Panchayats. The intertwining of agricultural and industrial development is essential for a democratic socialist growth.

32. The PSP believes that war against poverty can be fought only by fully utilising the great asset of India—the labour of her people. Investment through labour has, therefore, to be crucial technique of development. In totalitarian country such investment is imposed and extracted. In democratic India it will be achieved through diffusion of equality, provision of incentives, and creation of administrative and economic institutions wherein the people share power and shape objectives. Democratic growth can be realised only through democratic life.

Reshaping Industrial Policy

33. Industrial development as pursued in the decade of planning has generally aggravated concentration of wealth and power. The sheltered markets and easy profits have allowed considerable under-utilisation of plants. The new industries have often grown at the expense of traditional products. Modernist development and debris of artisan production exist side by side. The public enterprises show poor efficiency, their rate of profit remains fractional, their management is top-heavy and the administrative structure throttles initiative and team-work.

34. The PSP's endeavour would be to correct and drastically alter the contours of industrial development. It would revise the licensing policy, re-orient the credit policies in favour of new entrepreneurs. Every big enterprise would have to farm out considerable work to small producers brought together in industrial estates. In
capital-hungry India a careful watch must be kept on unused plant capacity and policies elaborated including appropriate labour policies to maximise plant use. Industrial workers and employees would be encouraged and helped to become share-holders. With the strengthening of trade unions co-determination by capital and labour would characterise management. By organising machine and tool banks and co-ordinating them with credit institutions traditional artisans, with retraining when necessary, would be enabled to participate in the march of progress. Constant efforts would be made to develop smaller yet economic units of production as even today it is possible to set up industries as complex as fertilisers or cement. Small units would mean not only better distribution of industries but firm check on accumulation of wealth and power.

Assurance of Markets

35. The Praja Socialist Party will define the Trade Policy on lines of Industrial Policy Resolution. Certain strategic sectors would be earmarked exclusively for State Trading Corporations. A sector will be defined where the State could intervene to correct imbalances in the markets of articles of common consumption as well as of articles of industrial raw materials as and when a critical situation develops in any of these markets. Effective regulation of credit structure, licensing and fiscal policies will be used to regulate the rest of the trade sectors.

36. The small producers whether by hand or machine, would be assured of market. So long as production is of the standard laid down and conforms to other conditions such as those of fair labour practice the State would be prepared to buy any quantity at a price fixed in advance. This policy would equally apply to agricultural commodities. States constant readiness to buy would help to foster quality as well as give impetus to production. The stocks thus obtained would enable the State to control price rise and maintain development on even keel.

Abolition of Managing Agencies

37. In the public sector giant corporations will be split up, competition will be encouraged, management provided with initiative and enterprise, and achievements judged by general performance and efficiency achieved. The public sector enterprises will pioneer the worker's participation in management, in training with-
in industry, in sponsoring social change through industrial growth. In the Corporate sector all companies with capital of over 50 lakhs of rupees would be considered public limited companies for the purposes of the Company Law. The Managing Agency System would be abolished forthwith. Stricter standards of efficiency will be laid down for the units engaged in exploiting the mineral wealth of the country as it is non-reproduceable. Any unit not conforming to these strict standards would be nationalised forthwith. Steps will be taken to bring the sugar industry in the co-operative sector.

38. A serious desideratum today is neglect of exports. The heavy loans that the country has incurred as well as the varied scarce raw materials needed to keep the plants fully utilised demand with insistence the matching of exports with expanding imports. The nation's self-respect demands that exports should have their share in rising production.

39. Construction activities form a significant part of economic development. Today a few big firms handle the contracts for construction. It is here that building workers can be helped to develop their producers' guilds. These guilds with the necessary technical guidance and economic assistance should be able to develop democratic alternate to capitalist construction enterprise.

40. A windfall gain of development is the appreciation of urban site values. This appreciation in value must be siphoned to municipalities to enable them to provide housing and community services. Because of long neglect of housing, in urban areas stress will have to be an unostentatious dwellings and lavishing of architectural riches will have to be confined to community buildings alone.

Investment in Man

41. Important as investment through labour is to economic development even more valuable is investment in human beings to social progress. The PSP believes that education is a birthright of every child. To deny educational facilities to a child of school-going age is to make a mockery of his citizenship in adult life. The PSP would make the district democratic councils responsible for the fullest spread of primary education. It would make secondary education progressively free and compulsory. The talented pupils through sustained scholarships would be helped to receive the education for which they are qualified. No talent shall wilt unrecognised. Mid-day meals, medical attention and school books will be the claim of those who need them on the society.
42. Education needs to be reformed in two directions. Technical bias has to be increasingly imparted and teaching re-oriented to subserve national outlook and integration. Teachers must be assured of fair remuneration which will be at par with that of other services requiring similar qualifications and security through pension.

43. The education received will be deepened through an extensive net-work of libraries and the spread of literacy and cultural activities through literary clubs, dramas, little magazines and organisation of national festivals. The spread of national language will receive equal attention with the development of regional languages.

44. All these measures would need a clean and efficient administration. It is possible that the extent of corruption in the public administration is exaggerated. But this very exaggeration is the reflection of the suspicions and apprehensions in the minds of the people. They should be removed if the willing and enthusiastic participation of the people in the development programmes is to be assured. The Praja Socialist Party has advocated the setting up of a high-power commission with adequate powers and suitable procedures of its own to deal with charges of corruption in the administration and at Government levels.

The very existence of such a commission should go a long way in inspiring confidence among people. It is also necessary that the whole approach of the administration towards people should be radically changed. When a citizen approaches any government official for a legitimate work he should feel a sense of warmth, encouragement and friendliness. He should be assured that his problems would be sympathetically considered and all legitimate help would be forthcoming from the Government in solving his difficulties. A feeling of trust and active co-operation should grow between the people and administration so that both could work in unison with enthusiasm and a sense of dedication.

45. Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have remained only on the fringe of the Five-Year Plans. Their economic exploitation persists and very little has been done to regenerate the tribal economy. Untouchability and other social disabilities also continue to mar our social fabric and the Scheduled Castes are subjected to various indignities and oppression. Liberal financial provisions and earnest efforts will have to be made to get the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes integrated with the rest of the community without disrupting the cultural pattern of their life.

46. To ensure full protection to the life and liberty of the people which is so necessary for strengthening their faith in democratic process and for evoking their willing co-operation in planned
development it is also necessary that the people are assured full protection against dacoit menace which prevails in certain parts of the country and criminal justice is administered by judicial magis-
tracy independent of the control of the executive.

Question of Minorities

47. Unity of India is of cardinal importance; it can be achiev-
ed only by assuring self-expression to the varied minorities. All minorities must have equal right to participate in all spheres of social, economic and political life. Simultaneously they will have the right to practise their religions, organise educational institutions and cultural associations for promotion of their language, script and literature. Such institutions will be entitled to State aid. Where linguistic minorities form sizable proportion, primary education will be imparted in the mother-tongues, while the regional language will be taught side by side. Sindhi will be added to the list of languages mentioned in Schedule VIII of the Constitution. In order to assure the enjoyment of rights, cultural and linguistic, to make equal participation in national life a meaningful reality and to make the safeguards provided to minorities effective a Minorities Commission with appropriate powers and the status of the Supreme Court will be set up. While the minorities must get unhindered self-expression, they must foster loyalty and understanding of the State, its aims and values.

Organs of Economic Democracy

48. The industrial expansion that the P. S. P. desires requires a change in the status and outlook of the worker. The wage and salary earners and Government employees have the right to free association in trade unions. They remain helplessly exposed to those impositions of command in the economy until they forge the united force of their free and democratic unions and freely agree on working conditions. National industrial unions whose membership would be obligatory but whose internal democracy would be legally safeguarded would enable the workers to collectively bargain, orga-
nise social security, receive technical and general education and participate in the planning of production. Only strong unions, that are the autonomous and democratic can enable the worker to be the pace-setter of economic development and social transformation. From a being subject the worker will then become a citizen in the economic life as he is today in political life.
49. The Praja Socialist Party has consistently upheld the rights of the workers to organise for collective bargaining in its full implication as defined in Geneva I. L. O. Convention and similar other agreements and usages. The Praja Socialist Party fully appreciates the need for industrial peace and smooth working of public and Government bodies. But it believes that happy industrial and employer-employee relations can be established by devising quick, inexpensive, impartial and permanent negotiation and arbitration machinery, by establishing inviolable codes of conduct, designed to protect the weak against the strong, and by building up social and moral pressures against misuse of strength. This should make lockouts and strikes superfluous.

Foreign Policy

50. The Praja Socialist Party has always advocated an independent foreign policy for the country and has supported the Government whenever it has followed a genuine policy of non-involvement in power groups. It has likewise favoured the policy of keeping out of military alliances and of seeking peace and ensuring it through disarmament and a strengthened United Nations.

51. While a nation's foreign policy must have high objectives, it must safeguard the vital interests of the nation. Today, the Government's objectives, may be laudable but the nation's interests are palpably in peril. When Pakistan and China have invaded Indian territories their evacuation becomes a primary task of defence as also of foreign policy. Anti-colonialism has to be purposeful; liquidation of the remnants of colonialism in our own country—the Portuguese "possessions"—brooks no delay.

52. The Praja Socialist Party reiterates the stand, which it was the first Party to take, that after the passing of the Constitution by the Kashmir Constituent Assembly the whole of Kashmir has become an integral part of India. The illegal occupation of a part of Kashmir by the Pakistan forces should, therefore, be vacated.

53. The P. S. P. believes that the policy of non-alignment does not mean condoning international injustice or oppression; non-alignment when real involves a firm stand against oppression and injustice from whatever quarters they come. Upholding of common standards in international relations is the essence of non-alignment. The P. S. P. deplores the resumption of nuclear tests by the two Great Powers and urges their abandonment.

54. The need for preserving and strengthening the United Nations Organisation today is greater than ever. While the P. S. P.
favours fair and adequate representation to the new States of Asia and Africa in the various organs of the United Nations, it cannot countenance, in the name of reform, any move aimed at paralysing the World Organisations by introducing the veto into the executive functioning of the organization.

55. In South and South-East Asia, India carries a special responsibility. She has to be the bastion of strength to the neighbouring countries in maintaining their independence against varied threats. When the pressing need is for political and defence collaboration among the countries of the region not even the elementary economic and cultural co-operation is being attempted. No wonder some of our neighbours remain demonstratively aloof. In the unfolding circumstances South and South-East Asia can be an arena of peace only through its own efforts, that is through developing associative life. To foster that is the policy of the Praja Socialist Party.

56. Defence policies, strategic principles and military weapons are among the most dynamic in the world. Defence needs to be democratised; the widest section of the people must be made to take interest in it, as they are beginning to do in matters economic. The Arms Act which infringes the citizens’ right to bear arms will be repeated.

57. The P. S. P. favours the establishment of a Defence Council. It would bring together a number of influential authorities, both civil and military, for construction and decision. It would seek and achieve the co-operation of Government and Opposition within it in matters of vital public interest, despite the normal party struggle. Through its select and special staff as well as the intimate association with the Prime Minister the army council would effectively achieve civilian control, in an informed and meaningful manner, over the armed forces which is of such supreme importance.

58. The P. S. P. would make special efforts to establish co-operative agricultural communities near our land frontiers and help their members to combine agricultural work with preparedness for defence. The P. S. P. would greatly extend the organisation of militia in the country. The varied activities to be undertaken by labour co-operatives described earlier would be so arranged as to widen the intellectual and cultural horizons of the corps as also to impart to them elementary military training. In the schools and universities, the National Cadet Corps would be extended and strengthened. So also the Home Guards who would be adequately trained and disciplined.
Final Appeal

59. With the enemies at the gate thrusting themselves forward, with the enemies within sedulously working against the nation, frustration among the people can gravely damage the country. To shake off that frustration and apathy is the hallmark of a patriot today. If the Congress rule causes the frustration, the General Elections provide a golden opportunity to end them both. In our democratic state, whatever else may be missing, none can gainsay our right to shape our future, to select and dismiss, as the need be, our rulers. Frustration grows only when that right is allowed to rust. It is time to wield it with a purpose and to a decisive end. The tocsin sounded by the aggressors permits no indifference or respite.

60. The P. S. P. invites all Indians to join the common quest for intellectual, aesthetic and moral efflorescence and strive for economic and social transformation whereby the stubborn inequalities of ages are finally pulverised. Only when the nation is drawn into this gallant adventure of hope and achievement that unity of national life will be spontaneously realised. The nation feels fragmented because it has been denied the egalitarian liberalising focus. To revive the will, to illumine the purpose is our aim.

61. The Manifesto has sought to identify the vital areas of policies and efforts. To dedicate ourselves to these efforts, to unfold the policies, we humbly seek the blessings of the people.

* * *

13. Radical Democratic Party

Note:—The Radical Democratic Party was organized in 1940 by late Mr. M.N. Roy whose revolutionary ideas were not acceptable to the Congress and other political parties. Especially after the capitulation of France, the Radicals advocated cooperation with the Allies in the war effort as an anti-Fascist measure. They had evolved a plan for the economic development of India and a draft constitution for the country based on the concept of a People’s Government. They condemned the resignation of the Congress Ministries in 1939 as a short-sighted move. A few documents given below trace its origin and summarize its aims and objects.

* * *
Documents.

M.N. Roy's Appeal

Considered the appeal of Shri M.N. Roy from the disciplinary action taken against him by the Council of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee and resolved that the Working Committee fully approve of the decision and the grounds on which it is based; but in view of the request of Shri M.N. Roy contained in his letter to the Secretary of the U.P.P.C.C. dated September 26, 1940, that he may be allowed to resign from the Congress, this Committee recommends to the Council of the U.P.P.C.C. to accept his resignation” W.C. October 11, 1940: Wardha: V.

* * *

Theses*

Man is the Architect of society, co-operative, social relationships contribute to develop individual potentialities. But the development of the individual is the measure of social progress. Collectivity presupposes the existence of individuals. Except as the sum total of freedom and well being, actually enjoyed by individuals, social liberation and progress are imaginary ideals, which are never attained. Well-being if it is actual, is enjoyed by individuals. It is wrong to ascribe a collective ego to any form of human community (viz. nation, class, etc.) as that practice means sacrifice of the individual. Collective well-being is a function of the well-being of individuals.

Two

Quest for freedom and search for truth constitute the basic urge of human progress. The quest for freedom is the continuation on a higher level—of intelligence and emotion—of the biological struggle for existence. The search for truth is a corollary thereof. Increasing knowledge of nature enables man to be progressively free

*Adopted by the Conference of the Radical Democratic Party of India, held in Bombay during the last week of December 1946. This manifesto incorporates the fundamental principles of New Humanism which the Party had been developing ever since its foundation was laid down in 1940. The background material on the Theses is to be found in M.N. Roy's Books, New Orientation and Beyond Communism.
from the tyranny of natural phenomena, and physical and social environments. Truth is the content of knowledge.

Three

The purpose of all rational human endeavour, individual as well as collective, is attainment of freedom, in ever increasing measure. Freedom is progressive disappearance of all restrictions on the unfolding of the potentialities of individuals as human beings, and not as cogs in the wheels of a mechanised social organism. The position of the individual, therefore, is the measure of the progressive and liberating significance of any collective effort or social organisation. The success of any collective endeavour is to be measured by the actual benefit for its constituent units.

Four

Rising out of the Background of the Law-Governed physical nature, the human being is essentially rational. Reason being a biological property, it is not the antithesis of will. Intelligence and emotion can be reduced to a common biological denominator. Historical determinism, therefore, does not exclude freedom of the will. As a matter of fact, human will is the most powerful determining factor. Otherwise, there would be no room for revolutions in a rationally determined process of history. The rational and scientific concept of determinism is not to be confused with the teleological or religious doctrine of predestination.

Five

The Economic Interpretation of history is deduced from a wrong interpretation of Materialism. It implies dualism whereas Materialism is a monistic philosophy. History is a determined process; but there are more than one causative factors. Human will is one of them, and it cannot always be referred directly to any economic incentive.

Six

Ideation is a physiological progress resulting from the awareness of environments. But once they are formed ideas exist by themselves governed by their own laws. The dynamics of ideas runs parallel to the process of social evolution, the two influencing each other
mutually. But in no particular point of the process of the integral human evolution, can a direct causal relation be established between historical events and the movements of ideas. (Idea is here used in the common philosophical sense of ideology or system of ideas). Cultural patterns and ethical values are not mere ideological superstructures of established economic relations. They are also historically determined by the logic of the history of ideas.

Seven

For creating a new world of freedom revolution must go beyond an economic reorganisation of society. Freedom does not necessarily follow from the capture of political power in the name of the oppressed and exploited classes and abolition of private property in the means of production.

Eight

Communism or Socialism may conceivably be the means for the attainment of the goal of freedom. How far it can serve that purpose, must be judged by experience. A political system and an economic experiment which subordinate the man of flesh and blood to an imaginary collective ego, be it the nation or a class, cannot possibly be the suitable means for the attainment of the goal of freedom. On the one hand, it it absurd to argue that negation of will leads to freedom; and on the other hand it is not freedom to sacrifice the individual at the altar of an imaginary collective ego. Any social philosophy or scheme of social reconstruction which does not recognise the sovereignty of the individual and dismisses the ideal of freedom as an empty abstraction, can have no more than a very limited progressive and revolutionary significance.

Nine

The State being the political organisation of society, its withering away under Communism is an utopia which has been exploded by experience. Planned economy on the basis of socialised industries presupposes a powerful political machinery. Democratic control of that machinery alone can guarantee freedom under the new order. Planning of production for use is possible on the basis of political democracy and individual freedom.
Ten

State ownership and planned economy do not by themselves end exploitation of labour; nor do they necessarily lead to an equal distribution of wealth. Economic democracy is no more possible in the absence of political democracy than the latter is in the absence of the former.

Eleven

Dictatorship tends to perpetuate itself. Planned economy under political dictatorship disregards individual freedom on the pleas of efficiency, collective effort and social progress. Consequently, a higher form of democracy in the socialist society, as it is conceived at present, becomes an imposibility. Dictatorship defeats its professed end.

Twelve

The defects of formal Parliamentary Democracy have also been exposed in experience. They result from the delegation of power. To make democracy effective, power must always remain vested in the people, and there must be ways and means for the people to wield the sovereign power effectively, not periodically, but from day to day. Atomised individual citizens are powerless of all practical purposes and most of the time. They have no means to exercise their sovereignty and to wield a standing control of the State machinery.

Thirteen

Liberalism is falsified or parodied under Formal Parliamentary Democracy. The doctrine of *laissez faire* only provides the legal sanction to the exploitation of man by man. The concept of economic man negativates the liberating doctrine of individualism. The economic man is bound to be a slave or a slave holder. The vulgar concept must be replaced by the reality of an instinctive by rational being who is moral because he is rational. Morality is an appeal to conscience, and conscience is the instinctive awareness of and reaction to environments. It is a mechanistic biological function on the level of consciousness. Therefore it is rational.
The alternative to Parliamentary Democracy is not dictatorship; it is organised democracy in the place of the formal democracy of powerless atomised individual citizens. The parliament should be the apex of pyramidal structure of the state reared on the base of an organised democracy composed of a countrywide network of Peoples' Committees. The political organisation of society (the state) will be coincident with the entire society and consequently the state will be under a standing democratic control.

The function of a revolutionary and liberating social philosophy is to lay emphasis on the basic fact of history that man is the maker of his world—man as a thinking being and he can be only as an individual. The brain is a means of production, and produces the most revolutionary commodity. Revolutions presuppose iconoclastic ideas. An increasingly large number of men conscious of their creative power motivated by the indomitable will to remake the world, moved by the adventure of ideas and fired with the ideal of a free society of free men, can create the conditions under which democracy will be possible.

The method and programme of social revolution must be based on a reassertion of the basic principle of social progress. A social renaissance can come only through determined and widespread endeavour to educational cooperative living. The people will be organised into effective democratic bodies to build up the sociopolitical foundation of the post-revolutionary order. Social revolution required in rapidly increasing number men of the new renaissance, and a rapidly expanding system of People's Committees, and an organic co-ordination of both. The programme of revolution will similarly be based on the principles of freedom, reason and social harmony. It will mean elimination of every form of monopoly and vested interest in the regulation of social life.

Radical democracy presupposes economic reorganisation of society so as to eliminate the possibility of exploitation of man by
man. Progressive satisfaction of material necessities is the pre-
condition for the individual members of society unfolding their
intellectual and other finer human potentialities. An economic
reorganisation, such as will guarantee a progressively rising standard
of living, is the foundation of the Radical Democratic State. Eco-
nomic liberation of the masses is an essential condition for their
advancing towards the goal of freedom.

Eighteen

The economy of the new Social Order will be based on pro-
duction for use and distribution with reference to human needs.
Its political organization excludes delegation of power which in
practice, deprives the people of effective power; it will be based on
the direct participation of the entire adult population through the
Peoples’ Committees. Its culture will be based on universal dissemi-
nation of knowledge and on minimum control and maximum scope
for, and incentive to, scientific and creative activities. The new
society, being founded on reason and science, will necessarily be
planned. But it will be planning with the freedom of the indivi-
dual as its main purpose. The new society will be democratic—poli-
tically, economically as well as culturally. Consequently it will
be a democracy which can defend itself.

Nineteen

The ideal of Radical Democracy will be attained through the
collective efforts of spiritually free men united in the determination
of creating a world of freedom. They will function as the guides,
friends and philosophers of the people rather than as their would
be rulers. Consistently with the goal of freedom, their political
practice will be national and therefore, ethical. Their effort will
be reinforced by the growth of the peoples’ will to freedom. Ulti-
mately, the Radical Democratic State will rise with the support of
enlightened public opinion as well as intelligent action of the
people. Realising that freedom is inconsistent with concentration
of power, Radical Democrats will aim at the widest diffusion of
power.

Twenty

In the last Analysis, Education of the citizen is the condition
for such a reorganisation of society as will be conducive to common
progress and prosperity without encroaching upon the freedom of individual. The Peoples’ committees will be the schools for the political and civic education of the citizen. The structure and function of the Radical Democratic State will enable detached individuals to come to the forefront of public affairs. Manned with such individuals the state machinery will cease to be the instrument in the hands of any particular class to coerce others. Only spiritually free individuals in power can smash all chains of slavery and usher in freedom for all.

Twenty-One

Radicalism integrates science into Social Organisation and reconciles individuality with collective life; it gives to freedom a moral-intellectual as well as a social content; it offers a comprehensive theory of social progress in which both the dialectics of economic determinism and dynamics of ideas find their due recognition; and it deduces from the same a method and a programme of social revolution in our time.

Twenty-Two

Radicalism starts from the dictum that “Man is the measure of everything” (Protagoras) or “man is the root of mankind” (Marx) and advocates reconstruction of the world as a commonwealth and fraternity of free men by the collective endeavour of spiritually emancipated moral men.*

14. Responsive Co-operation Party

Note: The Responsive Cooperation Party was first started in 1920 under the name of Congress Democratic Party. In February 1926 its name was changed to suit the newly created conditions within the Congress Party. Explaining the objects and policies of the Party on August 18th, 1926, Shri B. Chakravarty, the President of the Party said: “The Party is, first of all, a party within the Congress: none but members of the Indian National Congress are eligible to become its members. The aim of the Party, as of all other parties in this country, is the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful legitimate means.” The eminent among the leaders of the party

were Messrs. B. Chakravarty, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. B. S. Moonje.

The manifesto and the Presidential address of the President of the Party given below, indicate in detail the objectives of the Party.

Documents

Shri B. Chakravarty, President of the All-India Conference of Responsivists on the Objects and Policies of the Party, 18 August, 1926*

The object for which we have met this evening is to decide on a programme for this party and to consider what steps we are to take to contest the forthcoming elections to the Legislative Assembly and the Bengal Legislative Council in the interests of the Responsive Co-operation Party and in the interests of the country.

Without being desirous of forestalling your decision in any way, I beg, Gentlemen, to be allowed to place before you the main idea with which this party has been started in Bengal. This party is first of all, a party within the Congress: none but members of the Indian National Congress are eligible to become its members. The aim of the party, as of all other parties in this country, is the attainment of Swaraj by peaceful legitimate means. To this creed the Responsive Co-operators wholeheartedly subscribe; and it is their distinctive claim that they recognize no other fetters on their discretion in the choice of means and methods. They do not see the utility or the prudence of limiting their activities by any other dogma. So long as a course of action is likely to bring us nearer to Swaraj and so long as it does not lead us beyond 'peaceful and legitimate' methods, we should not only hesitate to adopt it—we shall be under a duty to adopt it, if we mean to be true to ourselves and to the best interest of our country.

This is the fundamental doctrine of the Responsive Co-operation Party. In striving for Swaraj we intend to reserve to ourselves the widest liberty of action that the Congress creed permits. So long as we feel that we are keeping up the struggle for Swaraj at as many points as possible and in as vigorous a manner as possible, we shall not be deterred by formulas, conventions, political catchwords, and other forms of verbal jugglery. If the interests of the country call for it, we shall non-co-operate with the Government to the extent

*The Indian Annual Register (1926), vol. II. pp. 37.9.
of civil disobedience, if necessary. The recent example of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Dr. B. S. Moonje, two of the illustrious leaders of the Party in other Provinces, is already fresh in your minds, and ought to convince you that the Responsive Co-operator does mean business and will utilize every ounce of strength that the nation possesses in order to secure for it the birthright of freedom to which all human beings are by divine law entitled. Again, if the interests of the country demand it, we shall not shrink from the duty of co-operating with the Government, even at the risk of courting ridicule from those who seem to think that Swaraj can be attained by noise and fury, excitement and other stage-effects. Whether misguided politicians and the blind followers they may have gathered round them call us co-operators, moderates or loyalists does not matter in the least. Whether we are serving the true interests of the country, whether we are bringing the day of Swaraj nearer, is the sole consideration for us. If we show ourselves weak in this struggle, if we fail to acquit ourselves as well as we might, if as workers in the country’s cause we do not put the utmost pressure on the bureaucracy or if we fail to take advantage of opportunities for progress that offer, we shall have richly earned the condemnation of our countrymen. It is this attitude of fighting for our birthright at every point, with every weapon, and with unremitting devotion, that is the highest conception of nationalism to which we can aspire—the nationalism our great departed leader, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, taught and worked for. For obstruction as such we have no love, because obstruction is not always synonymous with resistance, if we consider the peculiar relationship that subsists between ourselves and our rulers. Obstruction will in fact be mostly futile, often injurious to our interests. But there is a wide range of political activity in which we as a nation can gain in strength only by pitting the whole of that strength against the strength of the bureaucracy: it is in this sphere that obstruction will be useful, that obstruction will be necessary. And I need not point out to you, Gentlemen, that as the past record of the leaders of the Responsive Co-operation Party shows, we shall not shrink from putting up the most stubborn resistance to official autocracy in all its forms that we are at present capable of.

Before I conclude, I shall mention only one other matter; I mean the question of accepting ministerships. If you have followed me so far, you will understand that the only test that we can apply to this question is the test of the country’s welfare. Shall we be helping our country in its march towards freedom? If we can do so as Ministers, we are under a clear and urgent duty to put forward our best men for ministerial portfolios: and if we fail to do so, we
shall not only be convicting ourselves of moral cowardice, we shall even be betraying the country's interest. But we must at the same time keep in mind the other alternative. The Government may not be disposed to grant to Ministers those facilities that will enable them to work efficiently for the good of the country. In that case it would equally be our clear duty to reject all offers of ministerial portfolios. It is not the pomp and power of a Minister that we covet; it is the opportunities for national service that might go along with ministerships that we dare not overlook. Inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing as the Reforms admittedly are, it would be mere affectation to deny that the work of village reconstruction could never be taken in hand on any adequate scale except with the support of the State exchequer. If we are to drive out malaria and kala-azar from the villages of Bengal, if we are to construct roads, canals, and bridges in rural areas, if we are to clear jungles, sink wells and excavate tanks for the benefit and use of villagers, if we are to make primary education compulsory and vocational educational effective, if we are to promote agricultural and industrial development and thus cut at the very roots of the middle-class unemployment that has become the bane of our social life, if we are to do all these things—at least attempt to do them—I ask you, will you prefer to have the work done or the attempt made under the auspices of an I.C.S. official or a Government nominee rather than under the directions of one chosen by you and amenable to you and liable to be removed from office by your vote? This is an aspect of the question to which I draw your attention and the implication of which I trust you will fully consider.

One more point and I have finished. I feel I have to remind you also of the unhappy state of affairs that has arisen both in this and in other Provinces as a result of the acute communal dissensions which prevail in the country from one end to the other. This unfortunate development has a vital bearing on the question of accepting offices; and I wish you to ponder over it. Some of you may have heard Mr. Jayakar speaking a few days ago at the Albert Institute Hall in this city. He told us [his] experience of what may be called communalized politics in the Bombay Presidency. The Ministers there have been elected on the communal principle and are retained in office on the strength of communal votes. Mr. Jayakar who headed the Swarajist bloc in the Bombay Council found himself helpless against a combination of the official and nominated members with the communalist members in the legislature. The result is that even the reactionary measures of the Ministers are supported on communal grounds and the administration of the Transferred Departments
is becoming more and more communal in spirit with disastrous results on the general progress of the people. State patronage and other forms of the State encouragement are being lent on communal grounds irrespective of all other considerations. I request you to consider whether this is a desirable state of affairs for us to bring about or acquiesce in, and how far there is in our Province a risk of such a development in the near future.

* * *

* * *

Manifesto of the Responsivist Co-operation Party, February, 1926*

(1) We believe that a mass movement of resistance throughout the country is certainly one of the means of enforcing the will of the nation in political matters. But it is the ultimate remedy and we agree, with the Congress, that the country is not at present ready for any measure of this nature.

(2) We believe, however, that an organized individual or group resistance is feasible and may be resorted to as occasion may demand for a particular locality, for definite objects, and for particular occasions.

(3) We believe that the programme of bringing about constitutional deadlocks, by resorting to a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction, cannot be successful unless tried on a large scale and backed by some sanction behind the same.

(4) We believe that the best course, under the present circumstances, is that of responsive co-operation, which means working the Reforms, unsatisfactory, disappointing and inadequate as they are, for all they are worth, and using the same for accelerating the grant of full Responsible Government and for creating opportunities for the people for advancing their interests and strengthening their power and for resisting injustice and misrule.

(5) We, however, hereby declare that our working of the Reforms does not imply, in any way, that we give up any position, or surrender any objective, or make any commitment, with regard to the grave defects and inadequacies of the present Government of India Act in general, including the Preamble or Dyarchy in particular.

*The Indian Annual Register (1926), vol. I, p. 46. The Conference of the Responsivist Co-operation Party was held at Akola on 14-15 February, 1926.*
(6) The policy of working the Reforms necessarily includes the capture of all places of power, responsibility and initiative which are open to election by, or otherwise responsible to, the party within the Legislatures, subject to such conditions, with regard to the policy, programme and other kindred matters, as may seem desirable to impose from time to time.

(7) Our political programme shall be generally on the lines laid down in the manifesto of the Party which in 1920 was started under the name of the Congress Democratic Party, with such changes as may be required under the present circumstances; and, for the purpose of adopting such changes, a Committee is hereby appointed consisting of the following persons, with instructions to submit their report to the Central Council by the end of March in consultation with the leading members of the party all over the country: Messrs M. R. Jayakar, J. Baptista, N. C. Kelkar, M. S. Aney, B. S. Moonje and S. V. Kelkar.

15. Revolutionary Socialist Party

As its aims and objects indicate the Revolutionary Socialist Party is an offshoot of the Socialist and the Communist Party of India.

"It is organized on the principle of democratic centralism." But this party "is opposed to subservience to the foreign policy of Russia or China. It believes in the redistribution of Land with Ceilings and co-operative farming and mechanization. It supports the general ideas underlying the Third Five-Year Plan but insists that the sacrifices involved in deficit financing should be shared by all equitably. It believes in State trading in food. Its aims and objects in details are included in the manifesto for the 1962 General Elections which is given below:

Documents

Election Manifesto of the R. S. P., 1962*

Fifteen years have passed since the day British imperialism transferred power to the hands of the Indian National Congress and

* Text supplied by the Revolutionary Socialist Party, 780, Ballimaran, Delhi-6.
through the Congress to the hands of the Indian capitalist class and allied vested interests. The monopoly of ruling power in the country has been held for the last fifteen years by the Congress Party. It is plain from the mounting hardship and the day-to-day experience of the common people that as a result of the policies pursued by the Congress Party during this period the country is threatened today with all-round crisis in the lives of the people and precipitate economic breakdown.

This has been the natural consequence of a policy which has sought to run the state mainly in the interests of the dominant monopoly capitalist groups and big business. Despite demagogic slogans about Socialism and a Welfare State, the overall effect of the economic policies pursued by the Congress during the past 15 years has been to strengthen capitalist vested interests in every possible way and to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

So far as the common people are concerned—industrial workers, middle classes, toiling intelligentsia, petty shop-keepers and small businessmen, the vast masses of peasantry and landless workers, or the uprooted refugee population—a precipitate fall in their real incomes and general impoverishment is the common rule. The volume of unemployment is frightfully rising every day despite grandiose Five-Year Plans. Even the Third Five-Year Plan holds out no hope that the problem will be tackled with any degree of success even partially. All sections of the people, who have no resources to fall back upon have to depend on the sale of their manual or intellectual labour-power, live under constant fear of economic insecurity and are forced to carry on a precarious hand-to-mouth existence amidst mounting difficulties.

In spite of the fact that we have already passed through the First and Second Five-Year Plans and the third one is in the offing, the general economic conditions of the common people are no better than they ever were. If anything, they are worse.

Unemployment

Unemployment is no longer an urban phenomenon only. It is no longer confined to industrial workers or the educated lower middle classes; today the country is confronted with the staggering problem of finding employment for millions in the rural countryside, for whom there is no job either in the villages or in the towns. There is no provision to absorb people thrown out from rural industries or the masses of rural poor evicted every year from their lands and homestead. The onslaughts on the living standards and the meagre
incomes of all sections of the working people and middle class employees have been intensified as never before. The capitalists are allowed freely to restrict production, to corner the limited supplies of essential articles of every day use and raise their prices to continually soaring heights. Import-export controls and multifarious other restrictions on trade and business are manipulated in such a way that black-marketeering and profiteering have become normal business practice.

Retrenchment

The increasing accumulation of wealth and profits for the capitalists do not mean respite from retrenchment for workmen. The capitalist employers are permitted to retrench the workers whenever they want, to increase the work-load on the remaining hands on the plea of rationalisation or any other specious plea as they like. Sometimes it is the plea of lack of raw material; sometimes lack of work. It is not only the workers and employees alone who are made to suffer. By taking shelter behind these pleas they manage, with open connivance of the Congress Government, to keep down the prices of agricultural raw materials which they have to purchase from the peasantry and thus to deprive the latter of legitimate returns for the crops that they grow.

Rising Cost of Living

Every year at the time of budget-making the Congress Government always comes to the rescue of capitalist big business by heaping on them all sorts of concessions, reduction of taxes and direct subsidies out of the public exchequer; while year after year tax-load is continuously heaped upon all articles of common use. When the workers or people of low-income group ask for any relief, they are reminded of the need for making sacrifices and tightening up their belts for the success of the Plan. While profits of capitalists soar higher and higher, in fixing the wage and remuneration of the workers and office employees no heed is paid to rising costs of living and the barest needs of the latter. The principle of a need-based minimum wage has been given the complete go-by, both in the case of Government employees and that of the workers and employees in the private capitalist sector. The Congress Government and its planning authorities go on systematically refusing to take any effective steps in order to hold down the price line. Because they know in their
heart of hearts, that price inflation means profit inflation, without which the capitalist vested interests whom they serve, cannot thrive.

*Land Reform Legislations in the Interest of the Rich Peasants*

The land-relations policy of the Congress and the general line of its policy in the rural countryside have not benefitted the actual tillers of the soil or the landless labourers in any manner. It has only created a class of rich peasants and capitalist farmers who form the social base of the Congress in the countryside. By paying huge compensations Government has safeguarded the interests of the richer landlords. These people—the former landlords—are now transforming themselves into businessmen and capitalist farmers. Tens of thousands of the poorer peasants and share-croppers are, however, forced every year to part with their lands, cattle and homes to swell the ranks of the landless and rural unemployed.

Fifteen years of Congress rule has practically brought the agrarian economy of the country to a condition of semi-stagnation. Agricultural yield per acre is going down year after year. Arrangements to replenish the land or to supply fertilisers and Irrigation Projects (like DVC or Mayurakshi) fail to serve the purposes for which they were built. Land laws have been so made and implemented that the major part of village land still remains concentrated in the hands of a few. Eviction of peasants from land has been taking place continuously. Redistribution of land to the landless have not been carried out as yet. Land reform laws have been deliberately framed in such a way, with loopholes all over, that very little surplus lands are available for distribution. Consolidation of holdings have been implemented in practice in such a manner as to give possession of better type of lands in one block to rich farmers at the cost of poor peasants. Much advertised Co-operative Multipurpose Societies and other Service Co-operatives in rural areas have been transformed into hot-beds of corruption and exploitation. The major part of the money for Community Development Projects is spent on the salaries of block officials, buildings and jeeps. The few niggardly crumbs of favour which they dole out to villagers are monopolised by the rural rich and political henchmen of the ruling party in village areas. Usury still retains its grip over the life of the rural poor. As noted above, no effective steps have been taken up till now to tackle the problem of mass unemployment of the rural population. Agricultural workers who comprise one-third of the rural population have neither been given land nor tolerable working and living conditions.
The position of the middle class is miserable beyond description. It is groaning under the burden of constantly rising costs of living and the miserable level of its salaries and wages. Innumerable educated young men are coming out of universities and new technical hands out of training institutions, to find themselves without any proper job or even without any hope of such job in the near future. For youthful lives crushed under the burden of frustration and dwindling hopes there is no way of escape from economic insecurity, perennial want and starvation.

*Industrial Policy in the Interest of Stabilisation of Capitalism*

Whenever we look towards the industrial sector or the rural sector the picture is uniformly dismal, so far as the common masses are concerned. Fifteen years of Congress rule and ten years of Congress planning have driven the masses to an absolutely desperate position, fighting for their bare existence with their backs to the wall. The Industrial Policy of the Congress Government represents the basic economic needs of Indian capitalism to stabilise itself and to grow and expand at the expense of the people. The burden of expanding capital investments and other developmental expenditure involved in building up public sector industries and state-owned heavy industries like Iron and Steel or Electrical Power have been thrown on the public exchequer i.e., on the people in the last analysis. But the industries which yield ready profit and which would grow up on the foundation of these basic industries built at public cost, have been kept reserved solely for private capitalist sector.

The control of nationalised industries and financial institutions like the Reserve Bank, the State Bank or the LIC have been given over practically to big business and their trusted henchmen amongst officials. They have been deliberately managed in such a way that, on the Congress Government’s own admission, there have been a five-fold increase of the private capitalist sector. This shows what in reality has been the basic policy behind Congress Five Year Plans under the slogan of a Socialist Pattern of Society. The actual policy followed by the Congress Government has nothing in common with Socialism. The Five Year Plans of the Congress Raj are really nothing other than capitalist planning camouflaged under the name of Socialism. It cannot hold out the promise of any mitigation of the misery, to which the common masses have been forced.
Corruption All-round

The inevitable consequence of this policy is revealed in the growing disparity of income and living conditions of the handful of rich minority and that of the vast masses of the people who languish in poverty and want. Nowhere in the civilised world there is such a wide gap between the rich and the poor, between the haves and and the have-nots. Poverty and want not only dehumanise those who are ground under them. It breeds corruption all-round, especially amongst those who are in authority. One of the greatest curses of the Congress rule during the past fifteen years has been that it has almost nationalised corruption at every level. Nowhere it is so marked as in the day-to-day administration from top to bottom. There is hardly any administrative agency of the Government from which ordinary people can hope to secure any service without paying bribes and tips. Charges of corruption against persons in authority are invariably lightly brushed aside even without the semblance of an inquiry. Moral values are naturally at a discount under these conditions. Crime and hooliganism are on the increase at times with open official connivance.

Failure to Rehabilitate the Refugees

The Congress Government has equally failed to provide any adequate avenue for the economic rehabilitation of the refugees and the displaced persons, particularly the refugees from East Bengal. Lakhs of refugees are still passing miserable lives awaiting rehabilitation. It has thrown every conceivable obstacle in the way of all attempts of the refugee population to provide shelter for themselves on unutilised waste lands and get economically rehabilitated by their own efforts, at the bidding of the landowners whose interests seemed threatened by these efforts. The Dandkranya Scheme which held out great hopes of rehabilitating the refugees in a virgin land of unlimited resources have become only a hunting ground of corrupt officials. Most of the non-camp and camp refugees languish their days in begging and sub-human living conditions.

Disregard for Civil Liberties

Congress Governments both at the Centre and in States show contemptuous disregard for the civil liberties of the people. Police firing has become so common that there have been more firings on the people since independence than in any comparable period during
the British rule. Democratic liberties exist in name; they are increasingly being curtailed in practice.

Re-organisation of States not Consistently Done

Even upto this date the principle of reorganisation of States on linguistic and cultural basis has not been implemented logically or in a consistent and thoroughgoing manner. Border adjustment problems have been artificially created and the wishes of the people as to the State they would like to join on the basis of linguistic and cultural affinity deliberately ignored, except when popular resistance threatened to throw Congress out of ruling power as in Maharashtra and Gujarat. Even when the Congress has been forced to bow down to popular will, hangovers of the problems have been deliberately kept up in the shape of border anomalies and denial of the legitimate rights of linguistic minorities. Linguistic minorities living in different States have been systematically denied all safeguards for their cultural and educational rights in spite of promises held out in the Constitution. Even their fundamental rights as Indian citizen—the right to live and move freely throughout the territories of the Republic and to pursue any avocation they like, their right to hold public offices wherever they may be—are held to ransom, if they do not submit to the tyranny of linguistic majorities in the States where they happen to be. In the interest of its power, the Congress Party everywhere connives at and sides with the majority and helps them to crush the minorities with impunity. The Assam atrocities and the tangle over Punjabi Suba prove how the official policy of the ruling Congress Party is moving and how it has wakened up the monster of linguism.

Communalism and Casteism Fostered Deliberately

Apart from the threats of disruption held out by language fanaticism and regional particularism or provincialism, the unity and integrity of the country is most seriously challenged today by the revival of dangers of communalism and casteism, fostered deliberately by the ruling Congress Party in the interest of maintaining its power. Despite professions of secular democracy, it has not hesitated to ally itself with Catholic reaction and the Muslim League in Kerala or with the worse form of Hindu communalism in Madhya Pradesh (which led to the tragedy of Jabalpur riots). In many States the Congress is simply ridden by certain dominant caste groups, or by a combination of such groups. In a number of States
struggle for power inside the Congress Party openly and unashamedly follows factional caste lines. As the Congress happens to be the ruling party, the virus of communalism and casteism, that has spread in its ranks in every State, is seriously corroding and undermining the unity and integrity of the national body politic from within. This shortsighted policy of the Congress, designed in order to ensure its electoral majority at any cost, has enabled new forces of communal reaction and anti-people rightwing elements to raise their heads under cover of democracy. Some of these forces have even mustered courage to range themselves outside the Congress fold and to challenge it. But most of them find safe and secure shelter within the Congress itself. They feel it more convenient to fight the democratic urges of the popular masses by hiding themselves behind the Congress's ruling power. The Congress is thus the greatest bulwark of reactionary and disruptive forces like linguism, and religious and caste communalism.

* * *

In the field of foreign policy, the Congress Government, has not been able to solve any one of the outstanding issues in the sphere of its external relations with which the Indian people are most vitally concerned, although it has been in power uninterruptedly since 1947. Recent developments in the northern borders of the country have brought home to the people how lulled by its own peace-mongering and slogans of Panch Sheel it has signally failed to strengthen the defence of the country against foreign aggression and have allowed large areas of the country in its northern borders to be occupied by China. The traditionally weak-kneed policy of the Congress in relation to Pakistan as over Kashmir and other outstanding issues between the two countries has been conspicuously demonstrated again by the surrender of Berubari and the Canalwater Treaty in Punjab.

* Dependence on the West : 'Honest' Broker

In the larger issues of world politics it follows the so-called policy of neutrality and non-alignment between power blocs and likes to talk in a big-mouthed way about Peace, Disarmament and Panch Sheel. But that has not prevented it from entering into a relationship of unilateral financial and economic dependence on Western powers. In the context of the current border differences with China it merely seeks to capitalise the bogey of 'Communist
Aggression' to curry favour with Western powers in order to secure larger quantum of economic and financial aids from the West under the slogan of making India 'safe for democracy'.

This weakness for the West prevents it from giving unequivocal support to the cause of freedom and self-determination of weak and oppressed nations all over the world. The professed anti-colonialism of the Congress under Nehru does not, therefore, countenance the revolutionary uprising of a subject people against imperialist thraldom. It always seeks to play the part of an 'honest' broker and arrange compromise deals between insurgent nationalist forces in colonial countries and the ruling imperialist power. We have seen in the recent past how the Congress Government under Nehru has tried its best, since the days of the Suez crisis to keep under check the militancy of Arab nationalism. The non-recognition of Algeria as well as the policy of tight-rope walking in Congo, both arise from the same weakness for Western powers and the same reformist outlook. This has been demonstrated again in the Belgrade Non-aligned Powers' Conference where the influence of Nehru was the principal obstacle in the way of Belgrade Summit raising its voice against colonialism.

*Failure on Kashmir, Goa and Northern Border Issues*

Coming to problems nearer home with which the Indian people are most vitally concerned, the same reformist weakness has been responsible for the failure of India to rid the country of the vestiges of Portuguese colonialism in Goa and other places right on the soil of India. It has compelled the Government of India to keep the Kashmir issue hanging before the UNO and to pour crores of rupees in that State for its defence and for buying support of unscrupulous political leaders. It has prevented India from finding any honourable solution of the outstanding differences with Pakistan.

The same weakness of the position of the Congress leadership has created a state of helplessness in the face of Chinese occupation of India's territories in the northern areas. It stands in the way of finding a political solution of the dispute with China or taking effective counter measures to vacate aggression and restoring *status quo ante*.

On the other hand, by continuing the stalemate in its quarrel with China and holding up the bogey of 'Communist Aggression', they have started systematically curbing civil liberties inside the country and have launched repeated offensives against popular movement. The political implications of the continued membership
of the Indian Republic of the British Commonwealth, the increased solicitude shown by the Government of India for increased flow of foreign investments to this country from the US and Western capitalist countries and its increasing reliance on financial and technical help from Western powers for the implementation of the 2nd and 3rd Plans should be viewed in this context. These may not immediately lead to the abandonment of formal neutrality and non-alignment. But they demonstrate where the basic moorings of the Congress Government in international relations lie.

_Congress Has Forfeited its Rights to Remain in Power_

Judged by any criterion—by its home policy or foreign policy, the Congress regime has completely betrayed the trust of the people. It has forfeited every right to remain in power. This Government of the reactionary vested interests—capitalists, financial magnates and monopolies, black marketeers and profiteers of every sort—must be brought to an end as speedily as possible. All efforts should be directed towards ushering in a Toiling People’s Democratic Government—a government of the workers, peasants and impoverished middle classes, based upon the organised strength of these classes.

The RSP is convinced that there can be no solution of the most urgent problems that confront our people today—the problem of poverty and people’s livelihood, of economic insecurity and the present low standard of living of the people for the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses, within the framework of the capitalist regime.

The yoke of all-round capitalist domination over our national life must be overthrown and replaced by Socialism and the rule of the toilers. For only a Socialist Toiling People’s State will be able to secure democratic rights for the poverty-stricken masses of our country and solve the problems of their livelihood, secure their freedom from the present degrading and dehumanising poverty in any measure.

The RSP is further convinced that the Constitution which the Congress Party has foisted on the country allows very little scope for the people to end the present capitalist rule by utilising the process of parliamentary elections alone. It is nothing but a deception of the people to say that the masses of the people can work their way to real emancipation through this Constitution. The present Constitution guarantees them no basic democratic right which is enforceable by law and which is not subject to violation by
emergency decrees of a bureaucracy and by dictatorial powers accorded to the Rashtrapati and Rajyapals at different levels.

But the coming general elections will nevertheless enable the masses of people to carry the fight for the basic demands of the people to the floors of the legislatures and transform them into forums for the people's tribunes. It is from this point of view and not in any naive faith in the efficacy of the parliamentary system as it exists today that the RSP calls upon the people to take part in the coming elections and give an unequivocal verdict against the ruling Congress capitalist reaction and send to the State and Central legislatures such men who can be trusted by them unhesitatingly to wage the same day-to-day struggle inside the legislative citadels of the bourgeoisie which the masses of the toiling people are conducting in the factories and fields, offices and workshops.

Taking part in the coming elections for asserting the revolutionary demands of the toiling people thus becomes a part of the wider struggle of the masses of the people against Congress capitalist reaction. Congress capitalist reaction must not be allowed to have an easy walk-over in this election or given a chance to parade before the world the verdict of these elections as evidence that the masses of the people are with them and have chosen them of their own free will as the arbiters of their fate. This must be prevented at all costs. The people at large, all progressive political parties and toiling masses must pool all their organised strength and resources to unitedly meet the insolent challenge of the Congress and its capitalist bosses and throw them out from power.

With this end in view, and as the common ground in which all sections of the toiling people and leftist and progressive parties can meet and mobilise their united forces for ousting the Congress capitalist ruling clique from power, the RSP puts forward the following minimum programme.

National Affairs

A. Industry, Trade and Finance

1. Nationalisation of all basic and key industries including foreign-owned industries such as heavy metallurgy and heavy engineering, electricity, oil and petroleum, coal and minerals, shipping and transport, plantations of tea, coffee and rubber, foreign trade, large-scale distributive trades, banking, insurance and other financial institutions, stock exchanges.
2. Liquidation of all foreign holdings in industries and business listed above, elimination of the dependence on foreign investments and aid for the country's economic development.

3. Democratisation of nationalised industries and workers' control.

4. Elimination of capitalist elements from the controlling bodies of nationalised industries and credit institutions.

5. Overhauling of the planning organisation.

6. Credit and monetary management on scientific basis with a view to check inflation and holding down the prices of essential articles.

7. Sale of foodstuff and essential articles at concession rates to industrial workers and people of low-income groups.

8. Provision of a need-based minimum wage and unemployment benefit for all workers and employees, whether serving under the Government or private employers, 36-hour week, 6-hour day, right to collective bargaining and right to strike, social security, housing and maternity benefit, and health and sickness insurance for workers and their families on a liberal scale.

B. Agrarian Sector

1. Economic holdings for every peasant family and ceiling on land holdings on a family-unit basis so as to secure to each family a minimum economic holding varying with fertility and yield.

2. Annulment of the payment of all further compensation to the richer section of former landlords.

3. Annulment of rural indebtedness and provision of cheap and easy agricultural credit for all peasants.

4. Reclamation of waste lands and bringing under cultivation all cultivable fallows on co-operative and joint-farming basis.

5. Encouragement of large-scale scientific farming on a co-operative and collective basis.

6. Exemption of uneconomic holdings from all kinds of land taxes.

7. Rehabilitation of the expropriated petty landlords and non-cultivating owners who are mainly dependent on their incomes from land for livelihood and maintenance of their family.

8. Replacement of present land revenue system by a more scientific one based on yield and production.

9. Living wage for agricultural workers.

10. Complete de-officialisation and democratisation of Community Development Blocks in the rural areas.
11. Reduction of prices of essential articles, guarantee of fair prices and reasonable return to the cultivators for their crops, maintenance of proper balance between industrial and agricultural prices.

12. Summary trial and imprisonment of black-marketeers and profiteers and confiscation of their ill-gotten wealth.

C. Political and General

1. Readjustment of the surviving anomalies in the reorganisation of States according to the wishes of the people of the disputed areas concerned and fresh reorganisation, wherever necessary on the basis of language, culture and contiguity in areas where it has not been done.

2. Full and effective statutory safeguards for the language, cultural and educational rights of linguistic minorities in every State.

3. Adequate economic rehabilitation of the refugees and displaced persons.


5. Reorganisation of the educational system, compulsory and free education up to the secondary stage and cheaper higher education. To talented students who cannot afford higher education at their own expenses, state should provide all facilities.

6. Guarantee of work, food, cloth, shelter and free medical aid for all.

7. Abolition of multipoint sales tax and all vexatious restrictions on retail trade.

8. Liberalisation of the salary scale of teachers, professors and men of arts.

9. Repeal of Preventive Detention Act, withdrawal of Section 144 IPC and prevention of misuse of Security Act etc.

10. Abolition of special powers of the President and Governors.

International Affairs and Foreign Policy

1. Unconditional and unhesitating support to the national liberation revolution now raging in different colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

2. Active support for a programme of linking up the struggle against war and imperialism (i.e., the struggle for peace, disarma-
ment and such issues) with the socialist class struggle for the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism.

3. Support to the USSR, the countries of People’s Democracy in Eastern Europe including the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia, the People’s Republic of China and People’s Democracies in other Asian countries including the People’s Republic of Mongolia, as against imperialism-capitalism and defending them against all threats of external imperialist aggression and counter-revolutionary subversion from within.


5. Support to a policy of close political, economic and defence alliance of India with the newly independent countries like the UAR, Iraq, Cuba etc. and with the USSR and the countries of People’s Democracy.

6. Support to democratic forces fighting against monarchy and autocracy in Nepal.

7. Advocacy of India’s withdrawal from the Commonwealth; adoption of effective steps for the speedy liberation of Goa in India from Portuguese colonial slavery.

8. Defence of the territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty of India against all threats of external aggression coming from whichever quarter it may be.

9. Demanding of Pakistan and the People’s Republic of China, particularly of the latter and of the Communist ruling circle of People’s China, that they must vacate the aggression on Indian territory (Pakistan in Kashmir, China in Ladakh and NEFA) and supporting the line of a peaceful negotiated settlement with both countries, on the basis of the expressed wishes of the inhabitants of those territories, on condition that they actually vacate aggression first from those territories.

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16. Socialist Party*

Note: The Socialist Party which was an offshoot of the Congress was founded in May, 1934. The eminent among the

*Texts of Manifestos of Praja Socialist Party (PSP) and Radical Socialist Party (RSP) follow the documents related to the Parent body i.e., Socialist Party.
founder members were Jai Prakash Narain, Ashok Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan. The most important reason for the formation of this party probably was that they desired to inject the strain of socialistic thought into the Congress ideology to a larger degree. Besides they felt dissatisfied with leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, as they felt that he was not laying sufficient emphasis on economic policies.

The first All-India Conference of the Socialist Party was held at Patna on 17th May, 1934 under the Presidentship of Acharya Narendra Dev. Besides, dealing with the question of Council Entry and the textile strikes, it resolved that the time had come for the setting up of an All-India Organization of the Socialists in the Congress, and to that end it appointed a Drafting Committee to prepare a draft programme and constitution for such an organization for submission to the Bombay Session of the All-India Socialist Conference. Since the Patna meeting, branches of the Socialist Party were formed in several Provinces. Many more young men joined the Party and for several years it worked as the left wing of the Congress.

During the “Quit India” movement the Socialist Party played a very eminent role.

*Election Manifesto of the Socialist Party* (1951)

"After four years of freedom, on the eve of the first General Elections, the Indian people, wiser by experience, are looking forward with hope and expectation to the course of History that they are called upon to shape.

For two hundred years India remained under the domination of a foreign power, and those were the years of economic ruin and social stagnation. While free nations progressed and prospered, while economic opportunities grew and social freedom unfolded in communities enjoying freedom, in India under British rule economic decay deepened from year to year and social inequities gained in rigidity and weight. Manufactures declined, agriculture was impoverished, employment shrunk and wealth was sucked up by a small fraction in the country and by the ruler overseas. The Ancient inequities in India were deliberately perpetuated by the alien powers to bolster up privileged classes, dependent upon the goodwill of the rulers for the preservation of their special advantages. Economic and social life became lopsided.

*Text supplied by the General Secretary, Socialist Party.*
When the Indian people fought for freedom it was not merely out of the desire to put an end to foreign domination but to release the freedom impulse to race through every sphere of life. When the peasant and the worker, the unemployed and the under-privileged, rallied round the banner of freedom, with enthusiasm and devotion he had before him a vision of a new India wherein the removal of the British from the land was linked with the opening of avenues of opportunities and turning of the sod of social transformation. It was this hope of new life, of new voyages and new achievements, that stirred our people to deeds of matchless heroism.

The events of the past four years have blighted these hopes and crushed the green shoots of spontaneous efforts. The frustration and apathy in the land can be traced directly to the widening disparity between expectations and meagre achievements.

**Barren Record**

In the four years of freedom, peasants' hunger for land remains unappeased, the workers' yearning for a new status in industry remains unrealised, production falls, employment shrinks and prices soar. Food rations dwindle and the spectre of the famine stalks the land. Every essential of life, such as cloth continues to be in short supply, and men's quest for shelter has proved elusive. The mounting prices further depress the already low standard of life of persons with fixed income; insecurity grows. The technician, the small industrialist, the worker, the shopkeeper, the clerk, the teacher, finds himself as forgotten as before. Springs of popular enthusiasm have dried up and the Government have been compelled to fall back upon the antiquated social order and its established properties. The locusts of despair have ravaged the harvest of freedom.

The Socialist Party believes that freedom can become meaningful to our people only when its pulsating impulse is permitted to flow through every limb of society. Freedom to the vast majority of people must mean not merely rice and roof but those economic and social changes that can evoke the ardour the enthusiasm needed to reconstruct this ancient land. The efforts at economic amelioration have failed because of the Congress Government's stubborn allegiance to privileged interests, vested rights remain inviolate, while the needs and desires of the people wilt and wither. The vast disparities in economic rewards not merely persist but under the impact of war and post-war economy have widened making the rich richer and the rest poorer. The fiscal and financial
policies of the Congress government have added to the age-old burdens on the bent backs of the people.

The measures for social emancipation have been likewise timid and superficial. Certain disabilities of the scheduled castes have been legally proscribed, but the economic and social suppression of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes remains as before. Not merely landlordism flourishes, but rural servitude persists. The shackles of centuries remain riveted.

The sterile moves towards the abolition of Zamindari, the oscillations between control and decontrol, the growing regression in taxation, the re-emergence of the traditional hegemony of the employers over employees, merely underline the congress government's fear of fundamental change in the socio-economic structure of the land. The hesitation and fear have resulted in the erosion of all reforming zeal in the Congress. In four years of power the Congress has been metamorphosed into a conservative party.

The apologists of the Congress claim credit for the achievements and put the blame for the failure on the inimical circumstances, internal and external.

The disruptive aftermath of war, the tragic consequences of partition, the insecurity in the world all round are problems not peculiar to India. Other lands have been ploughed with similar difficulties, but in many of them bold governments gifted with vision have grappled with difficulties and have tunnelled their way to the sunlit heights of achievements. The failure of the Congress is self-invited.

Could the socialists have managed the affairs of the country better during the years of turmoil and privation? Our answer is unhesitatingly in the affirmative.

But this is of the past. Let us look to the future.

Structural Changes

The Socialist Party believes that the continuing national deterioration of the past four years of freedom can be checked and the upward journey towards progress and prosperity begun; that the answers to the immediate problems of foods clothing and shelter can be found; and that a new India of free and equal and happy citizens can be created. But fulfilment of these tasks would require boldness, vision, determination. The Socialist Party desires the people to understand that no piecemeal solution of their problems is possible; and that even their essential needs cannot be adequately fulfilled unless basic structural changes are made in the social and
economic organisation. We wish further earnestly to warn the people against promises of plenty to be realised without the surgery of social revolution. Let every one understand that as long as the existing social order based on exploitation, inequality and privilege lasts, poverty cannot be banished, nor the productive energies of the nation fully mobilised, nor that psychological climate created in which nations are made. The proposals herein advanced are to be viewed and understood in this context.

*Food and Agrarian Reforms*

The most pressing national problem is that of food. The solution of this problem is linked up with the reorganisation of our entire agrarian economy and of the village. In this sphere more than any other programme, short-range schemes must form part of a well planned, far reaching, coordinated agrarian reform and development. There has been no awareness of this overriding principle in the food policy of the Congress government. Indeed there has been no policy at all, but merely a number of haphazard schemes and day to day improvisation.

*Land Volunteers and Food Army*

The yield per acre of the land must be raised and waste of land brought under cultivation. To do this first bands of land volunteers (*Bhumi Sevak*) will be raised in the village, to dig wells, tanks, compost pits, drain waterlogged areas, construct bunds, fences etc. The state would assist these voluntary *bhumi sevaks* with training and necessary equipment. They will become the spearhead of technological innovations.

*Planning for Food*

Crop planning, coordinated price fixation, integrated controls, procurement through village panchayats, distribution through fair price shops and cooperatives, will further induce production of food and other primary commodities.

*Redistribution of Land*

Abolition of zamindari can be no more than the first step in agrarian reform, affecting only one-third of the country. Even this first step, as taken by the Congress has been false and halting.
Because of their anxiety to respect property rights and claims the Congress Governments have provided for compensation to zamindars. This has made the abolition of zamindari almost meaningless in practice. Financially the proposition is ruinous. Even in equity the zamindars have no right to huge uneamed incomes, the title to which is dubious. The Socialists, therefore, propose to abolish zamindari without compensation but providing for rehabilitation grant to the petty zamindars.

Proprietors of land possessing more than 30 acres will receive for lands over that limit but only upto a maximum holding of 100 acres an annuity for ten years calculated on the basis of fair rent. Efforts would be made to ensure as soon as possible that no cultivating family has less than an economic holding, that is an area of land that would afford a reasonable standard of living. Redistribution of land will be accompanied with consolidation of fragmented holdings.

Agricultural Labour

The problem of agricultural labour is mainly the problem of underemployment. Attempts will be made to raise double crops wherever possible through irrigation and other aids. This would partially reduce the seasonal character of agricultural employment. Processing industries like cotton ginning and pressing and oil extraction will provide fresh avenues of employment. Villages will not be just agricultural communities. Rural industries and decentralised process even of large-scale industries will be located in villages. Certain manufacturing lines may be reserved for rural artisans where large-scale industries will not be allowed to compete. Public works like building and maintenance of roads and construction of minor irrigation works will provide work to agricultural labourers. Their homesteads will be protected by law.

State and Agriculture

The state will have to help the tiller in solving many of the difficulties that face him today. These would include provision of better manure, seeds, implements, better marketing facilities, cheaper finance, technical assistance, and research centres. The state will do this through cooperative banks, grain banks, warehouses, model farms and above all by the administrative reorganisation discussed below.
The state will be responsible for reclamation of cultivable waste lands, prevention of soil erosion and development of irrigation. Here, Land Volunteers and the food army will play a vital role canalising individual efforts into communal endeavour.

The state will be responsible for the maintenance of price parities between agriculture and industry so as to prevent exploitation of rural areas by urban interests.

Rights in Land

All this will spell a profound revolution in the concept of ownership of land. The determination of the size of holding will entail restriction on the right of alienation. The abolition of landlordism would mean curtailment of the right of subletting. Crop planning would restrict the right to sow any crop one likes. Organised marketing would curtail the right of disposal of produce. But these curtailments far from depressing the peasant, would help pull him out of his existing morass of difficulties, because the concept of rights of ownership will include the community responsibility to the tiller. No longer will the peasant plough his lonely furrow; the chaff of theoretical advantages rarely enjoyed by the tiller will go, but the grain of practical benefits will grow.

Administrative Measures

The entire state machinery will have to be overhauled if the state is to discharge the new functions effectively. Today agricultural problems are looked after by various departments of the government under different Ministries. Naturally there is very little coordination in their functioning. This only bewilders the peasant instead of helping him. Again, if the state were to function in a democratic way it is imperative that as large number of peasants as possible are associated with the administrative machinery. This necessitates the reorganisation of agricultural administration on the basis of the four-pillar state. The principle behind this concept is that the communality of the state is to be so organized and sovereign power so diffused that each little community in it lives the way of life it chooses. It will mean that the village panchayats will have pivotal place in the new set up. Above the panchayats there will be three layers of administrative bodies; regional, state, union.
Village Panchayats

The panchayats will be elected on the basis of universal suffrage by a village or a group of villages.

They will tabulate the resources of the village and assess their productive potential. They will prepare a crop plan for their village and send it to the higher organs of the Planning Commission. Through constant references pro and forth, a thorough exchange of information and ideas between the different echelons of planning the plan will be finalised. Once the Schedule is fixed the village panchayat will see that the targets are realised.

The village panchayat is thus the tap root of the wide branching tree of freedom.

Regional Land Commission

Over the village panchayats there would be regional land commissions. They will coordinate the crop plans and agricultural resources in their region. They will be in charge of agriculture, banking and would control and coordinate all rural credit institutions in their area. They will also be responsible for running model farms for the help and guidance of the villagers. They would arrange for technical help to the villagers as demanded by the village panchayats. This commission will be composed of representatives of village panchayats, cooperative agencies, the State Government, and agricultural experts.

State Land Commission

Over the Regional commissions there will be a State Land Commission in each state. This will be in charge of planning development and management of the rural economy and will look after such problems as land revenue, irrigation, agriculture, cottage industry, cooperative both credit and multipurpose, crop planning on provincial level and allied problems.

The commission will be an autonomous statutory body. It will be composed of the representatives of Regional Commission, cooperative agencies, the State Government and agricultural experts.
The Union Land Commission will be in charge of such items as agricultural planning on all-India basis, movement of crops, multipurpose development projects including river training and flood control. It will fix quotas for export and import of agricultural produce, import of agricultural equipment, will regulate in a general way the price of agricultural produce and allot scarce resources like chemical fertilizers.

Model Farms

Model farms will be maintained at government expenses. They will work as minor research and demonstration centres. Agricultural schools may be attached to some of these centres as also museums. They will also serve as centres of medical relief, mobile medical vans radiating from them to the surrounding area. The model farm will not merely be an example, a lone star in the night but a teacher that leads and inspires a friend that understands and helps. Wherever possible these farms will also supply pure water and electricity to the surrounding area.

New Village

When land is distributed among the tillers, when every tiller is an owner of land and every owner tills for livelihood, when landless labourers secure justice and rehabilitation, a new relationship will spring up in the village. Administrative changes, wherein a pivotal position is assigned to democratically functioning village panchayats, will abolish the distance that has separated and estranged the peasant from Authority. The community of free and equal men will then be in a mood to labour co-operatively to better the village. Work will cease to be irksome toil and become the proud badge of active citizenship. The sap of self-assurance will flow again through the tree of life.

Forests

Forests are very important from the point of view of the development of our country. They supply valuable materials prevent erosion of land and help the rainfall. During the war, deforestation had assumed alarming proportions. The policy now
needs to be changed. Afforestation should, therefore, have a high priority in the development schemes.

_Industry_

Once agriculture is properly organised through distribution of lands and on the basis of the village as a unit forming part of the larger planned economy the demand for industrial goods will be increased manyfold. Even today, industry is not in a position to satisfy demands of the people. The next big step in the development of our productive powers can only come through the capacity of taking big risks, the capacity for organisation on a grand scale. Big industry should be controlled by the appropriate authorities.

_Producers’ Cooperatives_

The State will encourage producers’ cooperatives both in the private and the small-scale sector. This will be useful in solving to a certain extent the problems created by inadequate capital, abundant man-power and low productivity. The cooperatives will help in raising productivity by the introduction of small machines without displacing labour. The state will assist them by providing special credit and marketing facilities, developments of suitable technology, training of organizational technical personnel and providing education for a cooperative life.

_Workers’ Control_

The workers’ place in the community will be revolutionised. They will be treated as honoured partners in a great enterprise. They will be taken into confidence regarding the conduct of the industry. Not only information will be shared and experience pooled but every facility given to the worker and the technician to receive training to improve his abilities and add to his knowledge.

_Social Security_

Even after endowing workers with a share in the management some insecurity may remain even under a planned and controlled economy. Rationalisation need not necessarily mean unemployment if the industry is in an expanding phase. Yet fractional unemployment cannot be avoided. Sickness and old age are bound to create hardship to the unsecured worker. The dividend of the worker
will remain low till the bowl is made larger through increased productivity and lading out of a larger share is made possible. All these make it incumbent upon the state to assume the responsibility of social security.

Those injured while on duty will be paid adequate compensation which would make necessary medical aid possible and enable them to maintain themselves. Sickness insurance and maternity benefit likewise must be sufficient both for medical care and for maintenance. Similarly, the worker with years of hard labour behind him must be freed from anxieties in his old age. Old age pension will have to be granted to him for the purpose. Fractional and other unemployment has to be provided for by unemployment insurance.

As for the finances required workmen's compensation will be a charge on industry. It is a part of the foreseeable risk which all industry must bear. Unemployment due to changeover or nationalisation has to be provided for either by industry or by the State.

Sickness insurance, maternity benefit and old age pension funds will be contributed to by the state, the employer and the worker.

**Free Trade Unionism**

The Socialist Party is anxious to give workers a share in the management of industry. That responsibility can be undertaken by the workers, their voice can gain full strength, only when every worker is a union member. The Socialist Party, therefore, advocates *union shop*—every worker a union member. No workers may weaken the organisation by remaining out of it. The unions will be organised National Industrywise with locals in every industrial establishment and branches in every region. Legal safeguards will be provided to preserve fullest internal democracy.

**Development of Industry**

It will be the duty of the state to plan for the development of industry. A Planning Commission representing all interests concerned will have to work continuously for this gigantic task. But such a centralised machinery will neither be efficient nor desirable for controlling the destiny of 350 million people scattered over a vast area. It will, therefore, be necessary to build up the planning machinery from bottom upwards.
At the bottom we have village panchayats, public corporations, local bodies, cooperatives and the associations of small manufacturers and workers and of handicraftsmen, state trading corporations and associations of traders. Each of these bodies will prepare inventories of the resources at their command, assess productive capacity of these resources, list added facilities, needed for extra productivity and the goods that they expect to get for their produce. These will be scrutinised and reconciled by the Planning Commission at the state level. These necessary plans will then be submitted to the Union Planning Commission for action. The primary bodies enumerated above will be responsible to carry out the assignments given to them once the plan is finalised.

_state facilities for enterprise_

When the state takes all these powers in its hand it must in its turn undertake the responsibility of finding facilities for different sectors of industry. Constitution of working parties and Development Councils, establishing and aiding fundamental research in the universities and state-aided institutions training of scientists and technicians, organising research in applied science and human relations, establishment of the Institute of Management and Production Efficiency Service and the council of Industrial Designs will be among the contributions of the state. Small manufacturers can be helped by providing the manufacturers with buildings, general purpose machinery, industrial power or rent and even finance in suitable cases. The handicrafts can be helped by reserving certain lines exclusively for them; by encouraging research, by establishing workshops and training centres and by providing marketing facilities.

State initiative will thus break the stalemate in industry. The commanding heights will be occupied by state enterprise, but the rest of the terrain will be left free to individual initiative and enterprise. There too the fostering aid of the State will be available. What is not nationalised will be nurtured with state aid.

**trade**

*external*

Organisation of trade is one of the pressing problems facing the country. Blackmarketing, hoarding and speculation are rampant
today, exerting inflationary pressure on prices. Almost all the savings go into trade and hoarding, creating artificial scarcity. Essential commodities are exported and luxury goods are imported to boost the profits of Big Business. Indian manufacture is acquiring a questionable reputation of never conforming to specifications. All this will be to be changed. All the requirements of nationalised sector of industry like capital goods and industrial raw materials will be imported by the State. Similarly, all the products of nationalised industry will be exported by the State. Scarce capital goods and industrial raw materials will be imported by the State and allotted to different industries. Export of important raw materials like jute and cotton will be through the State. Foreign capital will be imported solely by the Government.

For this purpose a State Trading Corporation with autonomous powers, subject to the overall control of the Government on general policy, will be set up. This Corporation will have to define priorities for import and direction of export.

The rest of the lines in trade will be in private hands. State control, here, will consist of exchange control, stipulation of standards and specifications and reserving a part of production for internal consumption.

The State in its turn will help the trade by establishing warehouses and supplying trade intelligence.

**Internal**

As for internal trade, all requirements of nationalised industry will be procured through State Trading Agencies. Similarly the wholesale distribution of the products of nationalised industry will be through State Agencies.

Village produce will be disposed of through multi-purpose cooperatives. They will also buy the requirements of the village on wholesale basis from urban areas.

The rest of the trade will be in private hands.

Retail trade in scarce essential goods will be through State Agencies.

**Minorities**

The Socialist Party wishes to forge not in theory but in living reality an all-governing national unity.
At the same time the Socialist Party recognises the need of treating with consideration the culture, traditions and special interests of the minorities. It guarantees full and special interests of the minorities. It guarantees full protection to each minority in respect its language, script, culture and assures that no law or regulation shall be passed which in any way would militate against this guarantee.

The Socialist Party hopes that the minorities on their part will come forward and participate fully in the life of the nation and work creatively to establish the new civilisation herein envisaged which alone offers a lasting solution of the problem of minorities.

Refugee Rehabilitation

The Government have failed to heal the wounds of partition. Millions of refugees from Pakistan who could have been absorbed in the life of the country and turned into useful citizens contributing to increasing production have been seized with bitterness and frustration. Even five years after partition they have yet to find their moorings in the national life.

The Government have no vision nor a purposeful scheme to settle these displaced persons in their new environment. As in other spheres a hand to mouth policy to meet the immediate urgency followed by complacency marks the action of the Government in this field too. They leave this tide of human suffering to disperse by itself.

The Socialist Party would give the first priority to the problem and meet it in the following manner.

Changes in the Constitution

The fabric of economic equality and social mobility cannot be raised on the framework of the present Constitution of India. Not only it presents many an obstacle to fundamental reforms but fails to reflect in crucial matters, the wishes of the people.

Even the nationalist aspirations of the Indian people have not been fully realised under the constitution. India remains a member of a Commonwealth that tolerates racial inequality and denies access to Asian multitudes to the empty spaces in the commonwealth countries. The Socialist Party, therefore, favours the withdrawal of India from the commonwealth. That alone can complete our quest for freedom.
The social aspirations of the people are baulked and frustrated by the constitution even more pointedly. The safeguards provided to the right of property facilitate the maintenance of present inequalities and make any egalitarian advance well nigh impossible. To ensure progress these barricades raised to protect property rights will have to be razed down and the people's right to use State powers to establish equitable and juster social relationships will have to be asserted. This would include the power to take away property with rehabilitation grant only if such taking over by the state is found necessary for social progress.

While the right to property, enjoyed by a microscopic minority of people, is fenced off from all encroachments, the universal rights to liberty are hemmed in from all sides. The fundamental freedoms of the people, of speeches, press, assembly, association and above all freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention cannot be allowed to depend on the whims, and wishes of the authorities. A positive and absolute content given to those rights alone can assure minorities—political and religious—that they are free to live according to their own rights and even free to propagate their views so long as they remain loyal to the state which guarantees these rights. The Socialist Party would, therefore, repeal all repressive laws and make the fundamental rights as real and complete as possible. The Right to Work has so far remained a pious wish. Its neglect involves not merely individual but social loss. Through work alone a person participates in the stream of community life and emerges as a citizen creatively associated in the building up of new nation. The Socialist Party would assure the right to work and thus banish the haunting fear of unemployment, starvation and want.

The constitution has likewise failed to create a truly democratic structure for the new Indian State. The absence of linguistic provinces denies millions of men opportunity in the affairs of the State. The Socialist Party favours re-arrangement of the States on linguistic basis, consistently of course with geographical contiguity and economic viability.

Through the new positions assigned to village panchayats nationalised industrial and trade corporations, co-operatives and trade unions markedly modify administration and give it intimate contact with the people. In many spheres the peoples would be administering their affairs directly.
The Congress Government claims to follow an independent foreign policy. But it nevertheless keeps oscillating from one power bloc to the other. At the same time, economic and social disorganisation has been creating within the country growing adherents of the rival blocs. Four years of frustration have led sections of our people, no matter how small, look to Moscow or Washington, for deliverance and development. Taking advantage of this position, both the blocs are trying to entrench themselves in the country.

Further the failure of the Government of India to put forward a positive world policy as an alternative to the policies of the American and Russian blocs has robbed our so-called independent foreign policy of all meaning, and belied the hopes that the emergence of free India had aroused among the people of Asia and Africa.

The foreign policy of a free but feuda-licum-capitalist India with its extremes of poverty and wealth, its social injustices, its status quoism cannot rouse any enthusiasm or play any vital part. Only when at home India gives evidence of creative energy and proceeds to construct a new social order as described in this Platform that India’s voice will become a clarion call.

The Socialist Party believes in a new world of equality, freedom and peace; a world in which there is no domination or exploitation of one nation by another, in which extreme poverty and backwardness do not lie side by side with dazzling wealth and technological progress in which there are no race or other barriers which war has become obsolete.

In order to realise this picture of a new world the Socialist Party shall:

(i) Abstain from involvement in the disputes between the Russian and American Camps, at the same time assuring the United Nations that Socialist India would in no event assist an aggressor;

(ii) Strengthen the United Nations and its various agencies in all such efforts as might lead to a world of freedom, equality, and peace;

(iii) Endeavour to work for the collective security of that region in the world as keeps out of alliances of the Atlantic and Soviet camps, in particular the belt that stretches from Indonesia to Egypt;
(iv) Strive for friendly relations with all peoples and governments;
(v) Support freedom movements of the yet unfree peoples, in particular those of Africa and attempt to keep them away from alliances with either camps;
(vi) Seek to revise all treaties and agreements and charters as have set up an international estate system of rich and powerful nations on the one hand and of weak and poor nations on the other and thus establish the principle of equality of all nations.
(vii) Assist in all efforts to join the human race together politically in a world parliament and economically through agencies such as a world development corporation and world food pool, so as to ensure that every human being no matter what his country is, assured of a decent standard of living.
(viii) Extend its support to socialist movements all the world over and to all other popular movements as are striving to combat hunger and war with the weapons of socialism and democracy.

The Prospect

Such is the first five years' programme that we propose for the reconstruction for our country. It is a co-ordinated programme each part of which is to be understood in the context of the whole. And while it is a radical programme, it is also practical. Its fulfilment will mean more production and equitable distribution; it will mean more food and cloth, more employment; it will mean educational and technical progress, better health; it will mean the institution of a people's functioning democracy, more self-rule and less government, it will bring light and hope to millions of homes, darkened today by poverty and ignorance; it will mean a miracle of rebirth.

The peasant, the worker, the man of the middle class, the technician, the small producer, the Harijans, the Adivasis, the backward people—each will have a new opportunity to march forward, with the impeding burdens of the past.

The peasant with the abolition of zamindari and landlordism, will become the owner of the land. Re-distribution of land will restore equality to village communities. Resuscitation of village panchayats, as the pivot of administration and economy will enable the peasant to shape his way of life.
The worker will gain a new status in industry. Social security and trade union rights will banish his fears, and partnership in production will impart work a new significance.

The small producer will be freed from cramping influences of monopolists and will be nurtured with State aid for legitimate expansion.

The technician and the administrator will get opportunities for experimentation and development. The spirit of pioneering will revive their activities.

The submerged people, like the Harijans, and Adivasis, will experience social reclamation, and injustices of centuries will at long last face away.

The community, strengthened by egalitarian and social reforms, will turn to creative efforts. Co-operatives and industrial democracy will spell the end of exploitation.

Only a small section of the people will be stripped of their purple robes of privilege and deprived of the advantages of wealth and power. But they too in return may experience a new joy of participating in a community life uncursed by the envy and animosities of an unequal society.

The fundamental yet simple reforms will lay the foundation for that house of freedom wherein the people's fugitive hopes and questing desires will find their abiding mansions.

* * *

The Objective of Socialism*

1. Till freedom was achieved, socialism was a secondary issue: national independence came first. After the achievement of freedom, the issue of socialism takes the centre of the stage. The national front against imperialism dissolves and the Socialist Party steps forward as the instrument of social revolution. From being the left wing of the national movement, the Party becomes the vanguard of the toiling masses in their struggle for a new world. What is the picture of this new social order and how is it to be achieved? These are the questions which must be answered now and the basic policy of the Party stated clearly at this moment of historic departure.

2. The Party constitution defines the objectives of the Party as being (a) the establishment of a democratic socialist society in

*Text of the Policy Statement was supplied by the Central Office of the Socialist Party.*
India; (b) the eradication of imperialism, racialism, colonialism and other forms of national oppression and economic inequality among nations and the creation of a democratic socialist world.

3. After more than a hundred years of socialist thought and action, there was no need to elucidate these concepts further. But in the years past conflicting pictures of socialism have been drawn which makes it necessary to redefine these concepts and to make a choice.

**Totalitarian Communism**

4. The main choice today is between democratic socialism and totalitarian communism. In totalitarian communism, to which it is wrong to apply the name of socialism, every other but the ruling party is suppressed; there is no opposition permitted to the Government, i.e., to the bureaucracy in power; the trade unions are not independent organizations of the workers but subordinate limbs of the all-powerful State with no right to strike or to take any other action independent of the State and the ruling party. Under such 'socialism,' as totalitarian communism is sometimes called, the individual is not free, and enjoys no protection against arbitrary loss of his already restricted freedom, his job or even his life. The State in such a system acquires an unchallenged control over the life, liberty and happiness of its subjects. On the other hand, thanks to the single-party system, the State passes entirely out of the democratic control of the community of workers and becomes a tool in the hands of the ruling clique of the only party in existence. Party leaders and leaders of industry, agriculture and the armed forces become a class, apart from the mass of workers, perpetuating themselves through a system of special privilege, drawing incomes far in excess of ordinary wages and ruling in the name of the workers but wholly beyond their control.

**Democratic Socialism**

5. The Socialist Party rejects such 'socialism.' The socialist society which it aims at is a society in which there is the fullest economic and political democracy. It is an axiom of Marxism that there can be no socialism without democracy. Therefore, in the socialist society of our conception the individual, i.e., the worker, is free and the State has no power to deprive him of his rights and privileges except through due processes of law. Further, in such a society, the trade unions are free and may even exercise, if need be,
their right to strike, other voluntary organizations of working men are also free; political parties other than the party in power may be formed and may function freely. The state has no monopoly over the press, the radio or other means of propaganda. Associations of working men, their parties, collectives, co-operatives, municipalities and other corporate bodies of workers have their own press and means of propaganda and the State Press is open to every individual worker, whose right to criticise or oppose the Government, or any limb or servant of it, is guaranteed by the Constitution. In such a society, economic power, i.e., the power to plan production, the power to determine the conditions of work, prices, the distribution of the national produce between saving and spending and between the forms and grades of these—all these powers are held not exclusively by the State bureaucracy, but shared by trade unions, co-operatives and other suitable representative bodies of working men. In such a society, the servants of the State, particularly on the higher levels, including police officers and magistrates, are elected by appropriate constituents and are subject to recall by the same. No incomes in such a society are much removed from the ordinary wage-level and the children of the higher grade of wage-earners have no special privileges or opportunities. Government and management of economic affairs are made as simple as possible, enabling immediate participation in these activities of the greatest possible part of the community.

6. These are the basic principles of democratic socialism to which the Party adheres, and which shall guide its future policy. But these principles do not in any way complete the picture of socialism which the Party has in view; they merely state the conditions that will prevent socialism from being submerged by totalitarianism.

Failure of Social Democracy

7. While the experiences of the inter-war years in Europe brought out the defects of totalitarian communism, they also demonstrated the weaknesses, particularly during the German Revolution, of Social Democracy. The Social Democratic Movement in Germany and elsewhere in Europe exhibited an utter lack of decision in revolutionary and critical moments. When history demanded decision, revolutionary action, Social Democracy afraid of violence and disorder and inhibited by doctrinaire ideas, forswore its historical role and allowed capitalism to re-entrench itself under the garb
of democracy and constitutionalism. This weak-kneed policy and the disastrous mistakes and disruptive tactics of world communism ultimately made possible the enthronement of Nazism.

8. The Socialist Party, therefore, while firmly believing in democratic socialism and fully aware of the dangers of totalitarian communism, adheres steadfastly to the path of revolution. The Party sees no conflict between democracy and revolution. The bourgeois revolution was the mother of bourgeois democracy; so, the social revolution is the mother of socialist democracy.

Abolition of Capitalism and Feudalism and the Emergence of One Class or Classless Society

9. Capitalist society is based on exploitation of labour for private profit. In free capitalism the degree and manner of this exploitation are determined by the capitalist class. Under controlled capitalism, this task is performed mainly by the State; but then the state itself is very largely controlled by the capitalist class. Therefore, the result of, State control of profits, wages and prices in a capitalist society makes little differences to the economic basis of that society. In a socialist society, that basis is completely, basically altered. In this society, there is no capitalism, i.e., there is no class of private owners of productive property to which labour power may be applied for the production of more property. The abolition of capitalism might be achieved by an insurrection or through a democratic process. Whatever the process, in a socialist society there is no capitalist class in existence. Nor is there any other exploiting class, such as the class of landlords and capitalist farmers. The disappearance of the exploiting classes means that there is only one class left in society—the class of workers whether they work in fields, factories, offices or in the professions. The State in such a society is a workers’ state and, if the democratic forms of political and economic life already described are in existence, it may not be turned into a bureaucratic or totalitarian state.

Socialization of Production

10. The property that under capitalism belonged to the capitalist and the landlord belongs under socialism to the worker not individually, but corporately. In other words the State, its subordinate limbs, the municipalities, village communities, co-operatives and similar corporate bodies become the property owners, and, together, the managers and directors of all economic activities. All
large-scale industries, such as defence and basic industries, are owned and managed by the State; consumption industries and industries of small and middle sizes are owned by other corporate bodies. Land is owned by the village community as a whole from which individual cultivators hold within certain minimum and maximum limits of acreage; and the actual farming is done through co-operatives or individual cultivators working as members of a co-operative society.

_Socialization of Trade and Banking_

11. Trading establishments too become the property of the State or the co-operatives who carry on all the trade, except very small neighbourhood trade that may be left in the hands of individuals. All banking is in the hands of the state.

_Industrialization and Development of Technology and Science_

12. The economic organization of present society is geared to the need of creating private profit. In socialist society, the purpose of economic activities is to produce goods and services for the satisfaction of human wants. India is poor beyond description. Not enough of goods and services are being produced to go round. Even if the few who are in a privileged position at present did not misappropriate the share of their fellowmen, there is not enough to satisfy even the primary needs of the population. It is obvious, therefore, that production must increase manifold.

13. But production cannot increase unless human labour is made more productive by the use of science and technology. Furthermore, in socialism the aim is not merely to increase the productivity of human labour but also make it less irksome and fatiguing and to leave to the labourer more time for rest, recreation and the pursuit of happiness. Thus, both to make labour more productive and less toilsome, it is necessary to make the greatest possible use of science and technology.

_Large V. Small Industry_

14. In this context the controversy that ceaselessly rages regarding large industry and handicrafts is beside the point. The aim in socialist society is to attain the highest possible standard of living, materially and culturally. Therefore science, technology, art, all are pressed into service to achieve that aim. All forms of
production—large, small, concentrated, dispersed—are made subservient to the needs of production, employment, health and aesthetics.

**Planned Economic Development**

15. In capitalist society, production is not adjusted to the needs of the community but to the dictates of the market, which, in its turn, reflects not social needs but the relationship between spending and saving, in other words, the relationship between wages and profits. Therefore, capitalist production is wasteful and planless.

16. In socialist society, as production has to satisfy the needs of society, it is adjusted to those needs. That is to say, a plan is drawn up in accordance to social needs and production follows the plan.

**Decentralized and Regional Planning**

17. There is, however, a danger in planning. It has been found that, if completely centralized, planning leads to bureaucratism and dictatorship. But the very nature of planned economy is such that in certain spheres, as key industries, imports and exports, currency, finance, price of basic commodities, reinvestment, etc., central planning is imperative. Yet, if the evils of regimentation are to be avoided, it is necessary to leave as much local initiative as possible in the matter of regional planning, particularly with respect to commodities locally consumed. At the same time, the Central Planning Authority too should be so constituted as to be a representative body; that is to say, it should consist not only of the representatives of the Central Government but also of the Provincial Governments, the trade unions and the co-operatives.

**Village and Town**

18. In capitalist economy, particularly in India, the villagers are a prey to the cities. In socialist India, this conflict is removed and the exploitation of the village by the money economy of capitalism is stopped. There is no discrepancy in the standards of living of the rural and urban areas and the peasant and worker both receive values for their labour.
Abolition of the Princes

19. With the formation of the two Indian Dominions, the Princely States have joined one Dominion or the other. In socialist India, the princes and feudal lords have no place. Whether the Princes and their vassals go as a result of revolution or by the votes of their peoples, they will have to go before socialism is fully established.

Tribal Peoples

20. The tribal peoples of India are on different cultural levels, and all are backward economically and politically. Taking advantage of their backwardness, foreign missions have tried systematically to denationalize them. The tribal peoples are an integral part of the Indian nation; but their distinctive culture entitles them to regional autonomy and the fullest cultural freedom.

Religion

21. While socialism is a rational way of life, it does not interfere with religion. Religion would be completely free in socialist India.

Caste

22. In India, apart from economic inequalities, there are social inequalities, particularly among one of the communities, namely the Hindus. The system of caste is anti-social, undemocratic and tyrannous, inasmuch as it divides men into high and low, touchable and untouchable, curtails human liberties and interferes with economic activities. In socialist India, this system cannot exist and no distinction or discrimination based on caste is permitted.

Woman

23. Woman in present-day society is suppressed and exploited. In socialism, woman is the equal of man, and no distinction or discrimination based on sex exists.

Socialism

24. Here then is our picture of socialist society. It is a democratic society where everyone is a worker and all men are
equal, including women; where there are equal opportunities for all and wages do not differ so much as to create distinctions of class; where all wealth is owned by the community; where progress is planned; where labour is joyful and fruitful; where life is richer, fuller, beautiful.

25. Our picture of socialism is unrealisable in full except on a global basis. Socialism defines a world order, a social epoch, and its frontiers are not geographic. Socialism in one part of the world and anti-socialism in the other have no meaning except that the times are transitional. But ultimately there is only one world, and that is the world of socialism. Hence world socialism is our objective, and we work with other democratic socialist forces to remove from world society the impediments to world socialism, namely, imperialism, racism, colonialism, other forms of national oppression and economic inequality.

II. Transition to Socialism

26. The society described above cannot be created all at once. Present society is far removed from socialism. Therefore, there must be a period, short or long, of transition from the present to the ideal.

Class Struggle: The Motive Force of Social Change

27. The forces that drive society toward socialism are the forces generated by the struggle of classes. It is not merely socialist intellectuals who by the powers of logic and persuasion bring about socialism. Socialist intellectuals play an important part in the process, but they do not provide the motive force. That force is provided by the working class and the other exploited classes in capitalist society who struggle against their exploiters in order to improve their position and to free themselves from exploitation. This struggle leads them ultimately to destroy the social system that upholds and sanctions their exploitation and to establish a society free from exploitation, i.e., a socialist society. The intellectuals who identify themselves with the exploited class give ideal or ideological expression to this struggle and the objectives it drives at in a more or less elemental manner. In brief, the class struggle is the motive force in the transition to socialism.

Two Stages of Transition

28. Looked at as a historical process, this transition has two stages; one; the stage where the class struggle leads to the capture
of power by socialists; the other; when the socialists in power build up socialism.

**Insurrectionary or Democratic Method**

29. In theory, State power can be captured by either of two methods, i.e., by an insurrectionary overthrow of the State in existence or by democratic means. It is necessary to define both these terms to avoid misunderstanding.

**Insurrectionary Means**

30. Insurrectionary means must be distinguished from terrorist action, putschism or conspiratorial violence. Insurrectionary means become inevitable when a small class of privileged and vested interests rules by force over the entire people, who cannot be rid of the rulers except through a violent overthrow. It is important to remember that any violent action against the State is not insurrection nor a preparation for it. Insurrection is an armed rising of the people, rather than the sporadic violence of a band of conspirators. An insurrection succeeds only when it has the backing of the people and the active participation of at least the more awakened among them. In other words, an insurrection is not an insurrection unless the people participate in it; otherwise, it is, at the best, the terrorism of a revolutionary elite. It follows that in order to prepare for an insurrection, it is futile to throw bombs and commit murder and loot and arson. What is needed is to awaken and organize and move the toiling masses. The essence of the socialist methodology lies in this technique of mass awakening and mobilization. To put it historically, for an insurrection to take place and to succeed, the philosophy and technique of the Narodnaya Volya must be transformed into the philosophy and technique of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

**Democratic Means**

31. Likewise, care should be taken not to confuse democratic means with mere constitutional or parliamentary means. Though the first include the second, they are far wider in scope. Civil resistance, satyagraha, strike (in certain circumstances) are not constitutional means. Yet they are democratic means. Likewise, mere constitutionalism is not concerned with building up of class organisations, such as trade unions, and in sharpening the class struggle, or in constructive work such as the development of the
co-operative movement or the workers' educational movement. A constitutionalist or parliamentary party is little more than an election machine. A democratic party too has its election machine, but it is much more than that. It has its trade union work and other similar work among the peasantry and the lower middle class and its co-operative and other constructive and educational work. Nor is all this work aimed at mere electoral victory, but at laying the foundations of socialism within the womb of present society. The socialist government alone cannot build up socialism, but the people as a whole, working through their trade unions, peasant panchayats, co-operatives, youth, cultural and other people organisations must do it.

32. Democratic means can be used for the capture of State Power only where full political democracy is functioning and the working class, the peasantry and the lower middle class have reached a high level of maturity and have created a powerful political party. Where these conditions do not exist, democratic methods must be ineffective and inadequate and sometimes dangerous.

33. When the first stage is complete, i.e., when State power has been captured, socialists may proceed to build up socialism either in a democratic manner or through a dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., of the toiling masses who in India include workers, peasants and the poor middle class. The democratic method can succeed only where the danger of counter-revolution does not exist, i.e., the danger that the old ruling classes would overthrow the socialist state by force and establish their dictatorial rule.

In Present Circumstances Only Democratic Means Correct and Effective

34. In India the course towards socialism seems to be fairly set. The framework of Indian democracy is nearly complete, and, though the picture is not that of full political democracy, there is large scope for democratic functioning. There is going to be adult franchise, and, though there are limitations, civil, liberties under the new constitution shall exist to a degree where the socialist movement may grow steadily. The existing restrictions on the people's liberties are no doubt an impediment but their effect can be exaggerated. Further enlargement of democracy is dependent largely on the growth of the socialist movement itself. The stronger this movement grows the fuller shall be our democracy. On the other hand, the more irresponsible does left wing infantilism become, the greater the danger of fascism and reaction. The Socialist
Party is thus no mere tool in the hands of circumstances. Rather the Party is itself a considerable factor in the shaping of circumstances. Taking into account the entire situation in the country and the future possibilities, democratic means appear to be the only correct means to follow, the only means that can be effective. It is possible that events, beyond our control, might conspire to transform radically the existing situation, making democratic means impossible to follow and rendering them ineffective. Even in that eventuality, though it appears to be highly unlikely, the present means in the present circumstances would so strengthen the forces of socialism and give it such a mass basis and such a broad-based organisational instrument, that it would be easy for the movement to adjust itself to the new situation and adopt even insurrectionary means effectively.

**Democratic Transition or Dictatorship of the Proletariat**

35. The new State in the hands of Socialists becomes an instrument for building up of a socialist society. The State might function democratically, or it might be compelled to suppress the liberties of those who might threaten its existence. If the socialist movement has succeeded in mobilising an adequately large sector of the toiling masses and if the influence over them of the propertied classes has been destroyed, the new State would have so broad a basis and such stability that the danger of counter-revolution should be inconsiderable. The building up of socialism can then proceed on democratic lines. If, on the other hand, the new State is threatened and insecure, the counter-revolutionary elements in society would be suppressed by force. In other words, a dictatorship of the proletariat would have to be established. Such a dictatorship, however, shall not be the dictatorship of a single class, or worse, of a single party. Under this dictatorship of the proletariat, all the classes forming the proletariat shall share in the state power, and all the parties of the proletariat except those that believe in totalitarianism shall function in complete freedom; only the anti-proletarian elements being disenfranchised and their liberties suppressed.

**Our Primary Task**

36. As stated above, the motive force in the transition to socialism is the struggle of the classes. In India, the working class, the peasantry, the toiling middle class, are neither organised nor fully aware of their historical role, i.e., of their role in the transition to socialism nor has their struggle become a central fact in the poli-
tical and economic life of the country. Large sectors of the toiling masses are today wholly under the sway of irrational, undemocratic, anti-socialist forces, such as the forces of caste and communalism. Socialism would remain a distant dream till the masses are weaned away from these influences and made aware of their true interests and their historic destiny. Therefore, the primary task of the socialist movement today is the creation of the class organization of the toiling people and the development of their class consciousness and of their struggle for freedom from want and exploitation and social injustice.

Constructive Activities

37. In a democratic climate, and working with democratic means, the struggle of the exploited classes and their efforts to emancipate and equip themselves for the task of governance and management of society assume other forms than merely class organization. There are all manner of constructive and cultural activities which take the class struggle to varied fields and fronts and push forward the transition to socialism. The most important of these activities is co-operation in all its forms. Among other activities may be mentioned workers' education; youth movement; cultural programmes; adult literacy; campaign against caste, untouchability and communalism; voluntary association for self-help such as to build village roads, wells, tanks, bunds, etc., and other similar work. The importance of these co-operative and cultural activities should not be underestimated and they should form as important a part of our work during the transitional period as the development of the class organisations.

III. Policy With Regard to Indian States

People's Aspirations

38. With the end of British rule in India, the Princely States lost the basis of their existence. The Princes of these States had allied themselves in law and in spirit with the foreign rulers. The struggle against these Princes, therefore, formed an integral part of the wider struggle against foreign tyranny. Through their long struggle of thirty years the people of India learned to aspire for the removal of the princely order, for the political and administrative unity of the country as a whole, for the growth of democratic institutions throughout the land and for the regrouping of States either to merge with the existing provinces or to form new provinces where possible.
Integration Only the Beginning of a New Order

39. The integration of five hundred and odd states, achieved in less than two years, constitutes a landmark in the advance of Indian polity and realisation of people’s aspiration. However, the disappearance of these States as separate entities is not the final step in the political integration of this land. It is only the beginning of a new order in which the States and Provinces find a new basis of further advance.

Re-drawing the Administrative Map

40. Together with the Provinces they have now to be regrouped so as to achieve administrative and economic efficiency and to serve the claims of language, geography and the sub-groups of Indian culture. According to this formula the Socialist Party welcomes the constitution of the new provinces of Karnataka, Kerala, and Gujarat. The other Unions and States must be abolished to merge with these and other existing Provinces.

Many of the States have been left in their original shape and the Unions that have been formed cannot be justified on rational grounds. The position of centrally administered States such as Bhopal, Rampur, Himachal Pradesh, Manipur and Cooch-Behar is anomalous. Similarly there is no raison d’etre for the Unions of PEPSU, Vindhy Pradesh, USTC and Saurashtra as separate administrative units. The Vindhy Pradesh Union should as a whole be merged either in UP or CP. In no case should it be split up.

Disintegration of Hyderabad Essential

41. In accordance with the common pattern for the reconstitution of provinces, the Socialist Party does not believe in the continuance of Hyderabad as a single administrative unit. Hyderabad is a province of three languages, and an autocratic dynasty had held it together regardless of the desires of the people. The power of that dynasty is now gone and Hyderabad must be broken up into its natural parts; the Telugu area should go to the Province of Andhra, the Marathi area to the Province of Maharashtra and Kannada speaking area to Karnataka. Such a break-up of Hyderabad and the association of its different units in natural fraternity with the neighbouring Provinces will realise the aspirations of the people and release their energies.
Paradox of Popular Ministries Without Legislatures

42. The complete integration of the States involves their rapid democratization. Yet in Saurashtra, PEPSU and Rajasthan the paradox of popular Ministries without Legislatures continues under the dispensation of the State's Ministry. In the States and Unions of States, where Assemblies have been formed, the principle of free election was vitiated by the prevalence of the conditions of semi-serfdom and restricted franchise. This wrong must be immediately set right.

Nomination of People's Representatives Denial of Democracy

43. The population of the States which have been merged into the existing Provinces have no say whatsoever in the administration of these Provinces and are, therefore, left in a state of inferior citizenship. The Socialist Party emphatically protests against the arbitrary decision of the Congress Government to shelve the issue of elections. In the merged States, which alone could have given the feel of freedom to the people and to nominate their chosen men as people's representatives to the Legislative Assemblies any attempt to whittle down the establishment of full democratic institutions must be resisted by the people.

Abolish Distinction between Prince and Commoner

44. The Government of India's policy with regard to the powers and status of the Princes, such as continue to be rulers or Rajpramukhs in their States and such as have been removed has halted the revolution in the States. As long as the distinction between the Prince and the commoner lasts either in power or in status, democracy is painfully inadequate. The Prince must be shorn of his princelhood and elevated to be a free citizen of India. The Government of India have not only allowed this vital principle to be compromised but have also fixed hereditary allowances and pensions of Rajpramukhs and deposed Princes at excessively high figures, a fact which reduces to mockery all calls to austerity and hard work. The allowances must, therefore, be scaled down to bring them in conformity with the general pattern of austerity. In some cases, Princes have appropriated to themselves State properties and a large part of such usurpation has taken place in recent months. The Government of India must set up committees consisting of High Court Judges to enquire into the Princely properties.
Common Organic Law throughout the Land

45. The Socialist Party welcomes the measures taken by the Government of India in order to bring about integration of the States in the matter of finance, and armed forces. The barriers of customs duties must disappear and the federal authority must fully prevail in regard to army, currency, permits, taxation and industrial development. A number of Constituent Assemblies have been set up, which must be scrapped and the same organic law enforced in the States as in other Provinces. Any compromise on this question will inevitably jeopardise Indian unity.

Enlargement of People's Rights and Liberties

46. The fundamental rights of citizen in these States are still curtailed and sometimes nullified by numberless bad laws and practices. The Constitution of India must guarantee full civil liberties all over the land and meanwhile all laws and measures which hamstring the people of these States must go. For the growth of democracy, it is likewise necessary that the Jagirdari system which gives a large vested interest in land and also some ruling powers to a small set of Jagirdars must be abolished immediately. In these Jagirdari and Princely areas, men are still held in servitude and then transferred as slaves. The right of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness must immediately and inalienably belong to every man and woman in these States and all institutions and practices which deny to the people the right to govern themselves must be removed.

Urgent Administrative Reforms

47. The administrative jungles which the Princely territories represent today must speedily be cleared up. Administrative services must be standardised, their power and responsibility fixed and a system of appointment by examination and merit through Public Service Commissions be instituted. In most of the States bad laws and law administration prevail as of yore. Laws must immediately be standardised and brought in line with the rest of the country. Legislation on labour and agriculture must conform to all-India standards. Recommendations of the Pay Commission, Factory Laws, dearness allowances, scales and the like must be put into operation. The labour and kisan movements must be brought in line with the mass movement, in the other parts of the country. Working class efforts to achieve minimum wage, social security must be encouraged. Likewise, expenditure on agricultural uplift and tenancy laws of the all-India pattern must prevail. The co-operative
movement also should be encouraged and rules of registration
regularised.

States are Retarded Areas in the Indian Union

48. The States constitute today the backward areas in the
Indian Union. There is terrible cultural backwardness, paucity of
trained personnel and absence of democratic consciousness. No facts
and reliable statistics with regard to various aspects of the economic
life in the states are available today. In the matter of food
statistics, they are described as non-reporting areas. The absence of
statistical material is bound to defeat the attempts to introduce a
planned economy. Special attention must, therefore, be given in
order to bring these areas to the level of more advanced regions.
Otherwise these areas will become cause of future disruption and
disintegration.

Foreign Settlements A Threat to India’s Integrity

49. The political and administrative integrity of India is
obstructed by the existence of foreign settlements even more than
by the Princely States. The Portuguese Settlement in Goa has
already made itself infamous by suppressing the people’s revolt for
freedom and for unity with India, by exciling five brave Goans to a
fortress prison in Portugal and further by the recentmost sentence
of fifteen years rigorous imprisonment each to four Goans for the
simple offences of making a speech. These foreign settlements must
go. While the Government of India should indeed convince the
Portuguese and French Governments of the undesirability, for the
sake of decent international relationships, of their persisting to
suppress a part of the Indian people, the Socialist party must assert
that this is not a matter of diplomacy alone and that it is the
inalienable right of the people in these settlements to revolt against
foreign tyranny, and that it is equally the right and duty of the
Indian people as a whole to support such revolts.

IV. Labour Role of the Working Class

50. In the achievement of socialist order of Society, working
class has an important and increasingly responsible role to play.
The labour policy of the Party, therefore, forms the core of the
Party’s policy-statement.

Workers’ Cultural Backwardness

51. The Labour Movement in our country suffers from the
social and cultural backwardness of the working class as also from
the legacy of disruption and disunity in the past. The working class can realise its historic destiny only to the extent it is able to overcome these initial disabilities.

Trade Union Unity Possible only on Sound Principles

52. The Socialist Party, in the past, took a leading part in bringing together within the folds of a common organisation trade union movements that had got splintered by other parties. Experience has, however, shown that such unity is artificial and it is neither lasting nor effective in enabling the workers to play a significant part in society. Real unity can be realised only on the basis of new crystallisation of labour, on the basis of sound organisation built on sound policy. It is a slow yet sure process.

Free and Democratic Trade Unionism

53. Only free and democratic trade unionism can have the vitality to survive splits and splinter movements. These Unions must be free from the control of employers, Government and political parties. Both the Communists and Congressmen have entered the Labour movement with the intention of subordinating it to their political and party ends. The inadequacy of the AITUC and the INTUC is thus fundamental. The first has sacrificed the interests of the working class over and again to the needs and demands of the political exigencies of the Communist Party. The INTUC has been brought into being to subserve the needs of the Congress Party in power, of shackling the working-class to the needs and requirements of the Congress Party.

54. Vital Labour Movement is based upon free and democratic trade unionism. The principles of such trade unionism have been ably defined in the Manifesto of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha. The manifesto lays down as its central principles that the working class should play an increasingly significant role in the affairs economic and political of the country. To achieve this the trade unions must enjoy freedom from the domination of government, employer or political party. The trade unions in their turn must assure the fullest democracy to its members. The trade union movement must strive for the realisation of the principles of Industrial Democracy and must further all efforts at the political organization of the working people. Because the Sabha is built upon these sound principles, it deserves the support of the Socialist Party.
Hind Mazdoor Sabha

55. Anxious as the Socialist Party is to develop free and democratic trade unionism in the country, it directs its members working in different trade unions to exert their democratic influence towards uniting the trade unions in the country in the Hind Mazdoor Sabha.

International Solidarity

56. The Socialist Party likewise favours an international solidarity of free and democratic trade unions. The coming together of such trade unions on a world scale deserves our support.

National Industrial Unions

57. If the workers are to play an important part, it is necessary to have a sound trade union movement that would be free from the weaknesses that have clung to trade union movement so far.

58. The major weakness of Trade Unionism has been the fragmentation, or small size, of the unions. It is necessary to discourage factory unions and foster national industrial unions with locals for different factories and trade councils for different localities. Such national industrial unions would be able to realize uniformity of wage rates and of conditions of work over the vast country and provide guidance to constituent units in strike as in normal times. Only national industrial unions can meet the employees, who are well organised on an equal footing.

59. Technicians and the members of the supervisory staff in many industries are forming their own unions. This development should be welcomed and efforts must be made to bring about a greater co-ordination between the unions of the workers and those of the technicians and the supervisory staff.

60. The national industrial unions should have full-time paid officials and organisers. Honorary work cannot give trade unionism the services it requires. The officials and organisers should be adequately paid if responsible work is to be expected from them. It is equally necessary to develop the trade union leadership from among the workers themselves.

61. The trade union movement can fulfil its manifold responsibilities only if the unions have adequate finance. The membership fees should be large enough to meet the various demands on the trade union movement.
New Tasks and New Responsibilities

62. Trade Unions are being called upon to shoulder new responsibilities; the original and fundamental task of collective bargaining for members has to be continued and developed. The machinery of consultation provides new opportunities to trade unions, and with the development of planned economy the trade unions will have to pool the experiences of the workers and impart its benefit to industry.

63. The demand for worker's share in the control of industry is made for two reasons; the worker's wages and conditions of work are ultimately determined by the organisation and output of productive processes. Unless he has an effective say in organising the productive processes his economic and social improvement will not go far. Secondly, worker has functional interest in his job. As political democracy enriches his citizenship so industrial democracy enriches his satisfaction in and from work. It is the business of new trade unionism to restore to the worker the joy in work that transition from craft economy to factory economy has taken away.

64. Industrial democracy must be fostered not merely because it will improve and augment production but also because it will enrich work for the worker.

Political Base of Working Class Movement

65. The position the industrial workers occupy in the economic life gives them a pivotal position in the struggle for socialism. Without their participation, social transformation cannot be realized. Political democracy can broaden into social democracy only to the extent the workers assume responsibility. The Socialist Party must, therefore, be rooted in the working class. The Party units in industrial areas must be composed of the best elements in the working class. A two-way relationship must, therefore, grow up between the Party and the trade unions. Each must support the other and become the warp and woof of the common fabric of socialism.

66. In the European countries different relationships have grown between the trade unions and working class parties. In Great Britain the trade union movement nurtured the Labour Party to maturity. In Imperial Germany the relationship was just the reverse. The political organizations of workers under Lasalle and Liebknecht, from the beginning, dominated the trade union movement. In the Latin countries the political and the functional organizations of the working class often came in conflict and it is no accident that France gave birth to Syndicalism. In Russia, under
the totalitarian philosophy of the Bolsheviks, the trade unions are
shorn of all independent powers and are mere appendages of the
Party in power.

Collective Affiliation

67. The new constitution of the Socialist Party, with its
provision for collective affiliation of class organisation to the Party,
provides organic links between the political party of the workers and
their trade unions. Collective affiliation assures the control of the
Party by the organised forces of the working people.

Schools of Democracy

68. In India, where we are striving to realize democratic
socialism, the trade unions, together with co-operatives, must be-
come the principal schools of democracy for the working class. They
are the means for training the working class for assuming respon-
sibilities in political and economic spheres. The trade unions and
workers' committees must train the workers in the art of the indus-
trial management and organization. The test of a successful union
is the ability to control an industry that it has imparted to its mem-
ers. In socialist economy, it must be remembered, that the trade
unions and co-operatives will share the responsibility of the govern-
ance and administration of industry.

Workers' Education Movement

69. The Party in conjunction with trade unions, must develop
a Workers' Education Movement that will remove the cultural
backwardness of the working class.

70. A demand must be made on the government and the
employers to provide facilities to the workers for technical training.
A scheme on the model of the Training-Workers-in-Industry scheme
in Britain should be prepared to train the workers in the workshop.
This will go a considerable way in meeting the needs of our industries
for trained personnel.

71. The Party must endeavour through trade unions, labour
colleges and cognate organizations to build up a cadre that will be
able to shoulder the responsibilities of nationalized industries.

72. The Party's labour policy is directed towards winning
through trade unions, co-operatives, labour colleges and works
committees, the total allegiance of the working class for the establish-
ment of a new social order based on free and equal life.
Objectives of Foreign Policy

73. The Socialist Party stands for the ideals of (i) World Government and (ii) Peace. The pursuit of this twin objective necessitates adoption of a positive foreign policy. This policy comprises four elements: (i) freedom of peoples, (ii) democracy and social justice, (iii) comparatively equal returns to human labour throughout the world, and (iv) active neutrality.

Freedom of Peoples

74. The first principle is clear enough. The Party has always stood for the freedom of the colonial peoples. All Asia is astir today and many countries have regained their freedom. But vast areas of Africa and some countries of Asia are still under foreign domination. Therefore, the struggle for freedom has to continue until the last vestige of imperialist domination has been destroyed. The Socialist Party will support all popular movements aimed at achieving this end.

75. While the world is moving in the direction of greater and wider integration of peoples, the nascent nations in Asia and Africa in the last lap of their freedom struggle are manifesting an alarming tendency to disintegrate. Self-determination has unfortunately spelt partition, destruction of secular democracy and elevation of religious and racial communities to statehood. Interested groups and foreign influences have deliberately fostered and are continuing this process of disintegration. Such a development will be the undoing of socialism and must, therefore, be countered by the fostering of wider loyalties and preference for ever widening federations.

Social and Economic Aspects of the Freedom Movements

76. The achievement of national independence is not enough. The people of these countries should strive to reconstruct their economies and raise their standard of living through economic planning and elimination of economic inequalities. There is a great danger of people exchanging one form of slavery for another. Wage slavery may go. But if it is replaced by forced labour on a mass scale or the discipline of the labour camp as in Russia, freedom will necessarily remain incomplete. Labour must, therefore, be free and the frontiers of freedom and civil liberty be enlarged. In short, the life of the people has to be reorganised on the basis of democratic socialism. The movements of freedom from foreign rule everywhere and particularly in East Asia have been more than the effort to
overthrow foreign rule. They have also been economic and social movements directed against the old order, specially the feudal order which allied itself with foreign rule everywhere. The progress of the peoples towards socialism in Asia is not restricted to the working class as in European countries, the exploited classes which have hitherto struggled for freedom and are now struggling for socialism are as much farmers and city dwellers as factory labourers. Such a general advance of the Asian and other peoples towards socialism opens out a wholly new and glorious perspective for world socialism.

Economic Advancement of the Retarded Peoples

77. The overriding fact in the world today is the inequality of nations. This inequality does not merely consist in the political dependence of some nations, but also in the disparity in the productivity of human labour between advanced industrial countries and retarded economies of Asia and Africa. Unless this disparity is removed there will not be a real world order. Today the return to human labour is extremely unequal. The ratio between the advanced countries and backward peoples would approximately be 20 to 1. For this it is not necessary to depress the advanced countries. What is required is to introduce new technique in backward countries and raise their productivity. Increased output per man-hour of labour demands better and adequate tools and tolerable living conditions. In fact this effort to bring the productivity of the colonial people on a par with those of the advanced countries is the sheet-anchor of a progressive foreign policy.

Policy of Active Neutrality

78. The policy of neutrality the Socialist Party stands for, is not a passive or negative policy. What the Party is advocating is a policy of active and positive neutrality. India must not isolate herself. She should seek to extend the sphere of this neutrality by bringing in countries which desire peace and want to keep aloof from the conflict of Power-blocs and thus form a Third Camp—the Camp of Peace. This policy has to be understood in the context of the present international situation.

Power-Politics and International Tension

79. The world situation is characterised today by the creation of two powerful blocs—the Anglo-American Bloc and the Russian
Bloc and their struggle for World domination. The destruction of
the Japanese and German empires during the Second World War
created a vacuum over certain areas of the earth and this gave a
impetus to the rivalry of great powers. The antagonism between
the Anglo-American bloc and the Russian bloc is an expression of
their attempt to project their respective influence wherever such a
vacuum existed.

'Democratic' and 'Socialist' Blocs

80. The Socialist Party is unable to accept the popular
characterisation of either of the dominant power-blocs. The Anglo-
American bloc is commonly described as a political democracy and
the Russian bloc as an economic democracy or a socialist dictator-
ship. These are at best partial truths. Democracy and socialism
are inter-related terms and therefore it would be wrong to characterise
the Anglo-American system as democratic and the Russian system
as socialist. In the United States and Western Europe they have
indeed introduced a democratic method such as representative
institutions and elections, but their democratic effort is far from
adequate. Likewise Soviet Russia has abolished private ownership
in the means of production and established planned economy but
she has centralised economic power and the mass of the population
is not only denied democratic freedom and civil liberties but also
the full use of economic power. Thus there being neither political
liberty nor economic democracy in Russia it would be wrong to
describe it as socialist.

81. The Russian economy is not adequately industrialized
and she is at present engaged in a primitive accumulation of capital.
In order to speed up the accumulation of the means of production,
Russia is trying to expand and distribute the burden of this accumu-
lation over an ever-larger territory. The expansionist urge of the
Anglo-American bloc stems from their economic system, which is
predominantly capitalist and in which the problem is to employ
gainfully the accumulated surplus. Politically, the expansionist
urges of these power-blocs take the form of an effort as in the case
of Russia, to incorporate as many States as possible within the
Soviet political system and therein establish totalitarian rule of the
Communist Parties subservient to Moscow, and in American sphere
of influence to bring pressure so as to retard social change and
preserve the capitalist system.

Thus there are distinctions and differences in the character of
and the methods adopted by these power-blocs but basically their
approach is the same; both are expansionist. It is sometimes said
that whereas the Russian bloc is rigid and homogeneous the Anglo-American bloc is heterogeneous. It is true that some countries in the Anglo-American bloc such as the United Kingdom are trying to socialise their internal economies but similarly fissures have lately appeared in the supposedly rigid Russian system too, as exemplified by the excommunication of Tito by the Cominform.

Victory of Neither Bloc Will Spell Emancipation of Mankind

82. The extension of the Anglo-American influence to all parts of the earth will make the American system ‘almighty on this planet’ and will not allow the Socialist Parties to develop and eventually challenge the supremacy of capitalism. On the other hand incorporation of the world in the Soviet sphere will put the Kremlin controlled Communist Parties in power everywhere and destroy the democratic and socialist forces. From this analysis it will be clear that victory of neither of the Power blocs will lead to the emancipation of mankind. And therefore, no choice or preference is indicated. India should not, therefore, do anything that is likely to increase the influence of either of these blocs but strive to create a Third Camp of active neutrality and try to expand the area of this Third Camp as far as possible. The policy of building up the Third Camp has two aspects. It has to be carried out on two levels, Governmental and popular.

Third Camp of Peace

83. The Government of India should enter into non-aggression pacts and treaties of enduring friendship with as many countries as possible and also achieve a network of regional alliances including East Asian countries, the Arab League, our western neighbours and others. On the popular level the Socialist Party will try to strengthen the forces of Peace throughout the world. A broad popular movement for World Federal Government must be built up.

A nucleus already exists in the shape of the People’s World Congress. Its programme includes constructive service on an international scale and direct political and economic action to prevent aggression and war and eventual convening of a World Constituent Assembly. The Socialists have to play a vital part in the development of this movement. The Socialist Parties participate in their Conferences such as the COMISCO (International Socialist Conference). It will also develop contacts with freedom movements in Asia and Africa. The organization of regional socialist co-operation will have the way for the creation of a wider and real international Socialist Movement.
Commonwealth Link Inconsistent With Neutrality

84. If India is to play its part in world affairs effectively it will have to avoid all such associations and commitments as are likely to compromise this fundamental policy. It is clear that India's membership of the British Commonwealth even in its new form is inconsistent with the basic policy of active neutrality. It has meant in practice passive lining up of India with Anglo-American on every vital issue. It has robbed our country of independent initiative in the matter of foreign policy. The policy of peace as outlined above demands that India come out of the British Commonwealth which still maintains colonial domination and racial discrimination and which strategically, economically and politically is a part of the Anglo-American bloc.

Fight for Peace

85. Paradoxically enough the Governments who are arming themselves to the teeth and are feverishly preparing for war shout about peace. But it is clear that those who refuse to accept the fundamentals herein outlined cannot be called friends of Peace. The World today is living under the shadow of War and the fight for peace has to be carried on not only by the Socialists but all other progressive elements.

86. In pursuance of this policy of peace India cannot but take active interest in the UNO. It is true that the United Nations Organisation cannot basically reduce national sovereignties. Its decisions are taken on the basis of the world as it is, with the armed forces and other sources of power in different countries so widely varying. Such decisions are at best amending expedients. They can check a malady but cannot remove it. They cannot bring nations under an international sovereignty, for they are powerless to alter materially the differences in economy and armed strength of different nations. The Socialist Party nevertheless feels that India's membership of the UNO should be continued.

Indian Government's Failure to Play Positive Role in UNO

87. India has not, however, played a positive role in the UNO until now. It has failed to give a lead on issues of world significance. It has particularly failed to raise questions of social justice and world freedom on the platform of the UNO. The Government of India could have for instance declared that distinctions between the victors and the vanquished should go and that every country in the world, no matter whether it had lost a war, should have its own
national government. It should have demanded the withdrawal of foreign authority and armies of occupation whether in Germany, Korea, Japan, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Malaya, and territories of the African people and the reconstitution of national authority. It should be India’s endeavour to remove the serious limitations from which the UNO suffers and to transform it into an instrument of effective international co-operation.

**Relationship of Peace Policy and Social Change at Home**

88. India’s failure in this respect springs from the refusal of the Government to initiate a policy of social justice at home. Foreign policy is an extension and projection of internal policy in the international field. A foreign policy of equality, freedom and peace must in the opinion of the Socialist Party be linked up with the effort to achieve a new social order in our country. Two years have passed since the achievement of freedom, but very little has been done in the matter of bringing about radical social changes.

We have not introduced economic planning to reduce inequalities of wealth and raise the standard of living of the people. The absence of this new emphasis in our internal efforts has robbed our foreign policy of that ideological core and emotional drive which alone can substitute military might and economic power as an instrument of foreign policy.

**Foreign Capital and Planned Development**

89. India must embark upon a plan of increasing the productivity of our people. Foreign capital should be welcome provided no strings are attached and further that all such aid is brought in by the Government. Private import of capital will lead to the creation of international cartels and forge new chains of slavery. The emphasis should, therefore, be on the planned and productive utilisation of our own resources. At the same time this effort must be broken and we should henceforth think in terms of ever larger groupings of nations. A force of the oppressed people of the world, based on a common loyalty, has to be created, not for aggressive purposes but to resist expansionism directed against Asia, Africa and other areas of the world, not to depress Europe or any other part of the world but to elevate the retarded peoples and to enable them to achieve equality of status with others. This will be a stepping stone to World Government.
The Way to World Government

90. The only way to achieve World Government is the one here outlined. Returns to man’s labour must be made fairly equal, wherever he may live. Not merely full employment but equally productive employment is the key to a World State. The constituent parts of the world must first reach equality in power and then in prosperity and so shall be set on the road to World Government.

Picture of the New World

91. The Socialist Party will work for an international organisation in which peace is not precariously sought at the expense of principles, in which issues are decided on the merits of the case and not on the strength of weapons, secret or other, in which no country can cancel the judgement of mankind, where fear and threats of war do not prevail and where men and women of different countries plan, through their chosen delegates of equal authority, lives of plenty and joy and dignity, none higher than the other.

VI. Policy Regarding the Communist Party

Communist Party Betrays Socialist Unity

92. The Party, almost from its birth, believed in socialist unity, and conceived it mainly in terms of unity between itself and the Communist Party of India. This policy of socialist unity continued till as late as the Ramgarh Congress i.e., till March 1940. But at Ramgarh this policy was changed when the National Executive decided to expel the Communists from the Party. That decision was taken after the experience of many years had conclusively shown that the Communists wanted not unity but just the opposite, that is to say, the disruption and ultimate dissolution of the Socialist Party. The Communists do not consider any party other than their own to be either revolutionary or socialist; accordingly, a policy of unity is to them only a means of infiltration into other parties in order either to capture or destroy them. So there can never be unity with the Communists.

Anti-National Role of the Communist Party

93. But the war years revealed a yet more fundamental obstacle to unity or co-operation with the Communist Party. These years showed conclusively, what was previously only vaguely felt, that the Communist parties all over the world are completely under
the control of the Russian Government. Their policies everywhere are attuned to the policies of that government and, under the ideological cloak of communism, they function everywhere as its permanent and loyal fifth column.

Communist Party is a Party of Civil War

94. The Communists in this country, as elsewhere, are often described as leftists, but they are neither leftists, nor rightists; they are merely Russian nationalists; and they swing from either extreme to the other with the utmost ease, as dictated by the swings in Russian policy. Whether they support Britain or oppose her, whether they are for Pakistan or against it; whether they are friendly to the Indian National Congress or hostile; whether they shout Nehru Sarkar Zindabad or Murdabad, they are never guided by Marxism or the interests of the Indian people, but by the demands of Russian policy. Thus, having no loyalty to their country and to their people, they naturally do not hesitate to create conditions of chaos and anarchy. It would be apt, accordingly, to describe the Communist Party as a party of civil war. There are times when the struggle of classes does break out in a civil war. But at all times and under all conditions the tactics of the Communist Party are those of civil war.

Communist Party and Democratic Socialism

95. There is a third basic difference between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. The Socialist Party means at the establishment of democratic socialism, whereas the objective of the Communist Party is totalitarian communism. The Socialist Party desires to establish a proletarian democracy, a Kisan Mazdoor Raj, while the Communists desire to establish the dictatorial rule of their party over the workers and peasants. There can be nothing in common between the two parties working for such divergent aims.

Denunciation of the Communist Party is not Hostility to Soviet Russia

96. Denunciation of the Communist Party as a Russian fifth column is represented by the communists as hostility to Russia herself and they denounce the Socialist Party as anti-Russian. The Socialist Party has no hostility towards Russia. Rather, the Party believes that India, in her own interest, must live on the friendliest
possible terms with Russia as with America or any other country. While the Party shall always endeavour to promote this friendship it wishes to make it clear that this friendship must always be on the basis of complete equality and that free India will never brook any interference with her affairs by any country, however friendly.

\[VII. \text{Left Unity}\]
\[\text{Meaning of Left Unity}\]

97. The question of unity among parties of the left is often raised. It is necessary, therefore, to state the policy of the Party in this regard. There can be no question but that unity of the left is desirable and every effort should be made to this end. But this unity must be brought about on a sound and durable basis.

98. First, let us point out that the term ‘left’ is used rather promiscuously. For the purpose of this chapter, we have adhered to this popular usage.

99. Left unity might mean one of two things: (a) a political integration of leftist parties with a view to bring into existence a single consolidated party of the left; (b) joint action of the leftist parties at a given moment to achieve certain results.

100. It is wrong to describe mere joint action as left unity. Such action might be found desirable for certain purposes, but it is important to remember that in itself it would not be left unity. Real unity of the left can mean only the political integration of the left parties. This is a slow process and it requires for its success certain basic conditions. Only those parties can come together and form a united party who agree among themselves on fundamental policy and methodology.

\[\text{Two Trends in the Left Movement}\]

101. The left parties in India can be divided mainly into two groups. One group is of those parties which do not accept democratic means nor believe that democracy and socialism are interrelated and that the one cannot exist without the other. These parties believe further in an inevitable violent revolution, and do not concede that socialism could ever be brought about through democratic means. They believe again that of the two power blocs in the world the Russian bloc represents the forces of social revolution and socialism, and therefore, they are opposed to the idea of a Third Camp and neutrality as between these blocs and want India to line up definitely with Soviet Russia. Apart
from the Communist Party, there are other parties in this group, which though they denounce the former, nevertheless take their inspiration from it and form its tail.

102. On the other hand are left parties which believe that, in the objective conditions of present-day India, democratic means are the only means to follow and, further, that a socialist society in which there is no democracy is a fraud upon socialism. These parties further believe that both of the power blocs are expansionist and the victory of neither would spell the emancipation of mankind and the creation of a free, egalitarian world society. Therefore, these parties put their faith in the Third Camp of peace, freedom and democracy.

Unity Impossible Between Democratic and Totalitarian Parties

103. It is clear that between these two main groups unity is impossible. There is no doubt, however, that the parties which accept either of these fundamentals must come together sooner or later: the near-communists must ultimately be absorbed by the Communist Party or disintegrate, and likewise the democratic socialists must ultimately come within the fold of the Socialist Party or wither away. This development will take some time and there will have to be a period of clarification, but of the ultimate result there cannot be any doubt. Which of these forces—the totalitarian or the democratic—will be the stronger in the left movement in this country, depends very largely on what the Socialist Party does today and on objective conditions, national and international. As things are today, there seems to be no doubt that the future of this country lies with democratic socialism.

Towards a United Socialist Movement

104. To all the democratic socialist forces in this country we extend a cordial welcome to join the Socialist Party in building up a united, socialist movement. Two socialist parties have already merged with a Party and a considerable part of another. Every effort shall be made to continue this process and it is hoped that as the mass basis of the Party broadens this process would be further facilitated.

17. Swarajya Party

Note: The Swarajya Party which came into existence in 1923 was another offshoot of the Indian National Congress. It was
founded by eminent leaders like Deshbandhu and Pandit Motilal Nehru due to dissatisfaction with the Gandhian Programme of Non-Violent Non-cooperation.

The object of the Swarajists or 'non-changers' as they were called, was 'reformism and constitutionalism'. They wanted to establish Swarajya or Dominion Status within the British Empire through the method of 'uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction'. They wanted to put up 'resistance to the obstruction placed in their path to Swarajya by the bureaucratic government'. They also wanted to carry out non-cooperation 'into the very aisles and chancel of the bureaucratic church'.

The 'non-changers' who were supposed to be the ardent followers of Mahatma Gandhi, stood by the Gandhian Constructive Programme and were opposed to Council entry. Eminent among the 'non-changers' were Dr. Ansari, Dr. Rajindra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari and Sardar V. B. Patel.

The elections were held in 1923, and the Swarajists fared very well especially in the Central Province and in the Bengal. Even in other Provinces many of their members got elected themselves to the Legislative Councils. The Swarajists captured 45 seats out of 145 seats in the Central Legislative Assembly. Pt. Motilal Nehru was elected as the leader of the Swarajist Party in the Central Assembly.

As declared in the Manifesto issued in 1923 the Swarajists, lived up to their promises. Many bills, which the Swarajists thought, anti-national, were rejected. They protested against many moves of the Government and staged "walk out" on many occasions. But after the death of C. R. Das, the Swarajist Party began to drift from its policies. Instead of wrecking the legislatures from within, it began to cooperate with Government policies. Its ardent supporters like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Jayakar, Kelkar and Moonje, began to differ from each other on some points or other and the result of their differences brought an end of the Swarajist Party in 1928.

The activities of the Swarajya Party spread over about four years have been judged by scholars in different ways. The 'non-changers' naturally did not approve their programme. But some scholars of the Modern Indian History generally believe that the Swarajist Party did render some useful service to the nationalist cause. It is believed that the appointment of the Muddiman Committee and the Simon Commission, by the Government of India was mainly due to the constitutional agitation of the Swarajist Party. H. N. Brailsford believes that "the tactics of obstruction
were justified, for they convinced, even the British Conservatives that the system of dyarchy was unworkable." The text of the Manifesto given below provides in detail information about the Party.

Documents:

Manifesto of the Swarajya Party on 'Wrecking the Constitution from within the Reformed Councils', 14 October, 1923*

"The demand to be made by the members of the Party on entering the Legislative Assembly will......in effect be that the right of the people of India to control the existing machinery and system of Government shall forthwith be conceded and given effect to by the British Government and the British Parliament. It is no answer to this demand to say that the Government of India has no power under the Act to entertain it. We know it has not and we do not ask it to find some power within the four corners of the Act to deal with it. It has indeed nothing whatever to do with the forms prescribed for resolutions, or other motions, or with the Act itself. We take the position of the Government of India to be precisely what the late Lord Morley said, viz., it was that of an agent of the British Cabinet. The demand will be addressed to the principal through the accredited agent as soon as practicable after the results of the elections are declared and before the legislative session begins, in such manner and form as the elected members of the Party may determine. It will in its nature be an offer of certain terms which it will be for the agent to accept or refuse on behalf of the principal or take such other action thereon as he may be advised.

The attitude of the elected members of the Party in the Assembly and the Councils will depend on the action taken by the Government on the demand formulated by them on the lines indicated above. If the right itself is conceded it will be a matter for negotiation between the Government and the Nationalist members in the Assembly as to the manner in which the right is to be given effect to. But in the event of the Government refusing to entertain the said demand or, after agreeing to do so, offering terms which are not acceptable, it shall be the duty of the members of the Party elected to the Assembly and Provincial Councils, if they constitute

a majority, to resort, in the words of the Party Programme, to a policy of 'uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction with a view to make Government through the Assembly and Councils impossible'. The objection that the Government will not have sufficient time between the date on which demand is made and the opening session of the Legislature to consider it is met by the publication of this manifesto which indicates clearly the essential features of the demand and copies of which are being forwarded to the India Office and the Government of India. There is ample time between now and January 1924 for the Government to be prepared to make up its mind at least as to whether it will dismiss the demand summarily or try to arrive at a settlement. In the former case the course to be adopted by the Party members of the Assembly and the Councils has been clearly indicated above. In the latter it will be easy to arrange the terms and conditions on which the negotiations are to proceed.

* * *

Policy and Programme of the Swarajya Party as Approved by the All-India Swarajya Party Conference, 16-17 August, 1924*

"Whereas by the programme adopted at Allahabad on the 23rd February, 1923, the Party declared that the policy shall include, on the one hand, all such activity as stands to create an atmosphere of resistance making Government by bureaucracy impossible with a view to enforce our national claims and vindicate our national honour, and on the other hand, shall include for the said purpose all steps necessary for the gradual withdrawal of that co-operation by the people of this country without which it is impossible for the bureaucracy to maintain itself;

And whereas the application of the said principle to the existing facts of our national life with special reference to the varying attitude of bureaucratic Government which rules that life demands that such principle must include self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation, and resistance to the bureaucracy as it impedes our progress towards Swarajya;

And whereas in the light of the experience gained in the Assembly and the different Councils, and in view of the recent developments in the political situation in India, it has become necessary in

*The Indian Annual Register (1924), Vol. II, pp. 139-40.
the best interests of the country to restate the policy and programme of the Party in detail, having regard to the said principle;

Now, the Swarajya Party declares that the guiding principle of the Party is self-reliance in all activities which make for the healthy growth of the nation and resistance to the bureaucracy as it impedes the nation's progress towards Swarajya, and, in giving effect to the said principles, the Party resolves to adopt the following programme, that is to say:

1. Within the Legislative bodies, the Party shall whenever possible,
   (a) refuse supplies and throw out Budgets unless and until system of Government is altered in recognition of our rights or as a matter of settlement between the Parliament and the people of India,
   (b) throw out all proposals for legislative enactments by which the bureaucracy proposes to consolidate its powers,
   (c) move resolutions and introduce and support measures and Bills which are necessary for the healthy growth of national life and the consequent displacement of the bureaucracy,
   (d) help the constructive programme of the Indian National Congress,
   (e) follow a definite economic policy to prevent the drain of the public wealth from India by checking all activities leading to exploitation and to advance the national, economical, industrial and commercial interests of the country,
   (f) protect rights of labour, agricultural and industrial, and adjust the relations between landlords and tenants, capitalists and workmen.

2. No member of the Party shall accept any office in the gift of the Government with or without salary or other remuneration.

3. With a view to make the work of the Party effective, it shall be open to its members of the Assembly and various Provincial Councils to seek election to every post and place in the Assembly or the Councils and on their Committees which may be open to them for election.

Provided that no member shall seek election in contravention of any rules framed by the members of the Party in the Assembly or any of the Councils as the case may be.

4. In all other matters members of the Party in the Assembly and the Councils shall be guided by their own rules which shall be submitted for the sanction of the Executive Council as soon after they are framed as convenient, provided that any of the said rules
disapproved by the Executive Council shall cease to have effect from the date when such disapproval is communicated to the members concerned.

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18. Swatantra Party

The idea of organising a "broad-based opposition party" was conceived by C. Rajagopalachari as early as in 1955, against the policy of the Indian National Congress for achieving the "Socialist Pattern of Society." He was further provoked in 1959 when the Congress finally decided at its Nagpur session in 1959 to go ahead with its policies regarding State Trading, Land Ceiling, and Co-operative Farming.

As a preliminary step towards the formation of the new party in an informal meeting which met in Madras on 4th June, 1959, under the Chairmanship of C. Rajagopalachari, was adopted a "manifesto". 'The Swatantra Party' as it is called today was formally inaugurated at a Preparatory Convention in Bombay which was held on 1st and 2nd August, 1959. C. Rajagopalachari while inaugurating the new Party declared that he was inaugurating not a party but a movement "for democratic liberties and personal freedom."

"The Swatantra Party is pledged to social justice and equality of opportunity for all people without distinction of religion, caste, occupation or political application."

The aims and objects of the party in details are given below in its manifesto of the 1962—General Elections.

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Documents

Election Manifesto, 1962*

Once or twice in a generation the call comes to a free people to make a momentous decision. Such a challenge to democracy will come in February 1962 when the people of India will have an opportunity to choose a new Parliament and new Government and State

*Text supplied by the Central Office of the Swatantra Party, 143, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay-1.
Legislatures, which may more fully and faithfully reflect their needs and their aspirations and which may be capable of evoking the best that is in the people.

2. After fifteen years of national independence the Indian people experience a sense of deep disappointment. They feel the need for a clean and efficient administration. They feel that they are not free but are at the mercy of officials and partymen. Those who are engaged in productive and distributive activities wish to be released from the fetters of bureaucracy so that their dynamism may take the country forward faster and more happily than is now the case. They want to set an end to the growing statism of the ruling party; maladministration, the manoeuvres and intrigues of those in office, their indifference to grievances, the destruction of social bonds by thoughtless legislation, the neglect of the religious spirit which inspires selfless conduct, the deterioration of law and order in various parts of the country, and, above all, the added humiliation of Chinese occupation of part of our soil.

Need for an Opposition

3. Clean and efficient government which the people need and deserve but which they do not today enjoy, requires not only a good party in office but a strong and vigilant Opposition. Any government, however good it is to start with, must inevitably become irresponsible and arbitrary if it is not subjected to the criticism of an effective opposition and its readiness to replace it. The degeneration of the Congress government over the past fifteen years is largely the result of the absence of such an opposition. Parties like the Socialist parties and a Fifth Column like the Communist Party cannot provide such an Opposition.

4. Led by the veteran patriot, Rajaji, the Swatantra Party was organised to provide this missing component in the democratic framework of our national life. If the electorate gives it a mandate, the country will be equipped, for the first time, with an Opposition with a clear-cut alternative way of governance which can take over from the present ruling party whenever the people call upon it to do so. Every voter who realises the importance of such an Opposition and who does not want the all-embracing statism of the Congress Party cannot but vote for the Swatantra Party candidate in every constituency where one is put up.

5. One of the significant principles of the Swatantra Party is that it will not seek to curb the freedom of its members, whether in the legislature or outside, to give expression to their personal con-
victions in any matter not included in the Party’s Statement of Policy or Manifesto. This would guarantee that national views will prevail and not those of the majority within the ruling party as is now happening under the Congress regime.

6. The Swatantra Party is a new party only two years old. It is severely limited in the way of material resources by reason of the lack of vision, suicidal short-term selfishness and surrender to intimidation on the part of the vast majority of those with means. It will, nonetheless, do its best within its capabilities to give a substantial part of the electorate an opportunity to exercise a choice between the two distinct ways of life and governance represented by the Congress Party and the Swatantra Party.

Clear-cut Alternative

7. The Congress Party claims special credit for all things done by the Government during these past fourteen years. Much of it is obviously what any government which collects taxes and has undertaken the duties of administration must do. Such achievements cannot be claimed as a special merit of the Congress Party.

8. The Congress Party as now led stands for a system where all real political and economic power and all responsibility is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a party in office. This has resulted in a tyrannical regulation of national life through controls, permits and licences, progressively denying opportunities to the people to participate in the country’s economic development. It has meant heavy and oppressive taxes and higher and yet higher prices. It has meant reckless and wasteful expenditure, spiraling inflation and black-markets. A reduction in even the miserable standard of subsistence of the people in order to make possible indulgence in wasteful projects marked by gigantism is inherent in the planning of the party in power. It has sacrificed the immediate interests of the common man to near-communist planning by subordinating his interests to spectacular long-term projects. It has, by its erroneous policy of putting citizens at the mercy of officials, ministers and party bosses, fostered widespread corruption resulting in the breakdown of moral values.

9. The Swatantra Party’s way of governance, in contrast, is based on faith in the people leading to ordered progress. It keeps the individual citizen with his unquenchable impulse towards self-expression in the centre of the picture. All governance must subserve this end. The Swatantra Party stands for the principles Mahatma Gandhi always pleaded for, that government is best which
governs the least, and the diffusion of power provides the best climate for the citizen's freedom, so that the people may grow to their full stature.

10. The Swatantra Party pledges itself, given the opportunity, to work for the following objectives and policies:

*The Common Man*

11. In pursuance of its fundamental policies, the Swatantra Party stands, first and foremost, for the common man; for providing him with food, clothing and shelter, as the primary obligation of government; for fuller employment, production of more foodgrains, more small irrigation works, more schools, and more small industries producing goods which the common man consumes.

12. Top priority will be given to the supply of clean drinking water in rural areas and to housing not only in urban and suburban areas but also in the countryside.

13. The Party recognises the supreme importance of the development of roads, culverts and bridges and of roads and inland water transport.

14. Mobile ambulance facilities will be organised so as to enable the rural population to obtain the services of well-equipped medical institutions without hardship or loss of time.

15. These objectives are within the easy reach of the country if funds now being spent on spectacular and gigantic projects unrelated to the immediate needs of the people or in great part being wasted in their application to unproductive enterprises are diverted to a programme of chief clothing and the stimulation of small-scale modernised industries which provide gainful employment to a large body of labour at low capital cost, making it possible for all able-bodied persons in the country to find employment.

*End Inflation*

16. An honest rupee and stable prices are the best friends of the common man. Without them the common man is on the way to ruin and the middle classes are doomed. The Congress Party has filched from the poor man the hard-earned rewards of his labour and enterprise by letting inflation loose on the country, resulting in a continuously steep rise in prices from year to year
during the last five years. The Swatantra Party will reverse the ruinous policies that have brought this about.

Reduce Taxation

17. The Party will enforce a drastic reduction in the present excessive burden of taxes which hampers production and employment, including inter alia the reorganisation and reform of the Sales Tax so as to minimise harassment and bring it in harmony with the conditions of the small traders in our country. A reduction in indirect taxation will bring down the price of commodities in daily use by the people. Direct taxes will be so regulated as to release the creative genius of our people for productive purposes which will meet the country’s needs and raise its level of prosperity.

18. Through such policies alone would the real income and standard of life of the bulk of the peasantry and agricultural labour in the villages and the middle and working classes in the cities which have been stagnating throughout the past decade be enabled to rise. The energies of the Indian people cannot be harnessed in furtherance of the policy embodied in the current pattern of planning which sanctifies misery in the name of progress and tries to build the uncertain prosperity of a distant future on the privations of today, a policy which has been borrowed from countries under totalitarian dictatorship.

Agriculture

19. Agriculture will receive priority and be put on a sound basis, automatically leading to the emergence of a viable industrial sector.

20. The Swatantra Party is convinced that, in a predominantly agricultural country like ours, the people can advance only if the village economy is restored to its self-generating vitality on the basis of peasant proprietorship. The Party will respect the property rights of the peasants in their holdings, big or small, and thereby remove uncertainties and provide incentives.

Self-Employed Peasantry

21. The Party stands for the independent and self-employed farmer, who should be provided with facilities for the intensive cultivation of his land in the form of water, fertiliser, seed, tools
credit and improved techniques. The Swatantra Party is opposed
to and will reverse without creating fresh inequities all expropriatory
measures which among other things deprive the peasant population
of sound rural leadership.

22. The Swatantra Party will intimate and support all re-
forms such as will bring about harmonious relations between owners
and tenants and labour, and will oppose every move calculated to
create uncertainty, apathy and conflict.

Against Collective Farming

23. The Swatantra Party stands for land reforms without
expropriation in any form including that which is directly or indire-
cctly involved in collective farming camouflaged as "joint cooperative
farming" under official control. The Party believes in every form of
genuine co-operative effort such as service cooperatives, industrial
cooperatives, consumer cooperatives, and cooperative banks, but
not as a means to collectivisation of land.

24. The Swatantra Party will repeal such amendments to the
Constitution as have enabled the Congress Party to expropriate land
belonging to peasant proprietors on payment of grossly inadequate
compensation and will secure real compensation to those agricultu-
rists who have been so expropriated under the guise of land reform.

25. The Swatantra Party stands for a fair deal to the farmer
and holds that the peasants who under difficult conditions follow
the avocation of producing food for the nation should not be taxed
but should be adequately rewarded for their service. It will

(a) abolish taxes on land except to the extent necessary for
maintaining ownership records;

(b) take steps to support an adequate level of agricultural
prices in parity with the prices of industrial commodities
required for rural life; and

(c) establish an insurance fund against natural calamities.

Agricultural Labour

26. The Swatantra Party stands for an adequate wage to
landless agricultural labour and for the protection of permanently
employed labour in agriculture. The problem of landless labourers
is in substance an aspect of the problem of rural unemployment
and the Party's policy of the establishment of small industrial units
will help in opening avenues of employment and reduce the pressure
on land.
Electrification

27. The Swatantra Party will
(a) give special attention to speedy electrification in rural areas;
(b) establish small-scale modernised industries in the countryside in order to divert surplus agricultural labour; and
(c) provide technical education and workshop services to help agricultural and other machinery being kept in good order.

28. The Swatantra Party will organise the farmers to improve the breed of cattle, to afforest available land not acquired for agriculture and to reclaim waste land through the agency of enterprising farmers and concessional grants for limited periods, giving priority to the poor and backward agricultural classes.

Industry and Trade

29. The Party will seek to ensure the widest possible distribution of industrial ownership through measures such as the establishment of investment societies and trusts through which the small man may make his modest investment, and by facilitating the provision of employees' shares so that a large body of employees may share in the ownership of the concerns for which they work. In these ways and through the stabilisation of peasant proprietorship on the land, a democracy consisting of men interested in production of every kind would be helped to emerge.

Role of Government

30. The Party is opposed to nationalisation. The role of government in industry and trade should be that of a helper and regulator, but not a participant. The business of Government is government, not business. There is a great deal that government can do in a developing country, through the development of roads and other forms of communications, transport and cheap electric power. Today, these functions of government are being neglected, while government needlessly enters the field of trade and manufacture of products, not all of which are of any significance to the life of the country.
31. The Swatantra Party stands for the balanced development of capital goods industries, organised consumer goods industries and rural industries that afford supplementary employment in the processing of the products of agriculture. While not opposed to the development of heavy and basic industries commensurate with the availability of resources, the Party rejects the lop-sided priority given to heavy industry to the neglect of agriculture, cottage industries and organised and light industries producing consumer goods which help to make life happy for people with low-grade incomes.

32. The Party holds that a great part of the process of industrialisation must take place through decentralised distribution of industry so as to reduce regional disparities. It stands for the preservation of the freedom of the small and self-employed artisan craftsman and trader. The Party stands for nursing the spirit of industry as distinguished from what is called industrialisation. In these matters, the Party follows Mahatma Gandhi and is opposed to the ruling party's imitation of Soviet policy.

33. The Swatantra Party stands for the encouragement of private enterprise, activated where necessary by loans and aids, and for widespread rural public works in order to create employment opportunities for the people everywhere so as to reduce the pressure on the land.

34. The Swatantra Party will rectify the confusion and corruption which have entered the economy on account of controls, permits, licences and quotas at the disposal of the ruling party and of the officials taking their cue from that party.

*Trusteeship*

35. The Party believes that the free choice of the producer, the investor, the worker and the consumer must be given due place and importance. It believes in the incentives for higher production and expansion inherent in competitive enterprise, with adequate safeguards for the protection of labour and against unreasonable prices, profits and dividends in those cases where there is no competition or where competition is not adequate to secure the necessary corrective. Adhering to the principles of Trusteeship enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, which is inherent in the Indian way of life from time immemorial, the Party stands for a system of free people's enterprise restrained as well as enriched and reinforced by a sense of social obligation encouraged by State policies.
No Monopoly

36. The Party is opposed to monopoly and concentration of power whether in the State or in the free sector. It will promote anti-monopoly legislation wherever necessary and will end the monopoly at present enjoyed by Governmental Corporations such as the State Trading Corporation in certain fields of trade, the Life Insurance Corporation and State Transport Corporations and Authorities.

37. The Party believes in dynamic, expanding mixed economy where State and free enterprise work side by side as natural allies in the service of the community and show results by competing on equal terms. As much competition as possible, as little regulation as necessary—should be the watchword.

38. The Swatantra Party will improve Government undertaking by organising commercial management and adequate supervision under Statutory Boards independent of political interference.

Planning—Which Type?

39. The Party will seek to restore the real and effective supremacy of Parliament and the people by abolishing the much boosted Planning Commission which has tended in effect to bring into being a non-responsible super-government and will face the administration at the Centre and the State Governments from the extra-constitutional dictation of the Planning Commission.

40. The Swatantra Party rejects the current pattern of centralised and top-heavy planning of the Soviet type involving a service of targets that are not achieved and of restrictions which are not intolerable and which are calculated to perpetuate the regime of the party in power. The Swatantra Party stands for planning carried out within the limits of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution, to develop the growth of conditions in which the people's enterprise will find full and unfettered scope. It believes that the appropriate organisation for such planning of the affairs of the nation and for submitting the annual programme is the Cabinet responsible to Parliament and through it the people, and that, while the Government may resort to such expert assistance as it desires, there should be no other body which in effect usurps the power of making policy affecting the life of the nation.
Exports

41. While the Party recognises without the question vital need for India to expand its exports, it is opposed to the policy of compulsion in respect of exports of goods resulting in privation and distress in India.

Exports can only be promoted by a policy of increased productivity and efficient production at low cost so that our goods can compete in the world’s markets. This would be facilitated by the Swatantra Party’s policies.

Foreign Loans

42. The Congress Party’s pattern of planning is based on extensive foreign aid that hangs on the slender thread of international peace which may snap any day. The Swatantra Party is totally opposed to the policy of huge foreign debts being incurred without any plan or prospect of adequate exports to enable India to discharge these obligations. The Party will endeavour its best to halt this grievous programme without damage to the national reputation. The Party will support and encourage the flow of foreign capital into private enterprises in India which would contribute to rapid industrial progress.

Labour

43. The Swatantra Party stands for a Fair Deal to labour, both industrial and agricultural. The Party accepts the workers’ right to organise themselves in order to improve their conditions of life and work. Strong and responsible trade unions managed by the workers themselves and not, as at present, play-things in the hands of political parties are an integral part of a democratic industrial order. The Party stands for the workers’ right to collective bargaining involving, where necessary, the right to withdraw their labour.

44. The Swatantra Party stands for closer association of the workers and the management of industries, so that a spirit of partnership may develop among all those engaged in production.

Progress Sharing

45. The Party stands for a good wage for a good day’s work. Encouragement should be given to “progress sharing” through an
increase in earnings of employees alongside of an increase in productivity without detriment to the overall aim of national prosperity through the reduction of costs.

The Constitution and Public Administration

46. The Swatantra Party stands for fully respecting the democratic implications of our Constitution, so that self-government becomes a spontaneous and continuous effort of the people. To that end, the Swatantra Party will

(a) secure the full freedom of the press and promote autonomous non-official organisations for purposes of social welfare, rather than, in the name of welfare, impose official projects for strengthening Statism and the power of the Party in office;

(b) restore the Fundamental Rights as they were originally embodied in the Constitution;

(c) restore to the States the constitutional powers, functions and jurisdictions given to them by the Constitution;

(d) work for the democratisation of the administration in the Union Territories; and

(e) maintain intact the independence and the powers of the Judiciary as originally conceived in every respect.

47. The Party stands for a reform of the electoral law which would reduce the influence of money power and thus secure a fair chance for the real views of the electorate to prevail. It should be the duty of the State to communicate to each voter the time and place at which he may cast his vote and his number in the electoral roll.

Public Services

48. More than anything else, the Party will give the country a clean administration. It will ensure that there is no interference by politicians either of the ruling or any other party in the day-to-day administration.

49. In order to secure this, the Party will urge that the Union President and the Governors of the States, who should be non-party men, should in their discretion be the appointing authorities of members of the Public Service Commission and that the protection of the members of the Public Services should be made a special responsibility of the President and the Governors.

50. The Party will stop the wasteful expansion of the ad-
ministrative machinery and reduce unproductive expenditure the minimum. The extravagant construction of new buildings will be prohibited.

51. The Party stands for a revision of the scale of pensions paid to retired low-grade government servants in line with the sharp rise in the cost of living.

52. In order to check corruption and the arbitrary infringement of the rights of citizens, the Party will press for the establishment of an independent authority at the Centre and in the States like the Ombudsman in Scandinavian countries to investigate into the grievances and into administrative vagaries and give due redress.

*International Relations and Defence*

53. The Swatantra Party believes that, when the country's territorial integrity has been violated by Communist China, abstract concepts of co-existence and non-alignment have lost meaning and that our foreign policy needs to be reviewed and brought into closer relation to the realities of the international situation. The Party stands pledged to a firm and vigilant policy in dealing with China and for active steps to end its aggression at the earliest possible moment.

54. The Party will endeavour to rectify the unfortunate impression created in the world that India has a bias in favour of the Communist bloc.

55. The Swatantra Party stands pledged to regain for India its moral influence in the world so that it may work for peace, justice and freedom. The genius of India is tranquillity in the sense that its mission is the conquest of fear by the strength of the spirit within.

*Defence Service*

56. The Swatantra Party stands
(a) for removing all political influences which are at present responsible for weakening the morale of the Defence Services, and
(b) for maintaining the Defence Services in an efficient condition and redressing the legitimate grievances of ex-Service men.
Religion

64. The Swatantra Party believes that, while every citizen should be free to choose his religious belief and be entitled to an unrestricted exercise of his right to religious freedom guaranteed by the Constitution, religion is of vital concern to the State, as it provides the dynamic force for strengthening moral and spiritual values which furnish the motive and the sanction for right conduct more than any law or regulation of the State.

65. The Swatantra Party will, therefore, do everything possible to restore religion to its legitimate place in life and in particular

(a) make incomes of and gifts to, religious institutions and charities tax-free;

(b) secure for each religion the full benefit of its endowed and other properties without interference from government;

(c) ensure respect for all communities in regard to their religious practices; and

(d) take steps to create a climate in which every religion can contribute to the general welfare by strengthening the moral and spiritual stability of the respective communities.

66. Our people, who achieved a civilization of the highest type, moral and spiritual, many millennia before other nations reached a comparable state must continue to live a way of life wherein the individual freely gives to the community and is not reduced to the position of cog in a lifeless machine for the sake of illusory progress in the material sense through state compulsion and under the direction of government officials.

Conclusion

67. During the past few years, through the adoption of so-called socialist and welfare-state policies, the Congress party has been acquiring a stranglehold over every aspect of the citizen’s life. The ground is well prepared for the perpetuation of one-party rule as in Communist countries.

68. When this danger to democracy became clear, the Swatantra Party was conceived and started in defence of freedom in the middle of 1959. It has not found its work easy, not only because it is hard to divert people from the traditional attachment to a party that carries the name and flag of the organisation that fought foreign rule, but especially on account of the way in which the
Congress Party and ministers have utilised their opportunities to strengthen the power of party. The inclusion of every kind of social service in the activities of the administration and the enrolment of party men in such services as well as in panchayats and cooperative societies have confused the understanding of common folk who have been thereby led to identify the ruling party with the State itself.

69. Inspite of all handicaps, the justice of the cause it has taken up has enabled the Swatantra Party to make headway. The humiliations, harassments and injustices resulting from the permit-licenceraj have opened the people's eyes. The drift towards totalitarianism has been made obvious to the dullest minds. The alignment of Congress policies with those of the Communists and the indifference displayed about foreign aggression have awakened people to a sense of the danger ahead. The entanglement of the nation in unredeemable foreign obligations for financing megalomania plans has accentuated public apprehension.

70. The Swatantra Party hopes that the electorate will rise to the occasion and, guided by those who see the dangers implicit in the situation, will refuse to give a fresh lease of untrammeled power to the Congress Party which would be tantamount to perpetuation of one-party rule and will give their support to the Swatantra Party candidates wherever they offer themselves for election so that democracy may be safeguarded.
CHAPTER XXIX

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

Note: Eminent Political Parties passed resolutions from time to time on the working of the British Government. Documents given below are arranged chronologically.

Documents

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

"That this Congress considers the reforms and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar councils for the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it of over ruling the decision of such majorities". 1: 1885: Bombay: III.

"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 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 behaves 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.

“That in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay’s administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.”

5: 1889: Bombay: X.

“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 diminishing, 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 halfyearly renewals."  

"That this Congress having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows:

"The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress Pavilion have been sent to various Government officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a circular to all Secretaries and heads of departments, subordinate to it, pointing out, that, under the orders of the Government of India, the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited:

and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honour the Lieut-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy:

"Belvedere, 26th December, 1890

"Dear Sir,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets since the Orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings."

Yours faithfully,
P. C. LYON,
Private Secretary.

"To
J. Ghosal, Esq.,
"Secretary, Congress Reception Committee"

Authorizes and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers, that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress, even as spectators, and to inquire, most respectfully, whether His Honour the Lieut-Governor of Bengal has or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India."
"That as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice to the people of India, this Congress, agreeing with previous Congresses, declared it to be essential, that all examinations for any and all of the Civil Branches of the Public Service in India, which at present are held only in England, should henceforth be held simultaneously in India." 7:1891: Nagpur: V.

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"That this Congress considers the Abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms; and suggests that in its place a Standing Committee of Members of the House of Commons be appointed." 10:1894: Madras: IV.

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"That this Congress hereby empowers its President to convey to the Government of India its opinion that the powers proposed to be conferred on District Magistrates, by amendments and additions to section 15 of Police Act V of 1861, with respect to the levy of the costs of punitive police and of granting compensation, are of a most arbitrary, dangerous, and unprecedented character." 10:1894: Madras: XVII.

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"That this Congress again appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to take practical steps for the purpose of carrying out the separation of Judicial from Executive function in the administration of justice." 11:1895: Poona: IV.

* * *

"That this Congress views with alarm the constant changes that are being made and threatened on the subject of trial by Jury in this country, and, regard being had to the fact that no demand for any such change has been made by any portion of the population of British India, trusts that the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council on the subject will not be further proceeded with; and this Congress, reaffirming resolutions passed by former
Congress, also trusts that trials by Jury will be extended to districts and offences to which the system at present does not apply and that their verdicts should be final.”  

\[11:1895: Poona: V.\]

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\(a\) That this Congress notices with satisfaction that its views in regard to the urgency and lines of reform in regard to the condition of the Civil and Military Medical Services of the country are being endorsed in influential Medical and Military circles, and that in the interests of the public Medical Science and the profession, as also in the cause of economic administration, this Congress once again affirms (1) that there should be only one Military Medical Service with two branches, one for the European army and the other for native troops, worked on identical lines; (2) that the Civil Medical Service of the country should be reconstituted 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, with a due leaning to the utilisation of indigenous talent, other things being equal.

\(b\) That this Congress further affirms that the status and claims of Civil Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants require thorough and open inquiry with a view to the redressing of long standing anomalies and consequent grievances; and the Congress notices with regret that in their recent scheme of the reorganisation of the Chemical Analyser's department, the oft-admitted claims of Assistant Chemical Analysers have been apparently overlooked by Government.”  

\[11:1895: Poona: XII.\]

\[\ast \ast \ast \]

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

12 : 1896 : Calcutta : IV.

*   *   *

"That having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing
to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay, statesmen from England
to the exclusion of the Services in India, and in view to the utilisation
by those Governors of the power of giving when necessary a casting
vote allowed them by law, this Congress is of opinion that it is desir-
able that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be
administered by the Governors with Councils of three members and
not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors
must be other than a member of the Indian Civil Service, and in
view to carrying out the object without additional cost, this Congress
would suggest that the officers commanding the forces of those Presi-
dencies be declared members of the respective Councils as the Com-
manders-in-Chief of Madras and Bombay were, before the Madras
and Bombay Armies Act of 1893 was passed".

12 : 1896 : Calcutta : XVI.

*   *   *

"That this Congress puts on record its emphatic protest against
the retrograde policy of the Government of India followed last year
in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme
Legislative Council without asking local bodies to make recommenda-
tions for such nomination, and earnestly hopes that Government
will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces
the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Ben-
gal, Madras, Bombay and the North Western Provinces".

12 : 1896 : Calcutta : XIX.
That this Congress respectfully deprecates the exercise by the Government of the extraordinary powers vested in them by Bengal Regulation III of 1818, Madras Regulation II of 1819, and Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827 at a time of peace and quiet, and submits that such powers should be exercised only under such limitations as will ensure their being put in force with the utmost circumspection and care and under a sense of the highest responsibility by the Government.

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

(b) That this Congress while feeling that the Government of Bombay must have acted under a sense of responsibility in arresting the Sardar Natu under Bombay Regulation XXV of 1827, is yet of opinion, that, five months having now elapsed from such arrest, it is the duty of the Government, in the interests of justice, and also to allay the disquiet and uneasiness which has been created in the minds of the people at large by the arrest, to bring them—the Sardar Natu—to trial without delay, or, if the Government have no sufficient evidence against them to place before a Court of Justice, to release them." 13 : 1897: Amraoti : XII.

"That, having regard to the wisdom of the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the Services in India, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that the Executive Governments of those Provinces should be administered by Governors with Councils of three and not of two members, as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be a Native of India." 14 : 1898 : Madras : XIV.
"That the Province of Berar, though not a part of British India, being administered by the Governor-General in the same way as any portion of British India, while the important work of legislating for the province is performed by the Executive, instead of by the Legislative Council, resulting often in unsuitable and inconvenient legislation, this Congress, therefore, humbly prays that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General-in-Council, all laws, and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper." 14 : 1898 : Madras : XXII.

* * *

"That this Congress expresses its disapproval of the reactionary policy, subversive of local self-government, evidenced by the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act, and by the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a similar measure which will have the effect of seriously jeopardising the principles of local self-government." 15 : 1899 : Lucknow : VII.

* * *

"That having regard to the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the services in India, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that those Provinces should be administered with the help of Councils of three and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be Native of India." 15 : 1899 : Lucknow : VII.

* * *

"That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General-in-Council, all laws and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper." 15 : 1899 : Lucknow : XVIII.

* * *

"That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General in Council, all laws and orders having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted
by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for
British India proper."  

"That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived
when the people of India should be allowed a larger voice in the
administration and control of the affairs of their country by—

c) the bestowal on each of the Provinces of India of the
franchise to return at least two members to the British
House of Commons;

b) the appointment of not less than three Indian gentlemen
of proved ability and experience as members of the
Secretary of State's Council; and

c) the appointment of two Indians as members of the Gover-
nor-General's Executive Council and of one Indian as a
member of the Executive Councils of Bombay and
Madras."  

"That this Congress is of opinion that to enable Parliament
to discharge more satisfactory its responsibility in regard to the
Government of India periodical Parliamentary enquiries into the
condition of India should be revived and the salary of the Secretary
of State for India should be placed on the British estimates."  

"This Congress records its satisfaction that the proposal for
the separation of Executive and Judicial functions has received the
sanction of the Government in some definite shape for the Province
of Bengal; but is at the same time of opinion that the Scheme
should also be extended throughout the country and that it will
not succeed in its object unless and until the entire Judicial service
be placed directly and absolutely under the High Court or Chief
Court as the case may be, even in matters of promotion and
transfer."
(a) This Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by the Government that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have been taken in that direction, and concurring with previous Congress, urges a complete separation of the two functions without further delay.

(b) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession."

25 : 1910 : Allahabad : VII.

* * *

"This Congress earnestly recommends that speedy action be taken under the Indian Councils Act to establish Executive Councils in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and in the Punjab."

25 : 1910 : Allahabad : VIII.

* * *

(a) This Congress thanks the Secretary of State for his despatch regarding employment in the superior posts of the Civil Medical Service and earnestly requests the Government of India to take early action in the direction pointed out by the Secretary of State for India.

(b) In the interests of the public, the medical service and the profession, as well as for the sake of economy in expenditure, this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges the constitution of a distinct Indian Civil Medical Service wholly independent of the Indian (Military) Medical Service."

25 : 1910 : Allahabad : XI.

* * *

"This Congress is of opinion that the examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service should be simultaneously held in India and England and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be made by competitive examinations only".

25 : 1910 : Allahabad : XXII.
1. Police Reforms

“(a) 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 such examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India;

(b) educated Indians should be largely employed in the higher grades in order to secure efficiency in work;

(c) enlistment in the Provincial Service should be by competitive examination; and, lastly;

(d) the District Officers who are the heads of the Police should be relieved of Judicial work and all control over the Magistrates of the Districts.”

25 : 1910 : Allahabad : XXIII.

* * *

“(a) That this Congress places on record its sense of regret that notwithstanding the hopes held out by the Government sometimes ago that the Executive and Judicial functions were soon to be separated, no effective steps have yet been taken in that direction, and, concurring with previous Congresses, it urges that any scheme of separation to be really effective must place all judiciary completely under the control of the highest civil courts in every Province in respect of pay, promotion and transfer.

(b) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, urges that the Judicial Service in all parts of the country should be recruited mainly from the legal profession.”

26 : 1911 : Calcutta : XV.

* * *

“That this Congress records its emphatic opinion that the present differentiation of the Civil Service into (1) the Imperial Service recruited in England, mainly from Europeans, and (2) the Provincial Services recruited in India, mainly from Indians, is opposed to the declarations made in the statutes of 1833 and 1870 and the Queen’s Proclamations of 1858, and that such differentiation should be abolished as early as possible and that Indians should be afforded equal opportunities with Europeans for appointment to posts now reserved for the Imperial Service by the holding of simultaneous exami.
nations in England and India under conditions calculated to secure the best men for the posts."

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

"That this Congress is strongly of opinion that all the High Courts in India should have the same direct relations with the Government of India alone as the High Court of Fort William in Bengal has at the present time."

"That in view of the fact that Section III of the Indian Councils Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit appointment to the office of Law Member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council to members of the English Bar only, thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection may be made, this Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow the Advocates, Vakils and Attorneys-at-law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office."

"This Congress thanks the Government for the establishment of Legislative Council in the Central Provinces and Assam and is of opinion that the former administration should be raised to the status of a Lieutenant-Governor’s charge."

"This Congress again urges that an Executive Council with an Indian member be established in the United Provinces at an early date, and is of opinion that a similar Council should be established in Punjab too."
"That in view of the fact that Section III of the Indian Councill Act of 1861 is understood in practice to limit the appointment to the office of Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council to member of the English Bar only; thereby greatly restricting the field from which a selection can be made, this Congress urges that the said section be so amended as to allow of Advocates, Vakils and Attorneys-at-Law of Indian High Courts being appointed to that office."

27 : 1912 : Bankipur : X.

That this Congress concurring with 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 judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every Province."

28 : 1913 : Karachi : III.

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

30 : 1915 : Bombay : XII.

This Congress concurring with previous Congresses urges the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the interests of justice and purity of administration and prays that any scheme of separation that may be undertaken, to be really effective, must place all the judiciary solely under the control of the highest Court in every province and further this Congress emphasises the necessity for the creation of a Judicial Service separate from and independent of the Indian Civil Service, to be recruited partly by competitive examination and partly from the legal profession."

30 : 1915 : Bombay : XIV.
This Congress urges the Congress Committee, Home Rule Leagues, and other associations which have as their object the attainment of Self-Government within the Empire to carry on through the year an educative propaganda on law-abiding and constitutional lines in support of the reforms put forward by the Indian National Congress and Muslim League."

31: 1916: Lucknow: XIII.

* * *

"This Congress is emphatically of opinion that the status of Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi should be that of a regulated Province, and that popular government and effective control in the affairs of the Local Government shall be granted to the people."

33: (Special): 1918: Bombay: XI.

* * *

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

33: (Special): 1918: Bombay: XIV.

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"This Congress re-affirms the resolution No. VII passed at the 33rd session of the Indian National Congress held at Delhi, i.e. that this Congress strongly recommends that Delhi should be constituted into a Regulation Province, that it should have a Legislative Council to assist the Chief Commissioner and that it should have at least two representatives in the Legislative Assembly."

34: 1919-1920: Amritsar: XXXIV.

* * *

"This Congress is of opinion that the creation of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas and Chief Commissioners' Provinces, including British Baluchistan, from the 1st January 1937 and covering the area of 207,000 square miles and inhabited by 13 million people is yet another attempt to divide the people of
India into different groups with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment and to obstruct the growth of uniform democratic institutions in the country.

This Congress is further of opinion that the separation of these Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas is intended to leave a larger control of disposition and exploitation of the mineral and forest wealth in those areas and keep the inhabitants of those areas apart from the rest of India for their easier exploitation and suppression.

This Congress holds that the same level of democratic and self-governing institutions should be applicable to all parts of India without any distinction." 50 : 1936 (December) : Faizpur : V.

A. This Congress reaffirms its opinion that the creation of excluded and partially excluded areas and Chief Commissioners' Provinces, including British Baluchistan and Coorg under the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935 obstructs the growth of uniform democratic institutions as integral parts of India covering an area of over 207,900 square miles and inhabited by over 13 million people.

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

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

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

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

C. This Congress condemns the reactionary and irresponsible administration of the province of Delhi attended with suppression of civil liberties and burdened with high taxes and extremely heavy land revenue and other similar measures adopted by the Delhi administration. 51 : 1938 : Haripura : X.
"The Congress, under Gandhiji’s leadership, became not only a powerful instrument for gaining India’s freedom, but also an organisation in intimate contact with the masses and attracting their good will and loyalty and exercising a moral authority over them. Gandhiji’s conception of politics and public life was inextricably connected with high moral standards and sacrifice and service of the people irrespective of caste or creed. This conception influenced the Congress, which he shaped and Congressmen came to be judged not by their wealth or status in society but by their public service and sacrifice and their individual conduct. Thus the Congress attained a supreme position in the life of the country and public standards rose to a high level. Because of this India not only achieved independence but also gained the respect and admiration of other nations.

It is this precious heritage that the present and succeeding generation have to preserve. If this hard-won freedom is to be maintained and utilised for the creation of a new society based on social justice and equality of opportunity for all, it is essential that the Congress and Congressmen should keep intact these great ideals and should continue to serve the people without becoming victims to the lure of power, wealth or privilege.

Unfortunately, contact with power has affected many Congressmen and there is a tendency to use this power and position for self-interest. The spirit of disinterested service and of constructive work for the public cause gradually ceases to be the motive power which moves large numbers of people. It is essential, from the point of view of the individual as well as of the nations, that this tendency should be arrested and every Congressman and Congresswoman has a duty and obligation to work to this end.

Gandhiji combined political work with constructive and productive activity and placed a varied programme of constructive work before the country in which every Congressman and indeed every Indian, was expected to take part. It was by this service that the Congress organisation grew in influence and the nation became strong. Political activity must necessarily be confined to a few, but national activity and service must be the privilege and obligation of every individual.

In order to renew and revitalise itself, the Congress must devote itself to renewing this service in some form of the constructive programme. Unity among the various communities in the country is the first essential, and the removal of all forms of untouchability and the like is equally important. Other important activities are, social education of the masses in towns and villages,
and a country-wide campaign for increasing production in every way, and more especially, through the agency of co-operatives and village industries, including khadi, association with the "Grow More Food" campaign and organisation and service of workers in field and factory. It should be the special privilege of young men and young women to undertake these various activities in the service of the country.

Owing to the widespread reintroduction of controls, it is necessary that Congressmen should co-operate with others in making these controls a success and in checking corruption and breaches of the regulations.

The success of the Central and Provincial Governments, controlled by the Congress, depends to a large extent on full cooperation between the Governments and the Congress organisation. This co-operation should be evolved in each Province, subject to broad principles being laid down in regard to it by the Working Committee of the Congress or the Central Parliamentary Board. It is not possible or desirable for individual Congressmen to interfere in Government's activities. Complaints of Governmental activity or abuse of authority should be dealt with by the Provincial Congress Committee alone who should approach Government for redress. In particular Congressmen must always beware of getting any special facilities financial or other, for themselves or for their friends and relatives.

All Congressmen must set an example in all such matters and maintain a high standard of conduct.

In these days of world crisis and national difficulty a burden is cast on the Congress which it must shoulder. Crises are resolved by removing the root cause of trouble and by maintaining always a high moral standard. The Congress, therefore, calls upon all Congressmen and the Nation generally to apply themselves to these great tasks in the spirit which enabled them to achieve freedom for this country." 55 : 1948 : Jaipur : XV.

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Poverty
See
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND PLANNING
Press Act
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS : PRESS REPRESSION
CHAPTER XXI

PRESS REPRESSION

Note:—Press is the most vital and potent media for promoting ideas and thoughts among the people of any country. The British Government who took over in 1838 from the East India company wanted to rule India by the so-called democratic means and gave thereby opportunity to Indians to participate in the Government though in advisory capacity in consonance with the declaration of the Queen.

In those very days, India was passing through a great Renaissance. The English and the Vernacular presses came into existence and books on various subjects, including politics were printed. The Government, specially Lord Canning did not lose sight of the potential danger of spreading some day ideas against the imperialistic policies of the Government. It was this apprehension which led the Government to work out comprehensive legislation regulating the working of the printing presses and the publication of Newspapers and Books. The beginning in this direction was made by the passing in 1867 "The Press and Registration of Books Act". It was amended in the year 1890 and 1914, and was further modified in 1952 and 1953.

Below are given the relevant extracts from the Act and other related documents.

*       *       *

Documents:

Extracts from "The Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867"*

No person shall, within British India, keep in his possession any press for the printing of books or papers, who shall not have

*India Government, Legislative Department.

made and subscribed the following declaration before the Magistrate within whose local jurisdiction such press may be:

"I, A. B., declare that I have a press for printing at———".

And this last blank shall be filled up with a true and precise description of the place where such press may be situated.

**Penalties**

Whoever shall print or publish any book or paper otherwise than in conformity with the rule contained in section 3 of this Act shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or by both.

13. Whoever shall keep in his possession any such press as aforesaid, without making such a declaration as is required by section 4 of this Act, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or by simple imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or by both.

14. Any person who shall, in making any declaration under the authority of this Act, make a statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false or does not believe to be true, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished by fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, and imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.

15. Whoever shall print or publish any such periodical work as is hereinbefore described without conforming to the rules hereinbefore laid down, or whoever shall print or publish, or shall cause to be printed or published, any such periodical work, knowing that the said rules have not been observed with respect to that work, shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be punished with fine not exceeding five thousand rupees, or imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or both.

16. If any printer of any such book as is referred to in section 9 of this Act shall neglect to deliver copies of the same pursuant to that section he shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding fifty rupees as a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the book was printed may, on the application of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or of any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and, in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the copies which the printer ought to have delivered.

If any publisher or other person employing any such printer shall neglect to supply him, in the manner prescribed in the second
paragraph of section 9 of this Act, with the maps, prints or engravings which may be necessary to enable him to comply with the provisions of that section, such publisher or other person shall for every such default forfeit to the Government such sum not exceeding fifty rupees as such as Magistrate as aforesaid may, on such an application as aforesaid, determine to be in the circumstances a reasonable penalty for the default, and in addition to such sum, such further sum as the Magistrate may determine to be the value of the maps, prints or engravings which such publisher or other person ought to have supplied.

Any sum forfeited to the Government under the last foregoing section may be recovered, under the warrant of the Magistrate determining the sum, or of his successor in office, in the manner authorised by the Code of Criminal Procedure for the time being in force, and within the period prescribed by the Indian Penal Code, for the levy of a fine.

All fines or forfeitures under this Part of this Act shall, when recovered, be disposed of as the Local Government shall from time to time direct.

That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary, and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, most respectfully enters its emphatic protest against the same and entreats its cancellation without delay.

Resolved—that this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, again enters its emphatic protest against the same and urges its cancellation without delay.
That this Congress, being of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891 in the Foreign Department gagging the Press in Territories under administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous on its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, again enters its emphatic protest against the same and urges its cancellation without delay. 13: 1897: Amraoti: VI.

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Act No. VII of 1908

An act for the prevention of incitements to murder and to other offences in newspapers

Whereas it is expedient to make better provision for the prevention of incitements to murder and to other offences in newspapers; it is hereby enacted as follows:

Short title and extent

1. (1) This act may be called Newspapers (incitements to Offences) Act, 1908.
   (2) It extends to the whole of British India.

Definitions

2. (1) In this act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:—
   (a) "Magistrate" means a District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate;
   (b) "Newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news;
   (c) "Printing Press" includes all engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing.
   (2) Save as herein otherwise provided all words and expressions in this Act shall have the same meaning as those respectively assigned to them in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1908.

Power to forfeit printing press in certain cases

3. (1) In cases where, upon application made by order of or under authority from the local Government, a Magistrate is of opinion that a newspaper printed and published within the Province contains any incitement to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908 or to any act of violence, such Magistrate may make a conditional order declaring the printing press used, or intended to be used, for the purpose of printing or publi-
shing such newspaper "or found in or upon the premises where such newspaper is," or at the time of the printing of the matter complained of was, printed, and all copies of such newspaper, wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty, and shall in such order state the material facts and call on all persons concerned to appear before him, at a time and place to be fixed by the order, to show cause why the order should not be made absolute.

(2) A copy of such order shall be fixed on some conspicuous part of the premises specified in the declaration made in respect of such newspaper under Section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, or of any other premises in which such newspaper is printed, and the affixing of such copy shall be deemed to be due service of the said order on all persons concerned.

(3) In cases of emergency or in cases where the purposes of the application might be defeated by delay the Magistrate may, on or after the making of a conditional order under sub section (1) make a further order ex-parte for the attachment of the printing press or other property referred to in the conditional order.

(4) If any person concerned appears and shows cause against the conditional order, the Magistrate shall take evidence, whether in support of or in opposition to such order, in manner provided in section 356 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

(5) If the Magistrate is satisfied that the newspaper contains matter of the nature specified in sub-section (1), he shall make the conditional order of forfeiture absolute in respect of such property as he may find to be within the terms of the said sub-section.

(6) If the Magistrate is not so satisfied, he shall set aside the conditional order of forfeiture and the order of attachment, if any.

4. Power to seize.

(1) The Magistrate may by warrant empower any Police Officer not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector to seize and detain any property ordered to be attached under section 3 or to seize and carry away any property ordered to be forfeited under section 3, sub-section (5), wherever found and to enter upon and search for such property in any premises:

(a) Where the newspaper specified in such warrant is printed or published, or

(b) Where any such property may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or

(c) Where any copy of such newspaper is kept for sale, dis-
tribution, publication or public exhibition or reasonably suspected to be so kept.

(2) Every warrant issued under sub-section (1) so far as it relates to a search shall be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants by the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

5. Appeal

Any person concerned who has appeared and shown cause against a conditional order of forfeiture may appeal to the High Court within fifteen days from the date when such order is made absolute.

6. Bar of other proceedings

Save as provided in section 5, no order duly made by a Magistrate under section 3, shall be called in question in any Court.

7. Power to annul declaration under Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867

Where an order of forfeiture has been made absolute in relation to any newspaper the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, annul any declaration made by the printer or publisher of such newspaper under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and may by such notification prohibit any further declaration being made or subscribed under the said Act, in respect of the said newspaper, or of any newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper, until such prohibition be withdrawn.

8. Penalty

Any person who prints or publishes any newspaper specified in any prohibition notified under section 7, during the continuance of that prohibition shall be liable, on conviction, to the penalties prescribed by section 15 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.
9. *Application of Code of Criminal Procedure*

All proceedings under this Act shall be conducted so far as may be in accordance with the provisions of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

10. *Operation of other laws not barred*

No proceedings taken under this Act shall operate to prevent any person from being prosecuted for any act which constitutes an offence under any other law.

* * *

*Act. No. 1 of 1910*

*An Act to provide for the better control of the Press*

Whereas it is necessary to provide for the better control of the Press, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

*Short title and extent*

1. (1) This Act may be called the Indian Press Act, 1910.
   (2) It extends to the whole of the British India, inclusive of British Baluchistan, the Santhal Parganas and the Pargana of Spiti.

*Definitions*

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context:—

   (a) "Book" includes every volume, part or division of volume, and pamphlet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, chart or plan separately printed or lithographed;
   (b) "Document" includes also any printing, drawing or photograph or other visible representation;
   (c) "High Court" means the highest Civil Court of Appeal for any local area except in the case of the provinces of Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg where it means the High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces and the High Court of Judicature at Madras respectively;
   (d) "Magistrate" means a District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate;
(c) "Newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news; and

(f) "Printing Press" includes all engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing.

Deposit of Security by keepers of printing presses

3. (1) Every person keeping a printing press who is required to make a declaration under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Provided that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reason to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing press kept in any place in the territories under its administration, in respect of which a declaration was made prior to the commencement of this Act under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act 1867, is used for any of the purpose described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the keeper of such press to deposit with the magistrate within whose jurisdiction the press is situated security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare security forfeited in certain cases

4. (1) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise—
(a) to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence, or
(b) to seduce any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, or
(c) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty, or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief, or
(d) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any person any property or valuable security, or to do any act which he is not legally bound to do, or to omit to do any which he is legally entitled to do, or
(e) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or
(f) to convey any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any person in whom that public servant is believed to be interested, with a view to inducing that public servant to do an act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public function, the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing press, stating or describing the word, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such press and all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty.

Explanation I—In clause (c) the expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation II—Comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government or of any such Native Prince or Chief as aforesaid with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government or any such Native Prince or Chief or of the administration of justice in British India without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (c).

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1) the declaration made in respect of
such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

Deposit of further security

5. Where the security given in respect of any press has been declared forfeited under section 4, every person making a fresh declaration in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom such declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare further security, printing press and publications forfeited

6. If after such further security has been deposited the printing press is again used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing press, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations declare—

(a) the further security so deposited,
(b) the printing press used for the purpose of printing or publishing such newspaper, book or other document or found in or upon the premises where such newspaper, book or other document is, or at the time of printing the matter complained of was printed, and
(c) all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

Issue of search warrant

7. (1) Where any printing press is or any copies of any newspaper, book or other document are declared forfeited to His Majesty under this Act, the Local Government may direct any Magistrate to issue a warrant empowering any police officer, not below the rank of Sub-Inspector, to seize and detain any property ordered to be forfeited and to enter upon and search for such property in any premises:
(i) where any such property may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or
(ii) where any copy of such newspaper, book or other document is kept for sale, distribution, publication or public exhibition or reasonably suspected to be so kept.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Deposit of security by publisher of a newspaper

8. (1) Every publisher of a newspaper who is required to make a declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India:

Provided that if the person registered under the said Act as printer of the newspaper is also registered as the keeper of the press where the newspaper is printed, the publisher shall not be required to deposit security so long as such registration is in force;

Provided further that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that a newspaper published within its territories, in respect of which a declaration was made by the publisher thereof prior to the commencement of this Act, under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the publisher to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the newspaper is published, security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare security forfeited, in certain cases

9. (1) If any newspaper in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 8 contains any words, signs or
visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare such security and all copies of such newspaper, under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1) the declaration made by the publisher of such newspaper under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

Deposit of further Security

10. Where the security given in respect of any newspaper is declared forfeited, any person making a fresh declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, as publisher of such newspaper or any other newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees as the Magistrate may think fit to require in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

Power to declare further security and newspapers forfeited

11. If, after such further security has been deposited, the newspaper again contains any words, signs or visible representations which, in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare:

(a) the further security so deposited, and
(b) all copies of such newspaper wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

Power to declare certain publications forfeited and to issue search warrants for same

12. (1) Where any newspaper, book or other document where printed appears to the Local Government to contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4 sub-section (1) the Local Government may, by notification in the
local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion declare such newspaper, book or other document to be forfeited to His Majesty, and thereupon any police officer may seize the same wherever found, and any Magistrate may by warrant authorise any police officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search for the same in any premises where the newspaper, book or other document may be or may be reasonably suspected to be.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

*Power to detain packages containing certain publications when imported into British India*

13. The Chief Customs Officer or other officer authorized by the Local Government in this behalf may detain any package brought, whether by land or sea, into British India which he suspects to contain any newspaper, book or other documents of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) and shall forthwith forward copies of any newspapers, books or other documents found therein to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

*Prohibition of transmission by post of certain newspaper*

14. No newspaper printed and published in British India shall be transmitted by post unless the printer and publisher have made a declaration under Section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and the publisher has deposited security when so required under this Act.

*Power to detain articles being transmitted by Post.*

15. Any officer in charge of a post office or authorised by the Postmaster General in this behalf, may detain any article other than a letter or parcel in course of transmission by post, which he suspects to contain:

(a) any newspaper, book or other document containing words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1) or
(b) any newspaper in respect of which the declaration required
by Section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867 has not been deposited by the publisher thereof.

and shall deliver all such articles to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

Copies of newspapers printed in British India to be delivered gratis to Government

16. (1) The printer of every newspaper in British India shall deliver at such place and to such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, direct, and free of expense to the Government two copies of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published.

(2) If any printer of any such newspaper neglects in delivering copies of the same in compliance with sub-section (1), he shall, on the complaint of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or of any person authorized by that officer in this behalf, be punishable on conviction by a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the newspaper was printed with fine which may extend to fifty rupees for every default.

Application to High Court to set aside order of forfeiture

17. Any person having an interest in any property in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made under Sections 4, 6, 9, 11, or 12 may, within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court to set aside such order on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1).

Hearing by Special Bench

18. Every such application shall be heard and determined by a special Bench of the High Court composed of three judges or where the High Court consists of less than three Judges, of all the Judges.

Order of Special Bench setting aside forfeiture

19. (1) If it appears to the Special Bench that the words, signs or visible representations contained in the newspaper, book or other
documents in respect of which the order in question was made were not of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1), the special Bench shall set aside the order of forfeiture.

(2) Where there is a difference of opinion among the judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority (if any) of those Judges.

(3) Where there is no such majority which concurs in setting aside the order in question, such order shall stand.

Evidence to prove nature or tendency of newspapers

20. On the hearing of any such application with reference to any newspaper, any copy of such newspaper published after the commencement of this Act may be given in evidence in aid of the proof of the nature of tendency of the words, signs or visible representations contained in such newspaper which are alleged to be of the nature described in Section 4, sub-section (1)

Procedure in High Court

21. Every High Court shall, as soon as conveniently may be, frame rules to regulate the procedure in the case of such applications, the amount of the cost thereof and the execution of orders passed thereon, and until such rules are framed the practice of such Court in proceedings other than suits and appeals shall apply, so far as may be practicable, to such applications.

Jurisdiction barred

22. Every declaration of forfeiture purporting to be made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place, and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act, shall be called in question by any Court, except the High Court on such application as provided by this Act, shall be instituted against any person for anything done or in good faith intended to be done under this Act.

Penalty for keeping press or publishing newspaper without making deposit

23. (1) Whoever keeps in his possession a press for the printing of books or papers without making a deposit under Section 3 or Section 5, when required so to do, shall on conviction by a Magistrate be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if
he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by Section 4 of
the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

(2) Whoever publishes any newspaper without making a
deposit under Section 8 or Section 10, when required so to do, or
publishes such newspaper, knowing that such security hasn't been
deposited, shall on conviction by a Magistrate, be liable to the
penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the
declaration prescribed by Section 5 of the Press and Registration of
Books Act, 1867.

Return of deposited security in certain cases

24. Where any person has deposited any security under this
Act and ceases to keep the press in respect of which such security
was deposited or being a publisher, makes a declaration under
Section 8 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, he may
apply to the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction such press is
situate for the return of the said security and thereupon such secu-
rity shall, upon proof to satisfaction of the Magistrate and subject
to the provisions hereinbefore contained, be returned to such
persons.

Service of Notices

25. Every notice under this Act shall be sent to a Magistrate
who shall cause it to be served in the manner provided for the
service of summonses under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Operation of other laws not barred

26. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent any
person from being prosecuted under any other law for any act or
omission which constitutes an offence against this Act.

That having regard to the state of the country since the
passing of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Indian Press Act,
this Congress earnestly prays that the former be not re-enacted at
the expiry of its term and that the latter be removed from the
Statute Book without delay. 25 : 1910 : Allahabad : XII.
That this Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book, and urges that the same be repealed, specially, in view of the recent decision of the High Court of Calcutta, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

28 : 1913 : Karachi : VIII.

* * *

This Congress reiterates its protest against the constitution of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book, and urges that the same be repealed, specially, in view of the decision of the Calcutta High Court, which declares that the safeguards provided by the Act are illusory and incapable of being enforced.

29 : 1914 : Madras : XVI.

* * *

This Congress reiterates its protest against the continuation of the Indian Press Act on the Statute Book and urges that the same be repealed.

30 : 1915 : Bombay : XVII.

* * *

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

31 : 1916 : Lucknow : VIII.

* * *

That this Congress places on record its strong conviction that by reason of the wide and arbitrary power conferred by the Press Act of 1910 upon the Executive and the way in which it has been used, the Act has proved a menace to the liberty of the Indian Press and tended to demoralise public; and Congress strongly urges the Government to repeal it.

32 : 1917 : Calcutta : VII.

* * *

This Congress demands the immediate repeal of the Indian Press Act.

34 : 1919-1920 : Amritsar : XXX.
CHAPTER XXII

PRINCES AND THEIR STATES

Lord Canning's Sanad to Mewar
(March 11, 1862)

Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their own territories should be perpetuated and that the representation and dignity of their Houses should be continued; I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, convey to you the assurance that, on failure of natural heirs, the adoption by yourself and future Rulers of your State of a successor according to Hindoo law and to the customs of your race will be recognized and confirmed.

Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you, so long as your House is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the Treaties, grants or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

Proclamation of the Government of India on the Gaekwar Case, 1875
To all whom it may concern

His Highness Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar, was suspended from the exercise of power, and the administration of the Baroda State was temporarily assumed by the British Government in order that a public enquiry might be made into the truth of the imputation that His Highness had instigated an attempt to poison Colonel R. Phayre, C. B., the late Representative of the British Government at the Court of Baroda, and that every opportunity should be given to His Highness of freeing himself from the said imputation.

The proceedings of the Commission having been brought to a close, Her Majesty's Government have taken into consideration the question whether His Highness Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar, shall be restored to the exercise of sovereign power in the State of Baroda.

The Commissioners being divided in opinion, Her Majesty's Government have not based their decision on the enquiry or report of the Commission, nor have they assumed that the result of the enquiry has been to prove the truth of the imputations against His Highness.
Having regard, however, to all the circumstances relating to the affairs of Baroda from the accession of His Highness Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar, to the present time, his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the State, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect the necessary reform; having also considered the opinion of the Government of India that it would be detrimental to the interests of the people of Baroda and inconsistent with the maintenance of the relations which ought to subsist between the British Government and the Baroda State, that His Highness should be restored to power, Her Majesty’s Government have decided that His Highness Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar, shall be deposed from the sovereignty of Baroda, and that he and his issue shall be hereafter precluded from all rights, honours, and privileges thereto appertaining.

Accordingly His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council hereby declares that His Highness Mulhar Rao, Gaekwar, is deposed from the sovereignty of the Baroda State, and that he and his issue are precluded from all rights, honour and privileges thereto appertaining.

Mulhar Rao will be permitted to select some place in British India, which may be approved by the Government of India, where he and his family shall reside with a suitable establishment and allowance to be provided from the revenues of the Baroda State.

Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, in re-establishing a Native Administration in the Baroda State, being desirous to mark her sense of the loyal services of His Highness Khundee Rao, Gaekwar, in 1857, has been pleased to accede to the request of his widow, Her Highness Jumnaabaee, that she may be allowed to adopt some member of the Gaekwar house, whom the Government of India may select as the most suitable person upon whom to confer the sovereignty of the Baroda State.

* * *

In conferring the sovereignty of the Baroda State, no alteration will be made in the Treaty engagements which exist between the British Government and the Gaekwars of Baroda, and the new Gaekwar will enjoy all the privileges and advantages which were conveyed to the Gaekwar of Baroda in the Sunnud of Earl Canning dated the 11th of March, 1862.
3. The succession shall devolve upon the lineal descendants of the said Maharaja Chamrajendra Wadiar Bahadur, whether by blood or adoption, according to the rules and usages of his family, except in case of disqualification through manifest unfitness to rule:

Provided that no succession shall be valid until it has been recognized by the Governor-General-in-Council.

In the event of a failure of lineal descendants, by blood and adoption, of the said Maharaja, it shall be within the discretion of the Governor-General-in-Council to select as a successor any member of any collateral branch of the family whom he thinks fit.

13. The coins of the Government of India shall be a legal tender in the said territories and all laws and rules for the time being applicable to coins current in British India shall apply to coins current in the said territories. The separate coinage of the Mysore State, which has long been discontinued, shall not be revived.

17. Plenary criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects in the territories shall continue to be vested in the Governor-General in Council, and the Maharaja of Mysore shall exercise only such jurisdiction in respect to European British subjects as may from time to time be delegated to him by the Governor-General in Council.

22. The Maharaja of Mysore shall at all times conform to such advice as the Governor-General-in-Council may offer him with a view to the management of his finances, the settlement and collection of his revenue, the imposition of taxes, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry, and any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his subjects, and his relations to the British Government.
23. In the event of the breach or non-observance by the Maharaja of Mysore of any of the foregoing conditions, the Governor-General in Council may resume possession of the said territories and assume the direct administration thereof, or make such other arrangements as he may think necessary to provide adequately for the good government of the people of Mysore, or for the security of British rights and interests within the Province.

* * *

24. This document shall supersede all other documents by which the position of the British Government with reference to the said territories has been formally recorded.

* * *

Lord Lansdowne on Indian States
Speech at St. Andrew's Dinner, Calcutta,
November 30, 1891.

I regard it as a matter of first-rate importance that the States in subordinate alliance with Her Majesty should be so governed that we need have no scruple in preserving for them that measure of independence which they at present enjoy. Not only would it be an act of injustice to deprive them of the privileges of self-government to which they are entitled, but it would, I am convinced, be a distinct misfortune to the Empire if these interesting remnants of indigenous rule were to be entirely effaced. They may not all of them be governed entirely in accordance with our ideas of good government, but it is a question whether in spite of this, they do not, from their point of view, prefer to remain under their own rulers, even if they are denied some of the administrative luxuries which we provide for the people of British India. Be this as it may, the territory directly under the Government of India is already, so large, and our tendency to govern it in accordance with uniform principles, and according to stereotyped methods of administration, is so strong, that, from our point of view, I should regard with unfeigned regret any events which might force us to assume responsibility for any part of the large areas at present governed by Indian Chiefs and Rulers. It is instructive both for the natives of this country and for Europeans, that the two kinds of government should be in force side by side, and in the full view of public opinion. We are all of us fond of dwelling upon the necessity of decentralising our administration, and considering all the circumstances of India, I doubt whether there is any form of decentralisation more
useful than that which leaves the domestic affairs of a large portion of the country to the management of its own people.

* * *

Speech at Hyderabad, November 3, 1892

I yield to none of my predecessors in my desire to treat with respect which is due to them the Indian States in subordinate alliance with Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. I have always recognized the advantages of the arrangement under which a considerable portion of the Indian Empire continues to be governed by its hereditary rulers, and to be subject to forms of administration, differing, to a considerable extent, from our own, but inspired by our proximity, and stimulated by our example. No one would be more averse than I should be to any changes in our relations with the Native States inconsistent with the measure of local autonomy which they now enjoy. It is because I entertain these feelings so strongly that I am anxious to see the government of these States carried out upon sound principles, and in such a manner as to place it beyond the power of any one to say that the Government of India, in arresting, as it has striven to arrest, the process by which the greater part of the territories of India were passing under the direct rule of the Crown, showed itself unmindful of the welfare of the millions of people who still remain outside the limits of British India.

* * *

"That this Congress wishes to express its respectful condolence and sympathy with the Royal family of Mysore of their recent sad and sudden bereavement, and at the same time to testify to its deep sense of the loss which has been sustained in the death of the Maharajah of Mysore, not only by the State over which he ruled with such wisdom, ability and beneficence but also by all the Indian people, to whom his constitutional reign was at once a vindication of their political capacity, an example for their active emulation, an earnest "desire for" their future political liberties."

10: 1894: Madras: X.

* * *

"That in the opinion of this Congress it is desirable that in future no Indian Prince or Chief shall be deposed on the ground of
mal-administration or misconduct until the fact of such maladministration or misconduct shall have been established to the satisfaction of a Public Tribunal which shall command the confidence alike of Government and of the Indian Princes and Chiefs."

12: 1896: Calcutta: XVIII.

*     *     *

Lord Curzon on Indian States*

The Native Chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis-a-vis* of the Empire a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and *vis-a-vis* of his own people, a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him, he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest; and that his *gaddi* is not intended to be a *divan* of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground or on the race course, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxations, but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall, I at any rate, judge him. By this test will he, in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive.

*The Indian National Congress on Indian Princes, 1903**

The descendants of the sovereign Princes before whom English merchants had presented themselves on bended knees, and with whom the East India Company after they had acquired sovereign rights in this country concluded treaties as allies—the descendants of those Princes found themselves treated as ordinary subjects and their proud and sensitive natures were subjected to a humiliation

*Lord Curzon delivered this speech at Gwalior on 29th November, 1899.

**Lal Mohan Ghose delivered his Presidential address at the annual session of the Indian National Congress which met in Madras from December 28th to 30th, 1903.
which they had never known before the British Government. I have said that our Indian Princes, instead of being treated as the allies and feudatories of His Britannic Majesty, have been treated like ordinary subjects, but I ought to add in order to fill up the picture, that the Princes are denied the rights and privileges of British subjects. If the poorest and meanest of His Majesty’s subjects in British India is charged with the most heinous offence known to the law, he has the right to be tried by a jury of his peers, and if found guilty, he has the further right of appealing to the highest judicial tribunal of the Presidency to which he belongs. But in the case of an Indian Prince, if his enemies succeed in persuading the British Resident that he has committed some grave offence, the Government of India, endorsing the opinion of its Political Agent, directs his trial before a special commission entirely composed of British officials and the verdict of such a special commission is always a foregone conclusion...On one occasion only, in the case of Mulhar Rao Gaekwar, the India Government tried the experiment of a mixed commission. But in that case the Indian Commission, consisting of two Princes and a statesman of repute, returned a verdict of acquittal, but the three English officials associated with them.....“knew not how to send back absolved an accused person of such importance.” Lord Curzon the other day at Alwar sneered at our endeavours to get better treatment for our Princes as making “bad blood” between them and the Government......We know how helpless our Princes are, and if we, who are British subjects, endeavour to see that our Princes are at least as well off as ourselves, can that be justly described as making “bad blood”?

* * *

**Lord Minto on Indian States, 1909**

It is sometimes asked by Ruling Chiefs, as well as by the public in India and in Europe, what our policy towards Native States is. I can only tell you that the basis of that policy was laid down in Queen Victoria’s Proclamation of 1858 and repeated in the Coronation message of His Majesty the King Emperor......

In pursuance of these pledges our policy is with rare exceptions one of non-interference in the internal affairs of Native States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence and undertaking their protection against external aggression it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed a certain degree of responsibility

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*Speech delivered by Lord Minto at Udaipur on 1st November, 1909.*
for the general soundness of their administration and could not
consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of
misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for
the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community
as a whole, as well as those of paramount power, such as railways,
telegraphs and other services of an Imperial character. But the
relationship of the Supreme Government to the States is one of suze-
riority. Your Highness will, I know, recognize the difficulty that
must exist in adhering to a uniform policy owing to the varying
conditions of different States. It is this diversity of conditions
which renders so dangerous any attempt at complete subservience
to uniformity. I have, therefore, made it a rule to avoid as far as
possible the issue of general instructions and have endeavoured to
deal with questions as they arose with reference to existing treaties,
the merits of each case, local conditions, antecedent circumstances
and the particular stage of development, feudal and constitutional,
of undivided principalities...

The foundation-stone of the whole system is the recognition of
identity of interests between the Imperial Government and the
Durbars and the minimum of interference with the latter in their
own affairs. I have always been opposed to anything like pressure on
Durbars with a view to introducing British methods of adminis-
tration. I have preferred that reforms should emanate from Durbars
themselves and grow up in harmony with the traditions of the State.
It is easy to overestimate the value of administrative efficiency. It
is not the only object to aim at though the encouragement of it
must be attractive to keen and able Political Officers and it is not
unnatural that the temptation to further it should for
example, appeal strongly to those who are temporarily in charge
of the administration of a State during a minority. Whether they
are in sole charge or associated with a State Council, their position
is a difficult one. It is one of peculiar trust, and though abuses and
corruption must, of course, as far as possible be corrected, I cannot
but think that Political Officers will do wisely to accept the general
system of administration to which the Chief and his people have
been accustomed. The methods sanctioned by tradition in States
are usually well adapted to the needs and relations of the ruler and
his people. The loyalty of the former is generally a personal loyalty
which administrative efficiency, if carried out on lines unsuited to
local conditions, would lessen or impair.

I can assure Political Officers I am speaking in no spirit of
criticism. No one has a greater admiration of their services than I
have...My aim and object will be, as it has always been, to assist
them, but I would impress upon them that they are not only the mouthpiece of Government and the custodians of Imperial policy, but that I look to them also to interpret the sentiments and aspirations of the Durbars. It is upon the tactful fulfilment of their dual functions that the Supreme Government and the Chiefs must mutually rely. It is upon the harmonious co-operation of Indian Princes and Political Officers that so much depends, co-operation which must increase in value as communications develop and new ideas gain ground.

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The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian States
22 November, 1918

In view of the fact that constitutional changes in British India may react in an important manner on the Native States we have carefully considered their present relations with the Government of India. We became aware at the outset that, although the policy which has been followed for more than a century towards the States has been amply vindicated by the trust and confidence which the Princes as a body repose in the British Government, yet in some quarters uncertainty and uneasiness undoubtedly exist. Some Rulers are perturbed by a feeling that the measure of sovereignty and independence guaranteed to them by the British Government has not been accorded in full, and they are apprehensive lest in process of time their individual rights and privileges may be whittled away. We ascribe this feeling to two causes. In the first place, the expression 'Native States' is applied now, and has been applied during the past century, to a collection of about seven hundred rulerships which exhibit widely differing characteristics, which range from States with full autonomy over their internal affairs to States in which Government exercises, through its agents, large powers of internal control, and even down to the owners of a few acres of land. Uniformity of terminology tends to obscure distinctions of status; and practice appropriate in the case of the lesser Chiefs may be inadvertently applied to the greater ones also. We are convinced that it would improve and assist future relations between the Crown and the States if a definite line could be drawn separating the Rulers who enjoy full powers of internal administration from the others.

In the second place, we cannot disregard the fact that the general clause which occurs in many of the treaties to the effect that the Chief shall remain absolute Ruler of his country has not in the
past precluded, and does not even now preclude, 'interference with the administration by Government through the agency of its representatives at the Native Courts'. We need hardly say that such interference has not been employed in wanton disregard of treaty obligations. During the earlier days of our intimate relations with the States British agents found themselves compelled, often against their will, to assume responsibility for the welfare of a people, to restore order from chaos, to prevent inhuman practices, and to guide the hands of a weak or incompetent Ruler as the only alternative to the termination of his rule. So, too, at the present day, the Government of India acknowledges, as trustee, a responsibility (which the Princes themselves desire to maintain) for the proper administration of States during a minority, and also an obligation for the prevention or correction of flagrant misgovernment.

Moreover, we find that the position hitherto taken up by Government has been that the conditions under which some of the treaties were executed have undergone material changes, and the literal fulfilment of particular obligations which they impose has become impracticable. Practice has been based on the theory that treaties must be read as a whole, and that they must be interpreted in the light of the relations established between the parties not only at the time when a particular treaty was made, but subsequently. The result is that there has grown up around the treaties a body of case-law which anyone who is anxious to appreciate the precise nature of existing relations must explore in Government archives and in textbooks. The Princes, viewing the application of this case-law to their individual relations with Government, are uneasy as to its ultimate effect. They fear that usage and precedent may be exercising a levelling and corroding influence upon the treaty rights of individual States.

It is thus clear that some ambiguity and misunderstanding exist as to the exact position. The Government of India has already taken cognizance of this, and is affording opportunity for the verification of any specific complaints that may be made. We do not desire to say anything that might prejudice the issue of these inquiries. In the meanwhile, however, we suggest that the time has come when it would be well to review the situation, of course only by consent of parties, not necessarily with a view to any change of policy, but in order to simplify, standardize, and codify existing practice for the future. Before we pass on to state our own proposals we wish to say that we think that the Princes should be assured in the fullest and freest manner that no constitutional changes which may take place will impair the rights, dignities, and
privileges secured to them by treaties, *sanads*, and engagements, or by established practice.

We have explained how, on various occasions in recent years, the Princes have met in conference at the invitation of the Viceroy. These conferences have been of great value in assisting in the formulation of the Government's policy on important matters like minority administration and succession, and promoting interest in such questions as scientific agriculture and commercial and agricultural statistics. The meetings have given the Princes the opportunity of informing the Government as to their sentiments and wishes, of broadening their outlook, and of conferring with one another, and with the Government. But although the meetings have in the last few years been regular they depend upon the invitation of the Viceroy; and our first proposal is to replace them by the institution of a Council of Princes. We wish to call into existence a permanent consultative body. There are questions which affect the States generally, and other questions which are of concern either to the Empire as a whole, or to British India and the States in common, upon which we conceive that the opinion of such a body would be of the utmost value. The Viceroy would refer such questions to the council, and we should have the advantage of their considered opinion. We think it is all-important that the meetings should be regular, and that ordinarily the council should meet once a year to discuss agenda approved by the Viceroy. Any member of the council, or the council as a whole, might request the Viceroy to include in the agenda any subject on which discussion was desired. If questions of sufficient importance arose in the intervals between the annual meetings the Princes might suggest to the Viceroy that an extraordinary meeting should be held. We contemplate that the Viceroy should be president, and should as a rule preside but that in his absence one of the Princes should be chairman. The rules of business would be framed by the Viceroy, after consultation with the Princes, who might perhaps from time to time suggest modifications in the rules. We believe that most of the Princes desire to see such a council created, although some of the most eminent among them have not taken part in the conferences in 1916 and 1917. The direct transaction of business between the Government of India and any State would, of course, not be affected by the institution of the council.

It has been represented to us that difficulties have occurred in the past by reason of the fact that the Political Department comes to decisions affecting the Native States without being in a position to avail itself of the advice of those who are in a position to know
from their own personal experience or the history of their States the right course to pursue. On matters of custom and usage in particular we feel that such advice would be of great value, and would help to ensure sound decisions. Our second proposal therefore is that the Council of Princes should be invited annually to appoint a small standing committee, to which the Viceroy or the Political Department might refer such matters. We need hardly say that no reference affecting any individual State would be made to the committee without the concurrence of its Ruler. The Council of Princes might appoint to the standing committee not only Princes, but also Dewans or Ministers, who were willing to place their services at the disposal of the Viceroy when called upon for advice. This machinery is based on the principle of consultation which in so many matters underlies our recommendations in regard to British India.

Our next proposal is concerned with disputes which may arise between two or more States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India, and with a situation caused when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the Government of India or the advice of any of its local representatives. In such cases there exists at the present moment no satisfactory method of obtaining an exhaustive and judicial inquiry into the issues, such as might satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, that the issues have been considered in an independent and impartial manner. Whenever, therefore, in such cases the Viceroy felt that such an inquiry was desirable we recommend that he should appoint a commission, on which both parties would be represented, to inquire into the matter in dispute and to report its conclusions to him. If the Viceroy was unable to accept the finding the matter would be referred for decision by the Secretary of State. The commission that we have in mind would be composed of a judicial officer of rank not lower than a high court judge and one nominee of each of the parties concerned.

In another class of cases we have a similar proposal to make. It has happened, and we conceive that it may happen though rarely in the future, that the question arises of depriving the Ruler of a State of his rights, dignities, and powers or of debarring from succession a member of his family. If such cases occur in the future we think that they should be always referred to a commission to be appointed by the Viceroy to advise him. It should consist of five members, including ordinarily a high court judge and two Ruling Princes. The names of the commissioners should be inti-
mated in advance to the defendant before they were appointed; and the proceedings of the commission should be made public only if the defendant so desired.

Our two remaining proposals bear a direct relation to our constitutional scheme for British India. We recommend that as a general principle all important States should be placed in direct political relations with the Government of India.

Our last proposal is intended to provide some means of deliberation between the Government of India and the Princes on matters of common interest to both, and so to ensure that as far as possible decisions affecting India as a whole shall be reached after the views of the Durbars have been taken into account. In the past it certainly has occasionally happened that the States were vitally affected by decisions taken without reference to them; and yet no machinery for such collective consultation with them has hitherto existed. It seems to us that they have a clear right to ask for it in the future. We have abandoned for the present all consideration of suggestions that the Ruling Princes, or some representatives of their Order, should be members of the Council of State. Not only would this at the present stage infringe the doctrine of non-interference on the part of the Princes in the affairs of British India but we are satisfied that few, if any, of the Princes themselves are ready for such a step. On the other hand, it seems to us that, when a Council of Princes has been established, and when a Council of State and a Privy Council have been created, the machinery will exist for bringing the senatorial institutions of British India into closer relations when necessary with the Rulers of the Native States. Matters affecting the Native States generally, or the Native States and British India in common, or the Empire, might, as we have seen, be referred to the Council of Princes. It would thus be possible for the Viceroy, when he thought fit, to arrange for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Council of Princes, or between representatives of each body. He might also invite members of the Council of Princes to serve on committees of the Privy Council.

“This Congress is emphatically of opinion that in the interests of both the rulers and the people of Indian states they should establish representative institutions and responsible Government in their states at an early date.”

42 : 1927 : Madras : XV.
In the paragraphs which I have mentioned you state and develop the position that in respect of the internal affairs of Hyderabad, you, as Ruler of the Hyderabad State, stand on the same footing as the British Government in India in respect of the internal affairs of British India. Lest I should be thought to overstate your claims, I quote Your Exalted Highness's own words: 'Save and except matters relating to foreign powers and policies, the Nizams of Hyderabad have been independent in the internal affairs of their state just as much as the British Government in British India. With the reservation mentioned by me, the two parties have on all occasions acted with complete freedom and independence in all inter-Governmental a questions that naturally arise from time to time between neighbours. Now, the Berar question is not and cannot be covered by that reservation. No foreign power or policy is concerned or involved in its examination, and thus the subject comes to be a controversy between the two Governments that stand on the same plane without any limitations of subordination of one to the other.'

These words would seem to indicate a misconception of Your Exalted Highness's relations to the Paramount Power, which it is incumbent on me as His Imperial Majesty's representative to remove, since my silence on such a subject now might hereafter be interpreted as acquiescence in the propositions which you have enunciated.

The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements, but exist independently of them and, quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States to preserve peace and good order throughout India. The consequences that follow are so well known, and so clearly apply no less to Your Exalted Highness than to other Rulers, that it seems hardly necessary to point them out. But if illustrations are necessary, I would remind Your Exalted Highness that the Ruler of Hyderabad along with other Rulers received in 1862 a Sanad declaratory of the British Government's desire for the perpetuation of his House and Govern-
ment; subject to continued loyalty to the Crown; that no succession in the Masnad of Hyderabad is valid unless, it is recognized by His Majesty the King Emperor; and that the British Government is the only arbiter in cases of disputed succession.

The right of the British Government to intervene in the internal affairs of Indian States is another instance of the consequences necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown. The British Government have indeed shown again and again that they have no desire to exercise the right without grave reason. But the internal, no less than the external, security which the Ruling Princes enjoy is due ultimately to the protecting power of the British Government, and where Imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its Government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. The varying degrees of internal sovereignty which the Rulers enjoy are all subject to the due exercise by the Paramount Power of this responsibility. Other illustrations could be added no less inconsistent than the foregoing with the suggestion that, except in matters relating to foreign powers and policies, the Government of Your Exalted Highness and the British Government stand on a plane of equality. But I do not think I need pursue the subject further. I will merely add the title 'Faithful Ally' which Your Exalted Highness enjoys has not the effect of putting Your Government in a category separate from that of other States under the paramountcy of the British Crown.

In pursuance of your present conception of the relations between Hyderabad and the Paramount Power, you further urged that I have misdescribed the conclusion at which His Majesty's Government have arrived as a 'decision' and that the doctrine of res judicata has been misapplied to matters in controversy between Hyderabad and the Government of India.

I regret that I cannot accept Your Exalted Highness's view that the orders of the Secretary of State on your representation do not amount to a decision. It is the right and privilege of the Paramount Power to decide all disputes that may arise between States, or between one of the States and itself, and even though a Court of Arbitration may be appointed in certain cases, its function is merely to offer independent advice to the Government of India, with whom the decision rests. I need not remind you that this position has been accepted by the general body of Indian Rulers as a result of their deliberations on paragraph 308 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. As regards the use of the term res judicata, I am, of cou-
rse, aware that the Government of India is not, like a Civil Court, precluded from taking cognizance of a matter which has already formed the subject of a decision, but the legal principle of *res judicata* is based on sound practical considerations, and it is obviously undesirable that a matter which has once been decided should form the subject of repeated controversies between the same parties.

I now pass on to consider your request for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the Berar case and submit a report. As Your Exalted Highness is aware, the Government of India not long ago made definite provision for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration in cases where a State is dissatisfied with a ruling given by the Government of India. If, however, you will refer to the document embodying the new arrangement, you will find that there is no provision for the appointment of a Court of Arbitration in any case which has been decided by His Majesty’s Government, and I cannot conceive that a case like the present one, where a long controversy has been terminated by an agreement executed after full consideration and couched in terms which are free from ambiguity, would be a suitable one for submission to arbitration.

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*The Joint Opinion of the Princes’ Counsel submitted to the Indian States Committee, 24 July, 1928*

*Usage.*

The subject of ‘usage’ looms large in discussion of the rights of the Crown over the States, because it is supposed by many to be in itself a source of sovereign rights. This idea is erroneous.

‘Usage’ is an ambiguous word. It has one sense or one set of attributes in international law, and another in municipal law. In the former, ‘usage’ means the practice commonly followed by independent nations; and has the binding character of a rule of law, because it represents the consensus of opinion amongst free and independent nations.

But the characteristic relationship between nations, which in international law gives to usage its legal efficacy, is absent from India. The Indian States are not in the international sense indepen-

dent, but protected by the British Crown; they are not free *inter se* to follow what practices of interstatal relations may seem good to them, and thereby to form and exhibit a consensus of opinion on any particular usage; for they have, by the very terms of their basic agreement with the Crown, given up the rights of diplomatic negotiation with and of war against or pressure upon other Indian States, and have entrusted to the Crown the regulation of their external relations, in return for the Crown's guarantee that it will maintain in their integrity their constitutional rights, privileges and dignities, their territory and their throne. No consensus of opinion as amongst free and independent nations can, therefore, even begin to take shape, and without it the source of obligation in the international relationship cannot arise.

In municipal law usage is of itself sterile; it creates neither rights nor obligations. It is true that a course of dealing between two parties may be evidence of an agreement to vary some existing contract, if it represents a tacit but real agreement between them, that not withstanding the express terms of that contract they will be bound by the practice which they have been used to follow. In such a case the usage becomes embodied in a fresh, though tacit and unwritten agreement, but it is not the usage itself, it is the agreement underlying it, which gives rise to the new rights.

And we should add that the inference that a new agreement has thus been made cannot be lightly drawn. There is a vital distinction between acquiescence by A in acts which involve a departure by B from the existing contract between them, and an agreement by both to a variation of the contract, so that B shall in future have the right to do those acts, whether A acquiesces or not. We use the word 'variation' designedly, because the sovereignty of the States remains in them, save in so far as it has been ceded by treaty or other agreement, and any further diminution of the sovereign rights of the State must constitute a variation of the existing contact so contained in the treaty or other agreement.

We recognize that there are in other fields of human affairs occasions when usage as such may acquire the binding force of law, but they are, in our opinion, irrelevant to the matters under consideration. For instance, we disregard the case of usage as a historical origin of rules of the common law of a country, because the history of British relations with the States leaves no room for the birth and growth of a common law. For analogous reasons we see no relevance in usages such as have led to the growth of the cabinet system in the unwritten constitution of Great Britain, or have set parliamentary limitations upon the Royal Prerogative.
In fine we see no ground upon which there can be imputed to usage between an Indian State and the Crown any different efficacy from that which may be attributed to it by municipal law between individuals. It follows therefore that mere usage cannot vary the treaties or agreements between the States and the Crown, because of itself it does not create any new right or impose any new obligation. Acquiescence in a particular act or a particular series of acts *prima facie* does nothing more than authorize the doing of those particular acts on the particular occasions when acquiescence was so given. It is legally possible that behind the usage there should in fact be an agreement dealing with rights, but it is important to realize the limitations within which it is permissible to infer such an agreement, viz., that no agreement can underlie usage, unless both the contracting parties intend to make one.

And where an agreement is not made plain by incorporation in a written instrument which can be read and understood, it is important to avoid confusion of thought as to the subject matter. A licence to the Government of India to do a particular act on one or more occasions, which without leave would be an encroachment upon the State's sovereignty, is not an agreement to cede sovereign powers. And no inference of an agreement to cede sovereignty can be drawn from one or from many such licences. The very fact that a licence is sought shows a recognition by the Crown that it does not possess the sovereign power to do the act without the consent of the ruler concerned. And it is obvious that a licence of the kind is much more likely to be given informally than a cession of sovereignty. It follows therefore that, unless the circumstances viewed as a whole compel the inference that the parties were intending to make an agreement changing their sovereign relationship, the usage cannot alter their rights. And on this question of fact, it should be borne in mind that the Crown and the States have acted in way which shows that this view has really been taken by both. In the case of many States there exists a whole series of treaties and engagements, regulating many aspects of their relationship by express provision. Where express contractual regulation thus extends in many directions over the field of political contact, there remains little room for implying tacit agreement.

Similarly where it is sought upon evidence of conduct to found an allegation of 'usage', and from that usage to imply an agreement, if the facts disclose protests by the State or any other evidence negativating an intention to make such an agreement, the very basis of the claim is destroyed. It is perhaps pertinent to observe that where a political practice is said to amount to a usage followed as between
the Crown and a State or States, and that practice began with some act of the Government of India during a minority or other interregnum when the State was under British administration, there is an additional obstacle to the inference from the usage of any intention by the State to make any agreement affecting its sovereignty.

It follows from the whole reasoning of this Opinion that the only kind of 'usage' in connexion with the Indian States, which can even indirectly be a source of sovereign powers, is not usage common to many States as is the case in international law, but a course of dealing between a particular State and the Crown of a kind which justifies an inference of an agreement by that State to the Crown having some new sovereign power over the State. We may also add that a 'political practice' as such has no binding force; still less have individual precedents or rulings of the Government of India.

When we speak of the possibility of inferring an agreement from usage, we desire to point out that such an agreement can only be inferred as against the particular State which was party to the usage, and cannot extend to bind any other State. This caution should be observed even where some other State has been following the identical usage. In the case of state A, evidence of facts beyond the usage itself may conceivably justify the inference of agreement; in the case of State B, such additional evidence may be absent.

Sufferance

The word 'sufferance' means 'acquiescence'; and may either amount to a consent to particular acts, or particular things, or be of such a character, and given in such circumstances as to justify the inference of an agreement. From the legal point of view its efficacy is no greater, and no less, than that of usage, and it is in principle covered by what we have said about usage. If there be any difference, it is rather that the word seems to exclude the idea of two-sided agreement.

Paramountcy

The Crown is aptly described as the Paramount Power, because the States have agreed to cede to it certain important attributes of their sovereignty, and paramountcy is a useful word to describe the rights and obligations of the Crown, which arise out of the agreed cession of those attributes of sovereignty. So understood,
PRINCES AND THEIR STATES

paramountey can properly be said to be a 'factor limiting the sovereignty of the States'. But inasmuch as this is only to say that the agreement of the States to cede attributes of sovereignty is a factor limiting their sovereignty.

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Report on the All-Parties Conference Committee
on Indian States, 10 August 1928

Leaving aside the theory of the relationship between the Crown and the Indian Princes and coming to the position as it is, we maintain that we are right in saying that as a matter of fact and actual practice, it is with Government of India that the Indian Princes come into direct contact in regard to everything that concerns them or their States. It is well known that the Political Secretary of the Government of India exercises vast powers over the Indian States. Without being a Member of the Government of India, he practically discharges all the functions of a Member, for there is no separate Member in charge of the political portfolio, the political Department being supposed to be in the direct charge of the Governor-General. The present position is that if the Political Department gives any decision against an Indian State or an Indian ruler, the only remedy available against it is 'an appeal', under certain conditions and subject to certain limitations, to the Secretary of State. We are aware that in the present circumstances this is supposed to be valued right, but this is probably due to the very unsatisfactory procedure followed in the first instance in India. It is obvious that a right of appeal in a case which is not fairly tried is of little value and we think that it is possible to replace it by adequate constitutional provisions for the future.

In ordinary experience the matters in regard to which the Indian States come into conflict or conflict with the Government of India are those relating to customs, excise, extradition, railways, post offices, and ports or harbours. In addition to this, there is the bigger common interest of self-defence. It is not necessary for us to examine what are understood to be the grievances of the Indian States in regard to these matters. We simply note the fact that responsible Indian Rulers and Ministers of Indian States have, at times, raised their voice against what they have described to be the inequitable treatment which they received at the hands of the Government of India. How far those grievances are capable of being remedied, and how best they can be remedied, are matters
for investigation and joint consultation, but we venture to think that their solution is not inextricably mixed up with the continuance of the present Constitution of the Government of India, or the establishment of an entirely separated and independent machinery for the exclusive treatment of these subjects. If we refrain from going into this question at greater length, it is only because the public have not hitherto been permitted to know enough of the scheme which has been in the course of incubation during the last few months. But if it is permissible to us to draw our own inferences from such statements as have been made in this connexion by Sir Leslie Scott, the counsel for the Indian Princes, before his departure for England, we shall sound a note of warning against the attempt that is being made to duplicate the machinery, by bringing into existence a separate Council for the Indian States to work with the Governor-General. Apart from the fact that it will be a cumbersome thing, its separate existence cannot secure the solution of matters of conflict with British India or with the future Commonwealth Government. It strikes us as being a vicious extension of the system of Dyarchy with all its attendant incongruities, inconveniences, and constitutional difficulties.

A federation of some sort was foreshadowed by Sir Malcolm Hailey... and there is no doubt that some such idea is also present to the mind of Sir Leslie Scott. But if the Constitution of India is to be a federal one, as we think it might well be, position of the Indian States in relation to that federation appears to us to call for a definite determination and the ideas on the subject require to be cleared up. Are the Indian States willing and ready to join a real federation? We put this question as we believe that the lines on which the Princes and Sir Leslie Scott are working cannot lead to any kind of federation in its well understood sense. 'A federal state', says Professor Newton, 'is a perpetual union of several sovereign states, based first upon a treaty between those states, or upon some historical status common to them all, and secondly, upon a federal Constitution accepted by their citizens. The Central Government acts not only upon the associated states but also directly upon their citizens. Both the internal and external sovereignty of the states is impaired and the federal union in most cases alone enters into international relations.' It would be, in our opinion, a most one-sided arrangement if the Indian States desire to join the federation, so as to influence by their votes and otherwise, the policy and legislation of the Indian Legislature, without submitting themselves to common legislation passed by it. It would be a travesty of the federal idea. If the Indian States would be willing to join such a
federation, after realizing the full implications of the federal idea, we shall heartily welcome their decision and do all that lies in our power to secure to them the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. But it must be clearly borne in mind that it would necessitate, perhaps in varying degrees, a modification of the system of government and administration prevailing within their territories. We hope and trust that in the light of experience gained the Indian States may make up their mind to join formally the federation. Meanwhile, we think that it is by no means impracticable to provide suitable machinery for the settlement of mutual differences on administrative and other matters. The practical question of the preservation of their treaty rights and such independence as they have enjoyed or as they claim, is, in our opinion, far more important than the arid and academic discussion of the question, whether in theory their relations are with the Government of India or with the Crown.

Accordingly, we have provided that (a) all treaties made between the East India Company and the Indian States and all such subsequent treaties, so far as they are in force at the commencement of this Act, shall be binding on the Commonwealth. (b) The Commonwealth shall exercise the same rights in relation to, and discharge the same obligations towards, the Indian States as the Government of India exercised and discharged previous to the passing of this Act. We have made these suggestions in no spirit of vanity or idealism. We fully realize their implications and the obligations that such provisions will impose upon the future Government of India. We do believe that the Government of India of the future will discharge their obligations in their integrity and with every desire to promote harmonious relations and no desire to override cherished privileges or sentiments. Similarly, in regard to matters of a justiciable character, we have suggested that 'in case of any difference between the Commonwealth and any Indian State on any matter arising out of treaties, engagements, sanads or similar other documents, the Governor-General in Council may, with the consent of the State concerned, refer the said matter to the Supreme Court for its decision'. We think that this will be a far better method of settling such matters than the present arrangement under which the Government of India is both a party and a judge in a controversy between itself and an Indian State. We need scarcely point out that we anticipate that the judges of the Supreme Court will be men of the highest legal training, character and judicial independence.
In regard to non-justiciable matters involving financial and administrative relations, it should not be difficult to come to a settlement by mutual conferences and understandings. The position in the future will not, to our mind, be worse than it is. Indeed it is likely to be better, where, between different States, there are honest differences and an independent effort is made to arrive at just and equitable settlements. Practical goodwill and larger common interest are of far greater value than any meticulous considerations of ultimate sanctions. It is obvious to our mind that the question of common defence is one which is bound to be in future the rallying centre of the Government of India and the Indian States, and if it has been possible in the past to sustain common obligations and to keep alive a common sense of duty to the country at large, we do not despair of the future.

In making these observations we feel that we have not had the advantage of discussion with the representatives of the Indian Princes, and we are alive to the possibility of much greater light being thrown on some dark corners of the entire problem by such discussions. Meanwhile, we content ourselves by saying that while we recognize that an Indian federation, compatible as it will be with the maximum degree of autonomy in the local units, whether Provinces or States, can be the only solid foundation for responsible government, we are not prepared to concede that until Indian States have made up their minds to join this federation in the most formal manner, British India must be denied full responsible government or Dominion Status, merely because it is supposed that the obligations which the Crown or the present Government of India owe to the Indian States, can be discharged only by a central Government which is, and must for that reason continue to be, undemocratic. Such an argument can only mean that the Indian States, while professing their sympathy with progress in British India, must effectually defeat our aims and aspirations by an attitude based not on enlightened self-interest, but on practical hostility to our aims and aspirations.
The Indian States Committee on the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States, 14 February, 1929*

Legal Opinion of Eminent Counsel

We will now consider the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States in greater detail. In this we have the advantage of the opinion of eminent counsel on the legal and constitutional aspects of the questions raised by the terms of reference to us, an opinion placed before us by Sir Leslie Scott. With much of that opinion we find ourselves in agreement. We agree that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship to the Crown, that the treaties made with them are treaties made with the Crown, and that those treaties are of continuing and binding force as between the States which made them and the Crown. We agree that it is not correct to say that ‘the treaties with the Native States must be read as a whole’, a doctrine to which there are obvious objections in theory and in fact. There are only forty States with treaties, but the term in this context covers engagements and sanads. The treaties were made with individual States and although in certain matters of imperial concern some sort of uniform procedure is necessary, cases affecting individual States should be considered with reference to those States individually, their treaty rights, their history and local circumstances and traditions, and the general necessities of the case as bearing upon them.

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Criticism of Legal Opinion

On the other hand we cannot agree with certain statements and arguments that occur in this opinion. The relationship of the Paramount Power with the States is not a merely contractual relationship, resting on treaties made more than a century ago. It is a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, resting, as Professor Westlake has said, on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact. The novel theory of a paramountcy agreement, limited as in the legal opinion, is unsupported by evidence, is thoroughly undermined by the long list of grievances placed before us which admit a paramountcy extending beyond

*Indian States Committee Report (1929).*
the sphere of any such agreement, and in any case can only rest upon the doctrine, which the learned authors of the opinion rightly condemn, that the treaties must be read as a whole. It is not in accordance with historical fact that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent, each possessed of full sovereignty and of a status which a modern international lawyer would hold to be governed by the rules of international law. In fact, none of the States ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Moghul empire, the Mahratta supremacy or the Sikh kingdom, and dependent on them. Some were rescued, others were created, by the British.

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Validity of Usage and Sufferance

We cannot agree that usage in itself is in any way sterile. Usage has shaped and developed the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States from the earliest times, almost, in some cases, as already stated, from the date of the treaties themselves. Usage is recited as a source of jurisdiction in the preamble to the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890 (53 and 54 Vict., c. 37) and is recognized in decisions of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Usage and sufferance have operated in two main directions. In several cases, where no treaty, engagement or sanad exists, usage and sufferance have supplied its place in favour of the States. In all cases usage and sufferance have operated to determine questions on which the treaties, engagements and sanads are silent; they have been a constant factor in the interpretation of these treaties, engagements and sanads; and they have thus consolidated the position of the Crown as Paramount Power.

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Pronouncement by Government of India, 1877

These important effects of the operation of usage and sufferance were pointed out by the Government of India in 1877. 'The paramount supremacy of the British Government', it was then said, 'is a thing of gradual growth; it has been established partly by conquest; partly by treaty; partly by usage; and for a proper understanding of the relations of the British Government to the
Native States, regard must be had to the incidents of this *de facto* supremacy, as well as to treaties and charters in which reciprocal rights and obligations have been recorded, and the circumstances under which those documents were originally framed. In the life of states, as well as of individuals, documentary claims may be set aside by overt acts; and a uniform and long continued course of practice acquiesced in by the party against whom it tells, whether that party be the British Government or the Native State, must be held to exhibit the relations which in fact subsist between them.

*Statements opposed to Historic Fact*

It is not in accordance with historical fact that paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon definite duties in respect of certain matters only, *viz.*, those relating to foreign affairs and external and internal security, unless those terms are made to cover all those acts which the Crown through its agents has considered necessary for imperial purposes, for the good government of India as a whole, the good government of individual States, the suppression of barbarous practices, the saving of human life, and for dealing with cases in which Rulers have proved unfit for their position. It is not in accordance with historical fact to say that the term 'subordinate co-operation' used in many of the treaties is concerned solely with military matters. The term has been used consistently for more than a century in regard to political relations. In these and other respects the opinion of counsel appears to us to ignore a long chapter of historical experience.

*Relationship between Paramount Power and States*

What then is the correct view of the relationship between the States and the Paramount Power? It is generally agreed that the States are *sui generis*, that there is no parallel to their position in history, that they are governed by a body of convention and usage not quite like anything in the world. They fall outside both international and ordinary municipal law, but they are governed by rules which form a very special part of the constitutional law of the

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Empire. Some sixty years ago Sir Henry Maine regarded their status as quasi-international. Professor Westlake regarded the rules which regulate their status as part of the constitutional law of the Empire. A similar view was expressed by Sir Frederick Pollock, who held that in cases of doubtful interpretation the analogy of international law might be found useful and persuasive.*

Sir Henry Maine on Sovereignty

In a well-known passage in his Minute in the Kathiawar case (1864) Sir Henry Maine refers to the relationship of divided sovereignty between the Paramount Power and the States. 'Sovereignty', he wrote, 'is a term which, in international law, indicates a well ascertained assemblage of separate powers or privileges. The rights which form part of the aggregate are specifically named by the publicists who distinguish them as the right to make war and peace, the right to administer civil and criminal justice, the right to legislate and so forth. A sovereign who possesses the whole of this aggregate of rights is called an independent sovereign; but there is not, nor has there ever been, anything in international law to prevent some of those rights being lodged with one possessor, and some with another. Sovereignty has always been regarded as divisible. It may perhaps be worth observing that according to the more precise language of modern publicists, "sovereignty" is divisible, but independence is not. Although the expression "partial independence" may be popularly used, it is technically incorrect. Accordingly there may be found in India every shade and variety of sovereignty, but there is only one independent sovereign the British Government.'

Activities of Paramount Power

We are concerned with the relationship between the Paramount Power and the States as it exists today, the product of change and growth. It depends, as we have already said, upon treaties, engage-

ments and sanads supplemented by usage and sufferance and by decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice. As a general proposition, and by way of illustration rather than of definition, the activities of the Paramount Power may be considered under three main heads: (1) external affairs; (2) defence and protection; (3) intervention.

* * *

**External Affairs**

The Indian States have no international life. They cannot make peace or war or negotiate or communicate with foreign states. This right of the Paramount Power to represent the States in international affairs, which has been recognized by the Legislature, depends partly on treaties, but to a greater extent on usage. That this right of the Paramount Power to represent the States in international affairs carries with it the duty of protecting the subjects of those States while residing or travelling abroad, is also recognized by the Legislature. For international purposes State territory is in the same position as British territory, and State subjects are in the same position as British subjects. The rights and duties thus assumed by the Paramount Power carry with them other consequential rights and duties. Foreign states will hold the Paramount Power responsible if an international obligation is broken by an Indian State. Therefore the Princes co-operate with the Paramount Power to give effect to the international obligations entered into by the Paramount Power. For instance, they surrender foreigners in accordance with the extradition treaties entered into by the Paramount Power; they co-operate with the Paramount Power to fulfil its obligations of neutrality; they help to enforce the duties of the Paramount Power in relation to the suppression of the slave trade. Since a foreign power will hold the Paramount Power responsible for injuries to its subjects committed in an Indian State, the Paramount Power is under obligation to see that those subjects are fairly treated. Of these duties Professor Westlake very truly says that they are owed by the States to Great Britain 'as the managing representative of the Empire as a whole', and that they consist in helping Great Britain to perform international duties which are owed by her in that character. On the other hand the Paramount Power when making treaties, will, in view of special circumstances existing in the Indian States, insert reservations in order to meet these special circumstances. In all such cases there is, in practice, no difference
between the States and the Paramount Power, but the States ask that they may be consulted, where possible, in advance before they are committed to action. This request is, in our opinion, eminently reasonable and should be accepted.

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**Inter-statal Relations**

Until quite recently the Paramount Power acted for the States not only in their relations with foreign countries, but also in all their relations with one another. During the present century circumstances have combined to lead to greater intercommunication between the States. But they cannot cede, sell, exchange or part with their territories to other States without the approval of the Paramount Power, nor without that approval can they settle inter-statal disputes. 'As we do not allow the States to go to war with one another, we claim the right as a consequence, and undertake the duty, of preventing those quarrels and grievances which among really independent powers would lead to international conflict.' This principle, stated by Sir Henry Maine in 1863, still holds good.

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**Defence and Protection**

The Paramount Power is responsible for the defence of both British India and the Indian States and, as such, has the final voice in all matters connected with defence, including establishments, war material, communications, etc. It must defend both these separate parts of India against foes, foreign and domestic. It owes this duty to all the Indian States alike. Some of the States contribute in different ways to the cost of this defence by the payment of tribute, by the assignment of lands, by the maintenance of Indian States Forces. All the States rallied to the defence of the Empire during the Great War, and put all their resources at the disposal of the Government. But, whether or not a State makes a contribution to the cost of defence, the Paramount Power is under a duty to protect the States. It follows from this duty of protection, first, that the British Government is bound to do everything really necessary for the common defence and the defence of the States; secondly, that the States should co-operate by permitting everything to be done that the British Government determines to be necessary for the efficient
discharge of that duty; thirdly, that they should co-operate by abstaining from every course of action that may be declared dangerous to the common safety or the safety of other States. These obligations are generally accepted and the States work together with the British Government to their utmost ability. It follows that the Paramount Power should have means of securing what is necessary for strategical purposes in regard to roads, railways, aviation, posts, telegraphs, telephones, and wireless, cantonments, forts, passage of troops and the supply of arms and ammunition.

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Princes and People

The duty of the Paramount Power to protect the States against rebellion or insurrection is derived from the clauses of treaties and sanads, from usage, and from the promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes. This duty imposes on the Paramount Power correlative obligations in cases where its intervention is asked for or has become necessary. The guarantee to protect a Prince against insurrection carries with it an obligation to inquire into the causes of the insurrection and to demand that the Prince shall remedy legitimate grievances, and an obligation to prescribe the measures necessary to this result.

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Popular Demands in States

The promise of the King-Emperor to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes carries with it a duty to protect the Prince against attempts to eliminate him, and to substitute another form of government. If these attempts were due to misgovernment on the part of the Prince, protection would only be given on the conditions set out in the preceding paragraph. If they were due, not to misgovernment, but to a widespread popular demand for change, the Paramount Power would be bound to maintain the rights, privileges and dignity of the Prince; but it would also be bound to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince. No such case has yet arisen, or is likely to arise if the Prince’s rule is just and efficient, and in particular if the advice given by His Excellency Lord Irwin to the Princes,
and accepted in principle by their Chamber, is adopted in regard to a fixed privy purse, security of tenure in the public services and an independent judiciary.

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**Intervention**

The history of intervention has already been described. Intervention may take place for the benefit of the Prince, of the State, of India as a whole.

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**For Benefit of Princes**

Lord Canning's adoption sanads of 1862 recited the desire of the Crown that 'the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs in India who now govern their territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued'. In order to secure the fulfilment of this desire the Paramount Power has assumed various obligations in respect to matters connected with succeions to the houses of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs. In the first place, it was laid down in 1891 that 'it is the right and the duty of the British Government to settle succeions in subordinate Native States. Every succeion must be recognized by the British Government and no succeion is valid until recognition has been given'. In 1917, however, this view of the position was modified and in a 'Memorandum on the ceremonies connected with succeions' issued by the Government of India, it was laid down that where there is a natural heir in the direct line he succeeds as a matter of course and it was arranged that in such cases the recognition of his succeion by the King-Emperor should be conveyed by an exchange of formal communications between the Prince and the Viceroy. In the case of a disputed succeion, the Paramount Power must decide between the claimants, having regard to their relationship, to their personal fitness and to local usage. In the second place, Lord Canning's sanads guaranteed to Princes and Chiefs the right on failure of natural heirs to adopt a successor, in accordance with Hindu or Muhammadan Law. But such adoption in all cases requires the consent of the Paramount Power. In the third place, the Paramount Power has, in the case of a minority of a Ruling Prince, very large obligations to provide for the administration of the State, and for the
education of the minor. These obligations, obvious and admitted, of the Paramount Power to provide for minorities afford, perhaps, as strong an illustration as any other of the way in which usage springs up naturally to supply what is wanting in the terms of treaties that have grown old. Usage, in fact, lights up the dark places of the treaties.

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For Benefit of State

The conduct of the Prince may force the Paramount Power to intervene both for the benefit of the State and the benefit of the successors to the Prince. It is bound to intervene in the case of gross misrule; and its intervention may take the form of the deposition of the Prince, the curtailment of his authority or the appointment of an officer to exercise political superintendence or supervision. In all these cases a commission must, under a recent Resolution of the Government of India, be offered, to inquire and report before any action is taken. The Paramount Power will also intervene if the ruler, though not guilty of misrule, has been guilty of disloyalty or has committed or been a party to a serious crime. Similarly it will intervene to suppress barbarous practices, such as sati or infanticide, or to suppress torture and barbarous punishment.

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For Settlement and Pacification

The small size of the State may make it difficult for it to perform properly the functions of government. In these cases the Paramount Power must intervene to carry out those functions which the State cannot carry out. The general principle was stated by Sir Henry Maine in 1864, in reference to Kathiawar. He said: ‘Even if I were compelled to admit that the Kathiawar States are entitled to a larger measure of sovereignty, I should still be prepared to maintain that the Government of India would be justified in interfering to the extent contemplated by the Governor-General. There does not seem to me to be the smallest doubt that if a group of little independent states in the middle of Europe were hastening to utter anarchy, as these Kathiawar States are hastening, the Greater Powers
would never hesitate to interfere for their settlement and pacification in spite of their theoretical independence.

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**For Benefit of India**

Most of the rights exercised by the Paramount Power for the benefit of India as a whole refer to those financial and economic matters which fall under the second part of our terms of reference... It is in respect of these financial and economic matters that the dividing line between State sovereignty and the authority of the Paramount Power runs; and apart from interferences justifiable on international grounds or necessary for national defence, it is only on the ground that its interference with State sovereignty is for the economic good of India as a whole that the Paramount Power is justified in interposing its authority. It is not justified in interposing its authority to secure economic results which are beneficial only or mainly to British India, in a case in which the economic interests of British India and the States conflict.

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**British Jurisdiction in certain Cases**

Some of the treaties contain clauses providing that British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into the States; and it is the fact that the States are outside the jurisdiction of the British courts, and that British law does not apply to their inhabitants, which is the most distinct and general difference between the States and British India. Nevertheless the Paramount Power has found it necessary, in the interests of India as a whole, to introduce the jurisdiction of its officers in particular cases, such as the case of its troops stationed in cantonments and other special areas in the Indian States, European British subjects, and servants of the Crown in certain circumstances.

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**Impossible to define Paramountcy**

These are some of the incidents and illustrations of paramountcy. We have endeavoured as others before us have endeavoured, to find some formula which will cover the exercise of paramountcy,
and we have failed, as others before us have failed, to do so. The reason for such failure is not far to seek. Conditions alter rapidly in a changing world. Imperial necessity and new conditions may at any time raise unexpected situations. Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States. Nor need the States take alarm at this conclusion. Through paramountcy and paramountcy alone have grown up and flourished those strong benign relations between the Crown and the Princes on which at all times the States rely. On paramountcy and paramountcy alone can the States rely for their preservation through the generations that are to come. Through paramountcy is pushed aside the danger of destruction or annexation.

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Princes should not be handed over without their Agreement to new Government in India responsible to Indian Legislature

Realizing this, the States demand that without their own agreement the rights and obligations of the Paramount Power should not be assigned to persons who are not under its control, for instance, an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature. If any Government in the nature of a Dominion Government should be constituted in British India, such a Government would clearly be a new Government resting on a new and written Constitution. The contingency has not arisen; we are not directly concerned with it; the relations of the States to such a Government would raise questions of law and policy which we cannot now and here foreshadow in detail. We feel bound, however, to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the Princes on this score, and to record our strong opinion that, in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new Government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature.
The Indian States Committee on the machinery of financial and economic relationship between British India and the Indian States, 14 February, 1929*

Disabilities of States

The disabilities under which the Princes feel that they lie fall under two main heads: (1) disabilities in regard to their relations with British India, and (2) disabilities in regard to their relations with the Political Department. We will deal with them in this order.

States and British India

The Princes do not wish to interfere in matters affecting British India: they recognize "the obligation of mutual abstention". Their main contention is that where their interests and those of British India collide or conflict they should have an effective voice in the discussion and decision of the questions that may arise. They recognize the interdependence of British India and the States; they realize the necessity for compromise, but they claim that their own rights should receive due recognition. They contend that in the past their rights of internal sovereignty have been infringed unnecessarily and that their case is not sufficiently presented or considered under the existing system.

Present Constitution of the Government of India

Under that system the agent for the Crown is the Governor-General in Council. On that Council there are six Members in addition to the Commander-in-Chief who deals with military matters, a Home Member, a Finance Member, a Law Member, a Member for Railways and Commerce, a Member for Industries and Labour, and a Member for Education, Health and Lands. There is no Political Member. The Viceroy holds the portfolio of the Political Department. When a political case goes before Council the Political Secretary attends the meeting to state and explain it; but he cannot discuss it with the Members on equal terms and he cannot vote upon it. Where the interests of the States are opposed to the interests of British India there must of necessity—such is the contention of the

*Indian States Committee Report (1929).
Princes—be a solid body of opinion predisposed in favour of British India.

We think that there is foundation for the complaints of the Princes. Indeed it has long been recognized that in this respect the States are at a disadvantage...

Unauthorized Scheme of Reform

A scheme was published in India in April 1928, purporting to represent the views of certain Princes. The publication at that time was unauthorized, but a scheme on similar lines was revived and put before us in the form adopted by the Council of the European Association in their memorandum to the Indian Statutory Commission. The original scheme interposed between the Political Department and the Viceroy, a council of six Members, three Princes or State Ministers, two English Members with no previous experience of India and the Political Secretary. This States Council would become the executive body directing the Political Department. In matters of common concern to British India and the States this States Council would meet the existing Governor-General’s Council and endeavour to arrive at a joint decision. In the event of a difference of opinion the Viceroy and Governor-General would decide. In order to reconcile the Princes to the loss of sovereignty within their individual States numerous safeguards were devised which would have stripped the new body of any real power of effective action. In addition it was part of the scheme to establish a supreme court with powers to settle disputes between the new Council and individual States or between individual States, and to pronounce on the validity of legislation in British India affecting the States.

Objections to Scheme

The objections to this scheme, apart from any question of its cost, are many. The following only need be mentioned.

1. It would put the Viceroy out of touch with the Princes, a matter to which, as already stated, the Princes attach the greatest importance.
2. British India could hardly be expected to join the States on the basis of equal voting power in view of their relative size and population, not to mention any question of relative advancement.

3. A Prince could hardly join an executive body of the kind proposed without ceasing for the time to be ruler in his own State; and many Princes would object to be placed under other Princes or Ministers of their own or other States.

4. There would be quite insufficient work for such a body, since the number of cases of any real importance arising in any year are very few.

5. Such a Council would inevitably lead to greater interference in the internal affairs of individual States, especially of the smaller States.

6. There would be a large surface of possible conflict between the new States Council and the existing Chamber of Princes and its Standing Committee. This is recognized but not sufficiently provided for by the safeguards of the scheme.

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Difficulties of Federation

Nor help can, in our opinion, be derived from any such scheme. Indeed, it would seem quite clear that any schemes of what may be called, perhaps loosely, a federal character are at present wholly premature. The States have not yet reached any real measure of agreement among themselves. Hence it is that no constructive proposal has been placed before us. Hence it is that the Chamber of Princes must for the present remain consultative. Hence it is that no action has been taken on the recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford report that the proposed Council of Princes and the Council of State, or the representatives of each body, should meet in consultation on matters of common concern. Criticism there is in abundance but there is no concrete suggestion of reform. We have been told often that the system is wrong but no alternative system has been suggested. We are convinced that the system is not greatly at fault, but some adjustments of it to modern conditions are required.

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Viceroy to be Agent for Crown

For the present it is a practical necessity to recognize the existence of two Indias and to adapt machinery to this condition. To this end we advise that in future the Viceroy—not the Governor-
General in Council as at present—should be the agent for the Crown in all dealings with the Indian States. This change will require legislation but it will have three distinct advantages; first it will gratify the Princes to have more direct relations with the Crown through the Viceroy, secondly it will relieve them of the feeling that cases affecting them may be decided by a body which has no special knowledge of them, may have interests in opposition to theirs, and may appear as a judge in its own cause; and thirdly it will, in our opinion, lead to much happier relations between the States and British India, and so eventually make coalition easier.

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Change in Practice not great

In practice the change proposed will not be so great as may at first sight appear, nor will it throw a burden of new work on the Viceroy. The Viceroy holds the political portfolio at present and the great bulk of the work of the Political Department is disposed of by him with the help of the Political Secretary. It is at the Viceroy’s discretion whether a political case should go before Council. On all ceremonial occasions the Viceroy alone represents the States. The Royal Proclamation inaugurating the Chamber of Princes, dated the 8th February, 1921, was addressed by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor to ‘His Viceroy and Governor-General and to the Princes and Rulers of the Indian States’.

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Committees in Matters of Common Concern*

There will, of course, be matters of common concern to British India and the States in which the interests of the two may clash. The natural procedure in such cases when the Political Department and another Department of the Government of India cannot agree, will be for the Viceroy to appoint committees to advise him. On such committees both British India and the States may be represented. The appropriate departmental Standing Committees of the Legislative Assembly may meet the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes, or a technical committee of the Chamber of Princes consisting wholly or partly of Ministers of States, it being often difficult for the Princes themselves to leave their States. A
convention of this kind may well grow up, beginning, if desired, in cases where legislation is in prospect.

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**Formal Committees in Cases of Disagreement**

In cases in which such committees fail to agree, the Viceroy may appoint a more formal committee consisting of a representative of the States and a representative of British India with an impartial chairman of not lower standing than a High Court judge. Such a committee would offer advice only, although ordinarily such advice would be taken. In the event of their advice not being taken the matter would be referred for decision by the Secretary of State. This procedure would be specially suitable in cases of clashing interests in financial or justiciable questions, such as over maritime customs, or the development of ports, claims to water, etc. Committees of this kind were successfully appointed in disputes between the States and British India some twenty years ago and were recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford report.

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**Recommendation of Montagu-Chelmsford Report**

Paragraph 308 of that report runs as follows:

'Our next proposal is concerned with disputes which may arise between two or more States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India, and with a situation caused when a State is dissatisfied with the ruling of the Government of India or the advice of any of its local representatives. In such cases there exists at the present moment no satisfactory method of obtaining an exhaustive and judicial inquiry into the issues, such as might satisfy the States, particularly in cases where the Government of India itself is involved, that the issues have been considered in an independent and impartial manner. Whenever, therefore, in such cases the Viceroy felt that such an inquiry was desirable, we recommend that he should appoint a commission, on which both parties would be represented, to inquire into the matter in dispute and to report its conclusions to him. If the Viceroy were unable to accept the finding, the matter would be referred for decision by the Secretary of State. The commission that we have in mind would be composed of a judicial officer of rank
not lower than a High Court judge and one nominee of the parties concerned.

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Failure to use accepted Procedure

This procedure was accepted by the Government of India in Foreign and Political Department Resolution No. 427-R., dated the 29th October, 1920, but, unfortunately we think, has never been acted upon. We attach the greatest importance to the free adoption of this procedure in current cases. It will, in our opinion, satisfactorily dispose of all ordinary differences of opinion as they arise.

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States and Political Department

The disabilities of the Princes in regard to their relations with the Political Department present fewer difficulties. There must be a Paramount Power and there are many questions which the Paramount Power alone can decide. We think it vitally necessary that there should be in the future constant full and frank consultation between the Political Secretary and the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes or their technical advisers, and in order that this may not be left to chance we recommend that there should be a fixed number of meetings on fixed dates not less than three in every year. Excellent results followed such consultation in the measures taken to codify political practice. As already stated, of the twenty-three and more points in dispute, nine were settled satisfactorily to all concerned. We recommend the continuance of this procedure. Its success was arrested mainly because after discussion with the Standing Committee, the resultant conclusions were circulated to Local Governments and political officers for opinion with inevitable delay and reopening of questions. In our opinion there will be no difficulty in coming to satisfactory compromises provided that effect is given to such compromises without further delay. Political officers and representatives of other departments and of Local Governments can, when necessary, be associated with the Political Secretary in the course of the discussions. But the resultant conclusions should go straight to the Viceroy for his decision without further circulation for opinion or discussion. The views
of those Princes who remain detached from the Chamber may be obtained separately or subsequently.

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New Spirit Needful

Our proposals are designed to remedy existing difficulties with the least possible disturbance. It must be remembered that the States are a very heterogeneous body at varying stages of development, conservative and tenacious of traditions in an unusual degree. It is important to build on existing foundations and to allow conventions to grow up. A spirit of joint action will, it is hoped, arise between British India and the States. It may be too much to hope that Ephraim will not envy Judah and that Judah will not vex Ephraim, but India is a geographical unity and British India and the States are necessarily dependent on one another.

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Door to closer Union left open

We have left the door open to closer union. There is nothing in our proposals to prevent the adoption of some form of federal union as the two Indias of the present draw nearer to one another in the future. There is nothing in our proposals to prevent a big State or a group of States from entering now or at any time into closer union with British India. Indeed, in the next section of our report we make suggestions which, if adopted, may have this result. These things may come. But it has been borne in upon us with increasing power, as we have studied the problems presented to us, that there is need for great caution in dealing with any question of federation at the present time, so passionately are the Princes as a whole attached to the maintenance in its entirety and unimpaired of their individual sovereignty within their States.

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Resolutions on the Report of the Indian States Committee
adopted at the Conference of the Ruling Princes
held at Bombay in June 1929

Without prejudice to the final expression of views of the Indian States on the Report of the Indian States Committee, and to such future action as may be deemed advisable by the Indian States—
(1) This informal Conference of the Indian States records its satisfaction at the Indian States Committee's recognition, in certain important respects, of the correct position of the States as instanced by their findings:

(a) That the Treaties, Engagements and Sanads have been made with the Crown, and that the relationship of the States to the Paramount Power is a relationship to the Crown;

(b) That these Treaties, Engagements and Sanads are of continuing and binding force as between the States which made them and the Crown;

(c) That it is not correct to say that the Treaties with the Indian States must be read as a whole;

(d) That the Viceroy, and not the Governor-General in Council, should in future be the Agent for the Crown in all dealings with the Indian States.

(2) Whilst welcoming the attainment by British India of her due place among the British Dominions under the aegis of the British Crown, this Conference expresses its gratification at the Indian States Committee's recognition—a corollary of the true constitutional position of the States—that the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Princes should not be transferred without the agreement of the Princes to any third party, which recognition leaves the door open for negotiation between the States and British India with a view to arriving at an equitable and satisfactory arrangement on terms fair and honourable alike to British India and the Indian States.

(3) The Conference expresses its appreciation of the recognition of some of the claims of the States to relief from existing financial arrangements which adversely affect the States and their people in a variety of directions; and expresses its hope that the personnel and procedure of the independent Expert Committee which it is proposed should explore the financial and fiscal problems shall be settled in consultation between all the parties concerned.

(4) This Conference expresses its disappointment at certain unsatisfactory aspects of the report which are prejudicial to the interests of the States, and of India as a whole, as well as of the Empire, such as:

(a) the failure of the Committee, after its admission that Sovereignty is divided between the Crown and the States, to draw any such dividing line as would place the rights of the Crown in regard to the States upon a definite, as opposed to a discretionary basis;
the assertion of the Committee that intervention on the part of the Paramount Power, which is not justified by the spirit and letter of the subsisting engagements, may be justified on the score of Imperial necessities and the shifting circumstances of time;

c) the omission of the Committee to recommend that the existing machinery be made satisfactory and effective for the purpose of adjudicating upon matters affecting subsisting engagements, such as the internal autonomy of the States and disputes between the States and the British Government or British India or between States inter se;

d) the contention of the Committee that usage and sufferance, without the free consent of the States, and executive decisions are capable of themselves of modifying and impairing rights solemnly guaranteed by Treaties and Engagements and reaffirmed by successive Royal Proclamations;

e) the failure of the Committee to distinguish between Sanads that are in the nature of agreements with, and those that were imposed upon, the States;

f) the implied opinion of the Committee that usage based upon the cases of individual States is a source of paramountcy applicable to the States as a whole, despite their admission that the Treaties cannot be read as a whole; and

g) the failure of the Committee to provide effective means of securing to the States their rights in matters of common concern to India as a whole.

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The Indian Statutory Commission on the Chamber of Princes
12 May 1930

The Chamber of Princes contains, in the first place, 108 Rulers of States who are members in their own right. They are Ruling Princes who enjoy permanent dynastic salutes of eleven guns or over, together with other Rulers of States who exercise such full or practically full internal powers as, in the opinion of the Viceroy, qualify them for individual admission to the Chamber. In the second place, the Chamber includes twelve additional members elected by the Rulers of 127 other States not included in the above. These
representative members are chosen from among these Ruling Chiefs by a system of group voting. The Viceroy is the President of the Chamber, and a Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor are elected from among the members annually. An extremely important organ of the Chamber is its Standing Committee which consists of seven members including the Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor. The functions of the Standing Committee are to advise the Viceroy on questions referred to the Committee by him 'and to propose for his consideration other questions affecting Indian States generally or which are of concern either to the States as a whole or to British India and the States in common'.

The Chamber of Princes is a deliberative, consultative and advisory, but not an executive body. It meets annually in its own Hall of Debate in the magnificent Council House which has recently been completed at New Delhi. Two important provisions in its constitution must be set out verbatim:

'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'.

'The institution of the Chamber shall not prejudice in any way the engagements or the relations of any State with the Viceroy or Governor-General (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.'

The latter of these provisions makes plain that the establishment of the Chamber of Princes has not affected the individual relations between any Indian State and the representative of the Crown. The Viceroy is himself in charge of the Political Department of the Government of India, and this is the department which deals with matters affecting the Indian States. Following upon the recommendations of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, most of the more important States are now placed in direct political relations with the Central Government and this has involved the transfer, in a large number of cases, of States' relations from a Provincial Government to the Government of India. There are, however, some States that are not in direct relations with the Governor-General in Council but with the Governors in Council. Most of the important Rulers have and frequently exercise the right of direct access to and correspondence with the Viceroy. The Political Department of the Government of India is manned by officers, for the most part British,
selected from the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Army. Political officers are accredited as individual Residents to the greater States. In each of the Agencies, namely, Rajputana, Central India, the Punjab States, the Western India States, the Madras States and Baluchistan there is an Agent to the Governor-General with a staff of officers, many of whom are accredited to particular States or groups of States. At the head of the Political Department is the Political Secretary who is the Viceroy's immediate adviser in affairs concerning the States.

The establishment of the Chamber of Princes marks an important stage in the development of relations between the Crown and the States, for it involves a definite breach in an earlier principle of policy according to which it was rather the aim of the Crown to discourage joint action and joint consultation between the Indian States and to treat each State as an isolated unit apart from its neighbours. That principle, indeed, had already been giving place to the idea of conference and co-operation amongst the Ruling Princes of India.

* * *

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, on the Report of the Indian States Committee, 27 February 1930

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: Your Excellency; Your Highnesses: . . . I have no doubt that each of Your Highnesses has read the Committee's report with the care it merits and has fully comprehended its recommendations, and the implications of those recommendations.

While there are several questions of a fundamental character which the Committee have found in our favour, I am yet constrained to say that on many points vitally affecting the rights and obligations of the States the views expressed in the report are not such as could possibly commend themselves to the Princes.

* * *

The main question with which the Committee deal and which I may say, dominates their whole report is that of paramountcy. They have stated that from the beginning of the 19th century 'the British became the de facto sole and unquestionable power in India'. Most of their conclusions and inferences flow from this proposition, which is again emphasized in the statement that the 'paramountcy of the Crown has been acted on and acquiesced in over a long period
of time’. The statement that the Crown was from the beginning of the 19th century the de facto and unquestionable Paramount Power in India exercising suzerain rights over Indian States in alliance with the British Government seems to be historically inaccurate. In fact during the whole period of the Company’s Government in India, successive Governors General in India most emphatically repudiated any such claim. In 1822, the Marquis of Hastings’s Government disposed of this claim of paramountcy in the following words:

‘The assumption of our possessing a universal supremacy in India involving such rights as you have described is a mistake.’

So late as 1851 Lord Dalhousie’s Government solemnly expressed their disapproval of any claim to rights of intervention based on paramountcy. There are numerous official and authoritative pronouncements of the Government of India during the first half of the 19th century which clearly demonstrate that no claim to any rights in disregard of the treaties of States and based on the superior position of the British Government was held by the Government of India themselves to be admissible. It is, therefore, surprising that the Indian States’ Committee should have based their opinion on instances of intervention which clearly disregarded obligations laid by treaty upon the British Government, and which are definitely admitted by successive Governors-General, up to the time of the Mutiny, to have been incompatible with such obligations. In fact the very case of intervention in Hyderabad in 1804, which the Committee quote, was described in 1822 by the Governor-General in Council as an unauthorized usurpation of authority. Besides, in the early days of the 19th century there were many States which were acknowledged to be completely independent of the British Government.

The Committee claim that as a result of paramountcy which of necessity leads the British Government to take decisions and exercise authority beyond the terms of treaty, the Government of India have the right to intervene in the internal affairs of the States, even when the provisions in the treaty preclude them from doing so. The Committee try to uphold this claim by reference to the views, which the Government of India have expressed in the Baroda and Manipur cases, and in the letter, which Lord Reading wrote to His Exalted Highness the Nizam in 1926. I do not think the Committee fully realized the effect or the implications of quoting the Government of India’s own view in support of a position which the Princes have always contested, whenever the Government of India advanced it. If, in the opinion of the Committee, the position of Indian States,
which is guaranteed to them by solemn treaties and engagements, can be altered by the occasional pronouncements of the Government of India, then, it seems to me, the Committee have gone further than even the most ardent champion of the Political Department.

The Committee state that intervention cannot form the subject of any rules or procedure and the decision to intervene must be left to the Viceroy. The full import of this statement becomes clear only if it is read with the statement contained on paragraph 50 of the Report, viz., that in the event of a widespread popular demand for a change in the form of government e.g., a demand for complete responsible government, not due to the misgovernment of the Ruler, the Paramount Power has the right to suggest such measures as would satisfy this demand without eliminating the Prince. Thus the Committee has claimed for the Government of India the right of intervention in the States not merely on the ground of gross misgovernment but also on the ground that they might deem it expedient to suggest changes in the form of government immemorially established in the States and they have added that the intervention can be exercised at the discretion of the Viceroy. This extraordinary dictum runs so contrary to the inalienable right of the Princes that I feel, as no doubt Your Highnesses also feel, that if we do not strongly repudiate it, it may undermine, and in course of time destroy, the whole fabric of the policy of our States. The obligation of the British Government to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes involves, as the Committee themselves acknowledge, the duty to protect the Princes against popular agitation, if such agitation is not due to misgovernment. How this obligation can give the Government of India the right to advise the Princes to change their hereditary and traditional forms of government merely because there is a demand for change by a number of their subjects is a verdict which passes my comprehension; and the volume and intensity of the assumed demand is to be judged not by the Princes themselves but by the Viceroy.

The conclusions at which the Committee has arrived in regard to the relationship which exists between the Paramount Power and the States also seem to me devoid of any intelligible basis. The Committee have agreed with our view that the treaties were made with individual States and a decision taken presumably rightly in the case of an individual State cannot be made applicable to all the States. They have also expressed agreement with our claim that questions arising in respect of individual States should be considered in the light of the treaty rights, the history, the local circumstances and traditions of those States. With these admissions of the Committee,
it is most difficult to reconcile their statement that the relationship with the State does not merely rest on treaties and engagements but is shaped by Imperial necessity and the shifting circumstances of the time. The same inconsistency seems to vitiate the Committee's views on the validity of usage. The Committee have quoted with approval the pronouncement of the Government of India in 1877, which states that claims based on treaties may be extinguished and nullified by a uniform and long continued course of practice acquiesced in by the party against whom it tells. To my mind there are two points of great importance with regard to usage: first, its effect on the particular State in which a practice may have developed and been uniformly acquiesced in, secondly, the application of practice which developed in one State to all the States generally. The Committee, so far as I can see, have made no distinction between these two cases. It seems obvious that merely because a particular usage has become valid in one State, it cannot be held binding upon all other States. The Committee have themselves agreed that States must be dealt with individually according to their treaty rights and their local traditions. In the face of this, to claim validity for usages applicable generally to these States, even though deriving its origin from the special circumstances of a particular State, seems as opposed to the principles of law as to those of logic. Yet usage, if it is to modify treaty rights and is to be considered as a source of paramountcy, can only be understood in this wider sense and not as a practice which may have acquired sanction in the special circumstances of a particular State.

Moreover, the Committee have relied upon various specific instances to prove the general validity of usage. It is not clear how a variety of cases which do no more than display a clear disregard of treaties and breach of agreements can give rise to a general right or principle of treatment.

In support of their theory that the relationship which exists between the Government of India and the States is dependent among other things on the decisions of the Secretary of State and the Government of India, the Committee quote the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in *Hem Chand and Dev Chand v. Azam Sham Lal, Ohhota Lal*. The portion relied upon by them reads as follows:

"On the other hand there are repeated declarations of the Court of Directors and of the Secretary of State that Kathiawar is not within the dominions of the Crown. These declarations were no mere expressions of opinion. They were rulings of those who were for the time being entitled"
to speak on behalf of the sovereign power, rulings intended to govern the actions of the authorities in India.' This, to my mind, only means that the Court of Directors or their successors to the final authority in Indian affairs in England are bound by the admitted restrictions upon the rights of the Crown, therefore also the Crown's Agents in India. The quotation does not seem to be capable of the interpretation put upon it by the Committee that such declarations are binding upon the States.

The Committee have declared with emphasis that it is not in accordance with historical facts that paramountcy gives the Crown definite rights and imposes upon it definite duties in respect of certain matters only. They consider that the Crown through its agents should have the right of interference for the good government of India as a whole, for the good government of individual States, for the suppression of barbarous practices, for the saving of human life and for dealing with cases in which rulers have proved unfit for their position. It would seem that in their view paramountcy is a vague and undefinable thing under cloak of which justification may be found for any action of the Government of India. Such a loose conception of paramountcy cuts at the very root of all the rights which the Crown has in solemn promises guaranteed to us. If this view of paramountcy be accepted, the Crown and its agents could claim any rights they chose to assert, and the States would have no rights save those which the Crown's agents thought fit to leave to them. In other words, this view is only a restatement, in less direct terms, of the claims put forward by Lord Curzon in his Bahawalpur speech and implies the negation of treaties for which successive Royal Proclamations have professed scrupulous regard.

The machinery suggested by the Committee to deal in future with measures or policies affecting the rights of the States does not seem even to touch the fundamental issues raised by the Princes. The contentions of the Princes were that in the past the procedure consciously or unconsciously adopted by the Political Department, which was based on precedent and practice and established by its officers accredited to the States, had tended more and more to encroach upon the rights of the States, that, as a result of this continuing political practice, the rights of the States were in fact being systematically overridden; that for the sake of uniformity, to which all such practice leads, the methods and principles successfully applied in one State were enforced against all others; that in cases where the view held by the Political Department clashed with that of the States there was no machinery to adjudicate upon such differences of opinion. To prove these contentions innumerable instances from
nearly all the States, represented in the Chamber, were collected and placed before the Committee. But unfortunately the Committee have taken no notice of this formidably conclusive evidence, and their recommendations ignore the main contention of the Princes in regard to the system now in vogue. The report recommends that questions affecting the States should be dealt with by the Viceroy assisted by the Political Secretary; that where the Political Department and another Department of the Government of India disagree, the Viceroy may appoint an Advisory Committee composed of representatives of British India and the States and that if such joint committee disagree, more formal Committees of an advisory character should be appointed. There recommendations ignore altogether the differences that arise between the States and the Political Department, differences which are at present subject to executive decisions. The demand of the Princes that such cases should be subject to judicial decision has been entirely ignored by the Committee.

There is one further point to which I should like to draw the attention of this Chamber. The Report of the Indian States Committee contains numerous statements, some of which I have already discussed, from which we strongly disagree. I would make it clear that the findings of the Committee, unless they are agreed to by the Chamber, should not be considered as authoritative pronouncements or interpreted as political practice binding against the States.

So far as the second part of the terms of reference of the Committee is concerned, the recommendations embodied in the report are, in my view, equally based on a confusion of thought. The committee have laid down as a matter of principle that the Paramount Power is not justified in interposing its authority to secure economic results which are beneficial only or mainly to British India in cases where the economic interests of British India clash with those of the States. But the recognition of this obvious truth is vitiated by the statement that the Government of India are justified in interposing their authority and overriding the interests of the States for the economic good of India as a whole. These two positions seem to be mutually irreconcilable. Hitherto the Government of India have not asserted or enforced the claim that merely because the economic interests of India demand a particular measure, the States should be made to accept it even at a sacrifice of their own interests. This makes the Committee’s conclusions still more surprising.

It is unnecessary here to discuss in detail the numerous comments of the Committee on the financial and economic relations
between British India and the States. The Committee have accepted our suggestion and gone beyond it by recommending that an expert body should be appointed to inquire into the claim of States for a share in the customs revenue and the adequacy of their contribution to Imperial burdens. Reasonable claims of the States under other heads are also recommended to be referred to this body. In view of this recommendation, it is difficult to see why the Committee should have given any opinion on various financial questions, which later might come up for consideration before the expert body.

I have not attempted to cover all the points raised in the report of the Committee, which seem to us to require reconsideration. I have, in this survey, tried merely to indicate my personal views on some of the outstanding recommendations made in the report, but I venture to state those views correspond with the views held generally by the members of this Chamber.

* * *

Indian Round Table Conference
Speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner,
17 November 1930.

His Majesty the King-Emperor was pleased to remind us at the opening of this Conference that 'the last decade has witnessed... a quickening and growth in ideals and aspirations of nationhood which defy the customary measurements of time'. I venture to appeal to you, Prime Minister and other Members of His Majesty's Government, and to our colleagues here representing the British political parties, to take their courage in both hands, to throw their hearts over the fence and follow boldly after, in the conviction that the greater our vision and determination, the greater is our success likely to be and the richer in consequence the harvest which we all—British India and the Indian States, and Great Britain and the Empire—shall reap. The ultimate attainment of Dominion Status under the Crown is inherent in the declaration of policy in 1917, and has more recently received authoritative endorsement. Let us hitch our wagon to that star, fully realizing that our sister States did not reach the end at one stride, but after evolution based on experience, that in the intervening stage certain safeguards and guarantees are imperatively necessary for the security of the body politic and all parts thereof, but looking straight on.
I speak primarily for myself, though I believe I shall have the general agreement of the Princes and the Ministers representing our Indian States at this historic gathering. We are here specially to present the policies of the Indian States. First and foremost in those policies is an unflinching and unqualified loyalty to the Throne and Person of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India.

* * *

Linked with this devotion to the Crown is an unaltering adhesion to the British Commonwealth of Nations. The old idea of Empire as signifying 'dominion over palm and pine' has vanished; the concept of Empire as overlordship based on force was never true and now has not even the pale shadow of reality. The unity of the Empire was signally vindicated in the Great War. The basis of that unity was reshaped at the Imperial Conference of 1926, when it was declared that the constituent States are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown. Our attachment to the Empire or Commonwealth, call it what we may, is no mere matter of sentiment. It is based on the profound conviction that not only can each constituent State reach its full expression within these bonds and under the Crown, but a higher development, politically and economically, than it could attain as an isolated independent unit.

Thirdly, we stand without compromise on our treaty rights and all that they involve. Those treaties are with the British Crown and obviously cannot be transferred to any other authority without our free agreement and assent. But do not conclude from this that I am one of those people who think that things never change. The States rightly maintain that treaties concluded in honour and friendship are binding until they may be amended, and they can only be amended by negotiation and honourable agreement on both sides. Nor must it be concluded that we of the Indian States are under the belief that changes in British India will have no reflex action on ourselves and on our relations with our own subjects. The territories of the Indian States are so interwoven with British India, so many of the more enterprising of our traders have business in the new commercial centres on the seaboard, which have grown up under the Pax Britannica and the opening of the Suez Canal, that we must be influenced by the development of political ideas and institutions beyond our frontiers. But this is our affair. We
know our States and our people; we live amongst our own folk and are in the most intimate contact with their needs and possibilities. We shall know how and when to adjust our system to any changing conditions; but we will do it in our own time and in our own way, free from all external interference.

Is there anything in adherence to these principles either opposed to, or inconsistent with, the fullest development of India until she takes her equal place as a constituent State in the British Commonwealth with the other Dominions, welded into an indivisible whole under the aegis of the Crown? I say, 'No—a thousand times No.' It is sometimes said that there are two Indias, British India and the India under the rule of her own Princes. That is true in a political sense; but India is a single geographical unit and we are all members one of another. We, the Princes, are Indians—we have our roots deep down in her historic past, we are racy, of the soil. Everything which tends to the honour and prosperity of India has for us a vital concern. Everything which retards her prosperity and shakes the stability of her institutions retards our own growth and lowers our stature. We claim that we are on the side of progress. One of the most welcome signs of the times is the material weakening of the idea that the Princes are opposed to the political growth of British India, and would range themselves—or allow themselves to be arrayed—against the realization of the just hopes of their fellow-countrymen in British India.

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It is, I submit, our duty to bend our energies to the task of satisfying this righteous demand without impairing the majestic fabric of law. How best can this be achieved? My own conviction is that if we are to build well and truly, we must recognize that associated with this geographical unity India is a land of some diversity. Our starting point, therefore, must be a recognition of this diversity; our unity must be sought not in the dead hand of an impossible uniformity but in an associated diversity. For these reasons, the establishment of a unitary State, with a sovereign parliament sitting at Delhi, to which the whole people would look in small things as in large, is to my mind impossible. There would be no room in such a Constitution for the Indian States; moreover, such a Government would crack under its own imponderability. Would it not mean the harnessing of the most advanced to the chariot wheels of the least developed; and the slowing down of the general tide of progress? We of the Indian States are willing to
take our part in, and make our contribution to, the greater prosperity and contentment of India as a whole. I am convinced that we can best make that contribution through a federal system of government composed of the States and British India. These two partners are of different status. The Indian States are already sovereign and autonomous of right, having the honour of being linked with the Crown by means of treaties of 'perpetual alliance and friendship' and unity of interest; British India derives whatever measure of authority it may possess by devolution. But it will not be beyond the wealth of experience available at this table to devise a means of linking these different units into a powerful federal administration.

As to the question whether, if a federal Government is devised for India, the Princes and States will enter into association with it, the final answer must obviously depend on the structure of the Government indicated and on other points involved, such, for instance, as certain necessary safeguards—constitutional and fiscal—for the preservation of the rights and interests of the States and their subjects. Federalism is an elastic term: there are several forms of federal government. Conditions in India are unique. We have no historical precedents to guide us; and the position of the Indian States is, I believe I am correct in saying, absolutely without parallel. All these and many other grave questions of policy and of detail will have to be examined and defined and settled first in Committee and in informal discussions. But, speaking broadly, the Princes and States realize that an all-India Federation is likely to prove the only satisfactory solution of India's problem. A Federation, on the lines I have attempted to sketch on other occasions, has, as I have previously said, no terrors for the Princes and Governments of the Indian States. We, however, recognize that a period of transition will necessarily intervene before the Federal Government is fully constituted, and that federation cannot be achieved by coercion of the States in any form. The Indian Princes will only come into the Federation of their own free will, and on terms which will secure the just rights of their States and subjects.

* * *

Starting with the basic recognition that our treaty rights exist and must be respected; that they are with the Crown and cannot be transferred to any other authority without our agreement; and that they can be modified only with our free assent; three developments of the existing administrative machinery are essential for the smooth working of the new system, and indeed of any system. It is an open
matter of complaint that our treaty rights have been infringed. I
need not stress this point, for it has been publicly admitted by no
less an authority than the Viceroy and Governor-General of India
that the treaty rights of the States have been encroached upon, and
that in some cases an arbitrary body of usage and political practice
has come into being. The time has passed when issues of this impor-
tance can be decided *ex parte* by any Government. We, therefore,
attach the utmost importance to the establishment of a Supreme
Court, with full powers to entertain and adjudicate upon all disputes
of a justiciable nature as to our rights and obligations guaranteed
under our treaties. This is another point which I need not labour,
for it is a principle to which the leaders of political thought in British
India have, I believe, I am right in saying, lent their full support.
Next, we claim that in the questions which arise concerning the
purely internal affairs of the States their case should not go by
default. That will be of still greater importance in the future. The
King’s Viceregerent in India is even now burdened with many and
grievous responsibilities, which will be weighted under the new
system of government. . . We think that it will be impossible for any
man, however able, amid these grave preoccupations, to give
adequate personal attention to those questions affecting the States
which come up for day-to-day decision, and for which he will be
directly responsible to the Crown. For these reasons some of us
press for the appointment of an Indian States Council, to work with
the Political Secretary and to advise the Viceroy of the day. Thirdly,
there will be the need for the classification of those administrative
questions which are of common concern to British India and the
Indian States. This classification will require the previous consent
of the States.

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_Memorandum by His Highness the Maharaja of Indore,
His Highness the Maharaja Rana of Dholpur, Nawab Liaquat
Hyat Khan and Sir Prabhashankar Pattani_

* * *

In introducing the scheme thereafter stated, I shall add one
observation, *viz.*: that the future Constitution for All-India on the
federal basis will have to be on the basis suited to the peculiar
conditions in the country, and not on the basis of the Constitutions
of a federal type existing in other countries. If no two of those
Constitutions are exactly alike, there is greater reason and justification for India with her peculiar conditions and a large variety of interests (e.g. non-autonomous Provinces and sovereign Indian States) to evolve our own scheme and a Constitution which would be suited to, and satisfy the requirements of, the several interests, and varying and peculiar conditions and sentiments of the people and their Princes.

In my opinion, the main features of the Constitution should proceed on the following lines:

1. The Federating Units to be
   (1) Federated British Indian Provinces, i.e., British India, and
   (2) The States collectively.
   The States will, with the assent of the Crown, constitute themselves into an Electoral College which may be given any suitable name, i.e., all the States will make one group or unit for the purpose of electing their quota of representatives to the Federal Legislature.

2. Federation to be for purposes of specified matters of common interest only.

3. Functions.
   Policy and legislation in regard to, and administration of, certain specified subjects, as detailed in Annexure A.

Note. The Federal Legislature will lay down policy and enact laws relating to the subjects enumerated in Annexure A.

The States, will, then, automatically pass the Federal Laws as State Laws and they will then come into force within the territories of the States.

In the event of failure on the part of any State to carry out the policy and laws passed, the Confederation of States will use its influence and bring round the defaulting State through its representative; but even if that fails, which is not likely, the Federal Government will take necessary action through the Crown.

   (a) Legislature.
   There should be preferably only one Chamber, to which representatives could be sent by States through the Electoral College referred to above. The representation of the Indian States should be 50 per cent. If it is bicameral, the States should have 50 per cent representation in the Upper Chamber and on population basis in the Lower Chamber.

(b) Executive.
   (1) The States need not insist on a fixed number of representatives in the Federal Executive.
   (2) The Executive will be responsible to the Legislature.

5. Method of Election of States Representatives.
The States will constitute themselves into a Confederation for the purpose of federation with British India. This will serve as an Electoral College for electing their representatives to the Federal Legislature. The Confederation will be composed of representatives of Sovereign States and of groups of the remaining States.

Major States may be allotted a fixed number of seats to ensure their individual representation, and some regional distribution may also take place. For the purposes of election the principle of plural voting may be accepted, the number of votes allotted to a particular State depending on the State's political position, though population and income may also be given due weight. The details will be settled by the States themselves.

The representatives constituting the quota of the States will represent the States collectively, and they will include among them representatives of major States for whom seats will be reserved.


Federal finance will be from indirect taxation only, so far as at least the States are concerned.

7. Supreme Court and Arbitration Courts.

There should be a Court to deal with constitutional questions only. In case the volume of work does not justify the constitution of a permanent Court, provisions should be made for the constitution of a Court each time as the occasion arises but the qualifications of the eligible personnel and the method of its constitution shall have to be specifically and definitely laid down in the Constitution.

For disputes between the Crown and the Indian States, provision should be made that they shall be settled by an impartial Court of Arbitration, distinctly separate from the Federal Court, the constitution of which should also be defined beforehand. The Arbitration Court should also decide disputes between a State or States and Provinces inter se, or between a State or States and Central Government of British India. Neither the Federal Court nor the Court of Arbitration shall exercise jurisdiction as the highest Court of Appeal.
### Annexure A

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number as in the Devolution Rules</th>
<th>Subject</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. (a) Railways</td>
<td>Federal, for policy and legislation Administration to be Federal only for through lines</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ditto</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) Aircraft and all matters connected therewith</td>
<td>Federal, for policy and legislation in respect of inland waterways, affecting more than one component State</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Inland waterways, etc.</td>
<td>Federal, for policy and legislation</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Shipping and navigation, etc.</td>
<td>Federal, for policy and legislation as far as international requirements are concerned</td>
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<td>7. Lighthouse, etc.</td>
<td>No special opinion</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Port Quarantine and Marine Hospitals</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Ports</td>
<td>Posts, telegraphs, trunk telephones and wireless installation to be Federal, but with such qualifications as may be necessary for the purposes of adjustment with the States in matters of detail</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Posts, telegraphs, telephones (including wireless installations)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Customs</td>
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<td>12. Salt</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Currency and coinage</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Savings Bank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Indian Audit Department</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Control of cultivation and manufacture of opium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Sale of opium for export</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Stores and stationery required for Imperial Departments</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Geological Survey of India</td>
<td>For Federal Departments to be Federal</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. Botanical Survey of India</td>
<td>Federal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Inventions and designs</td>
<td>Federal for policy and legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Copyright</td>
<td>Federal for policy and legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Emigration from and immigration into British India</td>
<td>Emigration from and immigration into India: Federal for policy and legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number as in the Devolution Rules</td>
<td>Subject</td>
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<td>-----------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Central Police Organization</td>
<td>Federal Police to be Federal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Survey of India</td>
<td>Federal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Meteorology</td>
<td>Federal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Census statistics</td>
<td>Federal for policy and legislation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. All-India Services</td>
<td>Federal services should be Federal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Immovable property, etc.</td>
<td>Immovable property acquired and maintained at the cost of Federal Government should be Federal</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. Public Services Commission</td>
<td>Federal for the purposes of Federal Services</td>
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Speech by Nawab Liaquat Hyat Khan at the 2nd Plenary Meeting of the Second Session of the Indian Round Table Conference, 30 November, 1931

I am authorized to lend my fullest support on behalf of The Maharaja of Patiala to the scheme which was devised at the Bombay Conference of Princes held in August last, and which has now been laid before this Conference so succinctly and clearly by the Maharaja of Indore and has been so ably supported by His Highness of Dholpur.

It will be noticed that the scheme which is now being put forward as an alternative proposal differs from the scheme elaborated at the Federal Structure Committee this year on two fundamental and essential points. In the first place the corner stone of the alternative Constitution is the combination or confederation of Indian States. This Confederation, it is firmly believed, will obviate several difficulties which might otherwise arise. For instance, it is difficult to conceive of a federal Constitution with such a vast number of States as exist in India today. Indeed, the history of Federal Constitution does not furnish a single precedent in which such a large number of component States have been successfully grouped together. On the contrary, there is ample evidence to indicate that a federal
Constitution, even when embracing a small group of homogeneous States, cannot prove to be stable or successful in the absence of strong centripetal forces. I, therefore, submit that if the principle of confederation is not accepted, the proposed Constitution will prove to be unwieldy and unworkable. Further, the Constitution as framed by the Federal Structure Committee cannot provide adequate and satisfactory representation of all the federating units, if the States and the British Indian Provinces individually are treated as federating units, of the proposed Constitution. This difficulty is, however, easily solved if all the States which are so closely linked together by racial, cultural and political ties, are grouped together in one solid compact body for the purpose of federation with British India. In other words, if we have two federating units, namely, the Federation of the British Indian Provinces and the Confederation of the States, instead of more than 400 federating units as under the proposed Constitution, it will undoubtedly facilitate the smooth and successful working of the new Constitution for India.

There is another important factor which must not be lost sight of. If the Confederation of States is carried into effect, and this Confederation constitutes a part of the proposed Federation, it will undoubtedly strengthen the position of the States in the future polity of India. The Confederation of States as proposed in the alternative scheme will be in a position to exercise a stabilizing and sobering influence on the extreme elements in the Federal Constitution instead of being in a hopeless position of perpetual minority, as would undoubtedly be the case if the scheme as elaborated in the Federal Structure Committee were finally accepted and brought into force. The claim of the States for equal representation in the Upper House is also strengthened if the Confederation of the States is carried into effect, and there are consequently only two States constituting the Federation instead of a large number of component units. It is our firm belief that with these two different interests, these two federating units differing in regard to political culture and tradition, seeking their fullest development in association or combination in the greatest interest of India as a whole, these two different cultures with two different political ideals acting and reacting on each other, will undoubtedly be able to produce a polity peculiar to India and best suited to the needs and requirements of the soil. The second point of fundamental difference between the scheme evolved at the Federal Structure Committee and the alternative proposals which we have put forward relates to the question of the method of representation of the States in the Federal Houses. The alternative proposals provide a half-way house, a compromise between the
principles of unrestricted election and of undiluted nomination. Our scheme postulates the election of the representatives of the States by the Chamber of Princes which it is proposed would constitute an Electoral College for the Confederation instead of the representatives being nominated by each individual state. It is, therefore, clear that the representatives of the States under the alternative scheme will represent the collective interest of the Confederation as a whole, and will thus be in a position to promote the interests of the States when there is a clash between the ideals of the States and the democratic ideals of British India.

(D) *Princes’ Memorandum to the British Cabinet*

Eighteen conditions precedent were submitted by the Princes to His Majesty’s Government for joining the Federation. They would examine any future Constitution from this standard. The Princes’ memorandum said:

(1) Any amendment to the Constitution shall for the purpose of its introduction, require in the first instance, a two-thirds majority of the House in which it is being introduced, and will only become law after separate ratification and acceptance by three-fourths of the Indian States represented in the Federal Legislature, and by three-fourths of the members representing British India, provided that no alteration affecting the following matters shall be deemed valid without the consent of the State concerned:

(a) Sovereign autonomy of the States; (b) representation allotted to any State in the Upper House; (c) minimum representation to any State in the Lower House; (d) alterations of territorial limits of a State; and (e) addition to the list of Federal subjects.

The Statutory and constitutional guarantees provided for shall be unalterable except with the consent of each Federating State.

(2) The Federal Government will have no concern with the form of the Government in the States, and the method of selecting representatives of the Indian States to the Federal Legislature.

(3) In the event of a Federating State refusing or otherwise failing to discharge its Federal obligations, the Federal Government shall, wherever possible, invoke the good offices of the Confederation. If this procedure in any particular instance is not found feasible, the Federal Government will, in the last resort, deal with the State through the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown.

(4) On a representation made at least by two-thirds of the representatives of the States in the Federal Legislatures in regard to any Bill passed by the Legislature, that such legislation contravenes
the guarantees contained in the Constitution, such legislation shall not have the force of law pending the decision of such authority as may be competent to decide on its validity.

(5) Through some suitable method of augmentation or otherwise, it should be secured that the comparative influence of the States in the control of Federal matters is not too far whittled down if only a majority and not the entire body of States join the Federation.

(6) There shall be absolute guarantee for the connexion of India with the British Crown.

(7) There shall be no discriminatory legislation against any of the Federating States or the subjects of any such States.

(8) The States shall enter the Federation by means of treaties made with the Crown and the provisions of these treaties shall be outside the operation of Parliamentary or Federal legislation. These treaties may provide special safeguards for the particular interests of individual States and will admit of reservations being made by any State that may so desire.

(9) (a) The appellate jurisdiction of the Federal Court shall not extend over the Courts of Indian States. Questions arising out of the Constitution or relating to the interpretation of Federal laws in issue before State Courts, shall be referred for opinion to the Federal Court and the State Courts shall give their decisions on the points referred to in accordance with the opinion of the Federal Court.

(b) The Federal Court shall be constituted by delegation of authority from the Crown and from Rulers of the Federating States.

(c) An appeal can lie to the Privy Council in England from the decisions of the Federal Court provided that a suitable constitutional formula could be devised which would not detract from the sovereignty of the Federating State.

(d) The Federal Court which would derive its jurisdiction with regard to the States from the States concerned, should interpret the Constitution strictly, so as not to extend the orbit of the Federal Government beyond the subjects and powers expressly delegated to it by the Constitution.

(10) No existing right or dispute concerning rights affecting any particular State of a justiciable character will be prejudiced by the mere fact of its entry into Federation. The fact that the Government of India have rejected the case or have refused to [accept] the point of view of the States, shall not be treated as sufficient cause for treating the case as closed.
(11) Reference to the administration of individual States in regard to non-Federal matters or against individual rulers of Governments of States shall not come within the purview of the Federal Legislature.

(12) No executive or legislative action shall be lawful within the territories of the Indian State, unless it proceeds directly or indirectly from the authority of the Government of the State concerned or of the Federal Government in matters delegated to it and within the specific limits of such delegation.

(13) Federal laws should not apply *proprio vigore* to Indian States, but the States should accept and pass Federal laws as State laws and such laws should operate as State laws within the territories of the States from the Federal Government, provided that:

(a) With regard to certain subjects like Federal Taxation in which it is essential that legislation should take effect as soon as it is passed, the laws passed by the Federal Legislature shall be presumed to have been enacted by the State concerned from the date they are enforced by the Federal Government.

(b) All Federal laws on subjects and within the powers delegated to the Federal Government, after the expiry of a certain specific period, shall be presumed to have been enacted within the territories of the States as State laws.

(c) That the servants of the Federal Government in the course of the performance of their legitimate duty within the territories of the Indian States, will, as now, continue to be subject to the Federal law from the date they are enforced by the Federal Government. This does not mean that they will cease to subject to internal sovereignty and laws of the State concerned in matters not specifically delegated to the Federal Government.

(d) That the individual States need not enact laws which have no application whatsoever to their respective territories.

(e) All amendments of the Federal laws in their application to a particular State to suit special local conditions will be subject to the previous assent of the Federal Government.

(14) The powers of concurrent legislation in matters not solely reserved to the Federal Government shall remain with the States, provided that Federal legislation shall override State legislation in regard to all Federal subjects.

(15) The Crown shall be required to incorporate provisions in the Constitution retaining power and sanction for itself to secure respect for treaties which have been declared by the King Emperor
as inviolate and inviolable and to see that the obligations and agreements contracted by both the parties, namely the States and the Crown are not encroached upon by the Federal Executive or Legislature and are not varied or abrogated without free consent of both the parties.

(16) The Constitution shall provide, by the insertion of a separate clause, that no unfriendly Act shall be permitted by one federating unit against another and that there shall be no interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of any State.

(17) No restrictions which are not in accordance with the specific terms of their treaties, are imposed on the States in regard to the number and equipment of their armies.

(18) The Constitution shall make provision for the States joining Federation collectively through a confederation, but it shall be permissible for such as may so desire to join the Federation individually.

* * *

Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress which met from 29 July to 1 August 1935

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

The Indian National Congress recognizes that the people in the Indian States have an inherent right to Swaraj no less than the people of British India. It has accordingly declared itself in favour of establishment of representative responsible Government in the States and has in that behalf not only appealed to the Princes to establish such responsible Government in their States and to guarantee fundamental rights of citizenship, like freedom of person, speech, association, of the Press, to their people but has also pledged to the States people its sympathy and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full responsible Government. By that declaration and by that pledge the Congress stands. The Congress feels that even in their own interests the Princes will be well advised to establish at the earliest possible moment full responsible Government within their States carrying a guarantee of full
rights of citizenship to their people.

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

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

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

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"This Congress while re-affirming the resolution regarding Indian States passed in the Calcutta Session of 1938, and expressing its approval of the policy laid down in the statement issued by the A. I. C. C. in Madras in October 1935, desires to make it clear that, in its opinion, the people of the States should have the same right of self-determination as those of the rest of India, and that the Congress stands for the same political, civil and democratic liberties for every part of India. The Congress, however, desires to point out that the struggle for liberty within the States has, in the very nature of things, to be carried on by the people of the States themselves".

49 : 1936 : Lucknow : XIII.
The Indian States and Nationalist India

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 sinks 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 purpose, 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 purpose 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 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

*Presidential Address of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Annual Session of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference, 15 February 1929.*
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 keeps 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 themselves 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 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 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.

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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 that 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.

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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.

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

49 : 1936 : Lucknow : XIII.

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Haripurga Congress Resolution*

“In view of the fact that owing to the growth of public life and the demand for freedom in the Indian States, new problems are arising and new conflicts are taking place, the Congress lays down afresh its policy in regard to the States.

The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which can not be separated. The Purna Swaraj or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India. The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States, and dep-

*The Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Haripura from February 19 to 21, 1938, passed this important resolution demanding freedom in the Indian States.
lores the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States.

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

In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often unsuited to the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name. The Congress welcomes such movements but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States. The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles, carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that organisational help will inevitably be, under existing conditions, moral support and sympathy. Individual Congressmen, however, will be free to render further assistance in their personal capacities. In this way the struggle can develop without committing the Congress organisation, and thus unhindered by external considerations.

The Congress, therefore, directs that, for the present Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity nor launch on direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent organisations should be started and continued where they exist already within the States.
The Congress desires to assure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest in and sympathy with their movement for freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant.”

51: 1938: Haripura: XVII.

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Tripura Congress Resolution

“The Congress welcomes the awakening of the people of the Indian States in many parts of the country and considers this as a hopeful prelude to the freedom, comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured. The Congress supports the demand for responsible government and civil liberty in the States and expresses its solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression, which are integral parts of the larger struggle for the freedom of the whole country. While appreciating that some Rulers of the States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Congress regrets that some other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression. In particular the Congress deplores the attempts of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and condemns the unwarranted use of military and police forces lent by the British authorities.

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

The whole of India was profoundly stirred by the announcement of an indefinite fast by Gandhiji in order to remedy the breach by the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot of the settlement arrived at between him and his councillors on the one hand, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, as representing the people, on the other. The Congress expresses its gratification at the recent agreement resulting in the termination of the fast and trusts that the people of Rajkot will have their aspirations fulfilled, and further hopes that the Princes of Kathiawar and other parts of India will march with the times and, in co-operation with their people, introduce responsible government.
The Congress regrets that several State Governments besides Rajkot, have gone back upon their assurances to their people and their pledged word. It trusts that these breaches of agreement will be repaired and the assurances given will be honoured.

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

The Congress desires to reiterate that its objective complete independence, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, which are integral parts of India which cannot be separated, and which must have the same measure of political, social, economic and religious freedom as the rest of India."

His Highness the Maharaja Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, on the negotiations for the revision of the Draft Instrument of Accession, 11 March 1940

The General Conference held at Bombay in June 1939 was a very representative and unique gathering. It included Rulers and representatives of all categories and regional groups of States with a population of about 71 per cent of the aggregate population of the States. The Conference devoted itself to a free and frank exchange of views over the general and political aspects as well as on the detailed provisions of the Revised Draft of the Instrument of Accession and connected papers. Its decision was embodied in a well-known resolution which has already been published.
The conclusions of the Conference were circulated to all the States. Moreover, in the light of the recommendations of this Conference, the Standing Committee of Princes met Your Excellency and the representatives of the Political Department, in order to secure necessary elucidation and adjustments on certain points arising out of the Revised Draft of the Instrument of Accession. It is gratifying to note that as a result of these discussions satisfactory adjustments were made on some of the points raised by the States, but the Standing Committee felt reluctantly bound to convey their disappointment at the fact that the suggestions made on behalf of the States, with regard to certain important matters such as the protection of treaty and other rights of the States, defence and with regard to certain financial provisions, had not been met. The States were duly apprised of the results of these discussions, and the individual replies of the Rulers concerned which have been forwarded to Your Excellency should speak for themselves. We feel confident that an impartial examination of these replies will show that the States on the whole have not taken any obstructionist attitude and that the points which they have urged in their replies have not been flung as a surprise at the last moment. These essential points have been consistently urged by our representatives at the first Round Table Conference and thereafter, and they are matters whose satisfactory adjustment is essential to the States concerned, for the due discharge of their obligations to the Crown, to India and the States in the fast changing circumstances of the country. Later, due to various developments in India and abroad Your Excellency was pleased to announce that His Majesty’s Government had no choice but to hold in suspense the work in connexion with the preparation for federation while still retaining the objective. There the matter rests at present.

* * *

Indian States

A sub-committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhulabhai Desai and J. B. Kripalani was appointed by the Working Committee at its meeting held at Wardha in April last to consider the question of the representation of the States’ people in the Congress organisation inside the terms of the present Constitution and make necessary recommendations to the Working Committee. The Working Committee considered the following recommendations of the sub-committee and adopted them:
The general rule to be followed is to ensure, as far as possible that the delegates' seats allotted to a province, on account of the populations of the Indian States attached to the Province, should be reserved for the people of such States, and should not be allotted to others. In the event of a sufficient number of Congress members not being made in the States concerned or from these states, these seats, or such of them as may be found necessary will not be filled. For the purpose of this calculation, states members of the Congress will be either those who belong to Congress Committee within the states, or those who while residing in or connected with the States concerned, join as primary members of a Congress Committee situated in a non-state area but adjoining the State. In order to distinguish the latter class of Congress members, a separate register of State members should be kept in the adjoining Congress Committee situated outside the confines of the State.

Keeping the above principle in view, a P.C.C. may allot delegates for the States' peoples' seats, either to a Congress Committee where such exists in a State or to the adjoining districts adjoining the States, provided that such delegates' seats shall only be filled if there are a sufficient number of primary members in or from the states. In no event will such seats be allotted to areas where there are no states' peoples.

The above principle cannot be strictly or easily applied to small states and to state areas which are closely interwoven with non-state territories. Certain variations will have to be made in such cases, otherwise these small state areas may be completely disfranchised and neglected. Therefore in the final allotment of seats based on States population, this fact has to be borne in mind and provided for.

In accordance with the general rule laid down above and keeping in view the consideration mentioned, the P.C.C.s are called upon to allot States' delegates' seats in their areas and to send these recommendations to the A.I.C.C. Office for confirmation."

W.C. : October 11, 1940 : Wardha : IV

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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, consultative 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 subject 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 or 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.

* * *

10. 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.

11. 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.

12. 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.

13. 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.

14. The Crown Representative may, for the purpose of any meeting of the Chamber, suspend any of the Rules of Business.

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Constitutional Development in the Indian States

The India (Attachment of States) Act, 1944 (7 & 8 Geo. VI, c. 14)

An Act to render legal the attachment of certain Indian States to other Indian States

1. Attachment of States. (1) At the instance or with the consent of His Majesty's Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States, any Indian State not mentioned in Divisions I to XVI of the Table of Seats appended to Part II of the First Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935 (26 Geo. V & 1 Edw. VIII, c. 2) as in force at the passing of this Act), being a State included in the Western India States Agency or the Gujarat States Agency on the 25th day of August 1943 may be attached to any other Indian State and, in connection with the attachment, provision may be made for

(a) the exercise by, or transfer to, courts and officers of the last mentioned Indian State, with or without limitations or conditions, of any powers or jurisdiction in or in relation to the first-mentioned Indian State which were or could have been exercised by or on behalf of the Crown therin before the attachment;
(b) the relinquishment, as a consequence of the attachment, of any such powers or jurisdiction of the Crown as aforesaid;

(c) the transfer of cases pending at the date of the attachment before courts or officers of the Crown; and this subsection shall have effect notwithstanding anything in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1890 (53 & 54 Vict., c. 37), the Government of India Act, 1935 (26 Geo. V & 1 Edw. VIII, c. 2), any other Act for the time being in force, or any Letters Patent, Order in Council of other instrument.

(2) This section shall be deemed always to have had effect:

Provided that His Majesty’s Representative for the exercise of the functions of the Crown in its relations with Indian States may give such directions, if any, as he thinks proper for rendering valid or lawful anything done or omitted before the passing of this Act which would otherwise be invalid or unlawful by virtue of the provisions of this section.

2. Short title. This Act may be cited as the India (Attachment of States) Act 1944.

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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 January 1946.

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 preliminary 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 this three conditions are necessary. Every State should possess political stability, adequate financial resources and effective association 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.

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The reply of the Members and Representative Members of the Chamber of Princes to His Excellency Lord Wavell's address, 18 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 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 geographical 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 a 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 this 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.

* * *

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 towards 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 prejudice 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 imple-
ment 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 set up forthwith constitutions in 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.

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 peaceably 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 peoples 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.'

* * *

Meerut Congress Resolution

"The Congress have always considered the problem of the States in India as an integral part of the problem of Indian independence. On the eve of independence this problem assumes a new urgency and has to be solved in the context of that independence.
A few of the Rulers of Indian States have appreciated the rapid changes taking place in the country and have tried to adopt themselves to some extent to these changes.

But the Congress has noted with regret that even now many of the Rulers of the Indian States and their Ministers are not only bringing their administrations into line even with the Provinces in regard to representative institutions and effective popular control over the administration, but, on the contrary, are endeavouring to crush the political aspirations of their people and are thus coming into conflict with the vital urge for freedom which animates the people of the States as well of the rest of India. Some of the larger States in India, which should have set an example to the rest, are particularly guilty of these reactionary and repressive activities.

The Political Department, which still continues to be directly under the Crown Representative and wholly beyond the control of the Government of India, continues to function in a way which is reactionary and opposed to the wishes of the people of the States.

The Congress views with strong disapproval this segregation of the Political Department from the Government of India who are rightly interested in all the activities of that Department, and hopes that this anomaly will be ended as early as possible. It considers it wholly untenable for the British Government to claim through the Viceroy and Crown Representative to have any interest in the States other than or apart from the Government of India.

This Congress disapproves of any scheme of merger or federation among States without reference to and without the approval of the people concerned. Such activities, often carried out secretly by the Political Department without even the knowledge of the People, are a negation of self-determination and of the right of the Indian people to determine their future. The Congress is firmly of opinion that every decision regarding the States must be taken by the elected representatives of the people of the States, and no decision that ignores the people can be valid or binding upon them. In particular, the representatives of the States in the Constituent Assembly should be chosen by their people.

In view of the growing crisis in the States, the Congress declares that it considers the struggle for freedom in the States an essential part of the larger struggle in India. It views with sympathy the efforts of the people of the States to establish civil liberties and responsible Government as integral part of a free and independent India.
Princely 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 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.

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 this 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

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 Tresties 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, but 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 authorized 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 formative 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 wish 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.

* * *

Statement of the Nawab of Bhopal, June 10, 1946*

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 May 16, 1946. They have also examined the Delegation's Memorandum on States' treaties and paramountcy, and the further statement of May 26. 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, but certain adjustments for the interim period will be necessary.

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.

*This Statement was issued by the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Chamber.*
As regards the arrangements 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 procedures 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, authorised the Chancellor to conduct further negotiations with a view to reaching early decisions.

The Standing Committee endorse the suggestion made by the Cabinet Delegation that the States will doubtlessly 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 States by means of representative institutions.

The Standing Committee wish to emphasise 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.
Extracts from the Nizam’s Letter to the Governor-General*

In a letter to the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, the Nizam expressed regret that they had not been able to reach a final agreement on eventual association between Hyderabad and the Dominion.

He added: "As Your Excellency knows, I have not been prepared to contemplate accession to either Dominion but short of this, I have been ready to negotiate with your Government upon any other basis."

"I am confident that if during the next year our association in accordance with the standstill agreement is marked by goodwill on both sides we shall be more likely at the end of that period to reach a satisfactory agreement as to the nature of our long-term association."

The Nizam said he regarded the agreement as founded upon the principle of good neighbourliness and in no way permanently prejudicing his rights as an independent sovereign, though he was in some important respects suspending the exercise of certain of those rights.

It was urgently necessary that arms, equipments and, in particular, ammunition should be made immediately available to Hyderabad. They had had no supplies since July and the shortage was interfering with the training of the Hyderabad Army.

He proposed to issue a Firman in the immediate future expressing his firm resolve to protect the lives, right and interests of all his subjects alike, irrespective of caste or creed.

* * * * *

Pandit Nehru on the Indian States
August 13, 1946

"In an exclusive interview with the Associated Press of America, Pandit Nehru observed in course of a discussion generally of the Princely States and their place in an Indian Union.

'The Congress policy towards the states is that they are to be integral parts of India with the largest possible autonomy. There being hundreds of states of all sizes, it is impossible to treat them alike. Obviously, only the major states are big enough to form units of a Federation or Union. The others must either form units or be absorbed in some existing unit like a province.

*These extracts are quoted from newspaper reports.
A state which forms a unit will have exactly the same measure of autonomy as a province. There should be no difference in their status.'

Pandit Nehru commented, 'We have deliberately tried to make a friendly approach to the rulers so as to find a way out by peaceful and co-operative methods, but it is obvious that there can be no autocracy in the future anywhere in India, and the people of the states as well as the rest of India must have the final authority.'

'There has been some response from a few of the rulers', said Pandit Nehru, 'but on the whole this has been feeble. In some notable cases attempts have been made even to put the clock back.'

After referring to Hyderabad, where a scheme of constitutional reforms has been introduced 'to perpetuate the backward and feudal character of the regime,' Pandit Nehru said, 'In another major state, Kashmir, there is at present a struggle going on between the people and the Government, and the people's movement has been sought to be repressed by fierce repression.'

'In one important southern state, however, Cochin, the Maharaja has recently made a statement which it is pleasant to read after so many assertions elsewhere relating to autocracy and the rulers' privileges. He has accepted the objective of responsible government for the state, and I hope he will soon give effect to it.

Nowhere else in the world is there anything like this system of Indian states. Even now they are largely dependent upon the Political Department of the Government of India. With the removal of the British authority from India the whole present basis of the system goes, and inevitably the people of the states will have their say as to their future.

'The people's organisation has already made it clear that they want full democratic government within the Union of India.'

At another point, Pandit Nehru said that it is also evident that the same measure of democratic liberty will be common to all the federated units of the Indian Union. There may be minor differences in regard to the internal administrative arrangements, but there is bound to be a tendency towards uniformity and the same standards of administration and personal liberty.'

The Congress as well as the states people's organisation have said that 'the rulers may remain as constitutional heads but their people must have full responsible government. It is for the people to decide the inner constitution of the state, and the form of administration.'

In the proposed Constituent Assembly, Pandit Nehru said, 'the states, like the provinces, should be represented by elected per-
sons and not by nominees of the rulers.

* * *

The Indian States*

"The A.I.C.C. welcomes the association of many Indian States in the work of the Constituent Assembly. The Committee hopes that the remaining States will also cooperate in this building up of the constitutional structure of free India in which the State units will be equal and autonomous sharers with the other units of the Federation.

2. The position of the States in the constitutional changes that are taking place was defined in the Memorandum presented by the Cabinet Mission on the 12th May 1946 and the Statement of the 16th May 1946. The recent Statement of the 3rd June 1947 has not added to these in any way. The position according to these papers was that the Indian Union would consist of the Provinces and the States, that paramountcy would lapse on the transfer of power, and that in the event of any State not entering into a federal relationship with the Union, it will enter into other political arrangement with it. In the Memorandum it was further stated that the British Government had been informed by the Indian States that they desired in their own interests and in the interests of India as a whole, both to make their contribution to the framing of the constitutional structure and to take their due place in it when it is completed. A hope was also expressed that the various State Governments which had not already done so would take active steps to place themselves in close and constant touch with public opinion in their states by means of representative institutions. It was suggested that existing arrangements as between the States and the Government of India should continue in regard to matters of common concern until new agreements were completed.

3. While recognising that some progress has been made in some States towards representative institution, the A.I.C.C. regrets that during this past critical year, since the Memorandum of the Cabinet Mission, this progress has been very limited both in its extent and quality. In view of the basic changes that are going to take place in India within the next two months, resulting from the complete transfer of power to Indian hands, it is of vital importance that progress leading to responsible government should take place.

*Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in its session held in Delhi on 14th and 15th June, 1947.*
rapidly in the States. The A.I.C.C. trusts that all States will initiate these changes so as to keep in line with the fast changing situation in India and at the same time produce contentment and self-reliance in their people.

4. The Committee does not agree with the theory of paramountcy as enunciated and interpreted by the British Government; but even if that is accepted, the consequences that flow from the lapse of that paramountcy are limited in extent. The privileges and obligations as well as the subsisting rights as between the States and the Government of India cannot be adversely affected by the lapse of paramountcy. These rights and obligations have to be considered separately and renewed or changed by mutual agreement. The relationship between the Government of India and the State would not be exhausted by lapse of paramountcy. The lapse does not lead to the independence of the State.

5. Both from the point of view of the spirit underlying the Memorandum of 12th May, 1946 and the Statement of 16th May, 1946 as well as the acknowledged rights of the people all over the world today, it is clear that the people of the States must have a dominating voice in any decisions regarding them. Sovereignty, it is admitted, resides in the people, and if paramountcy lapses, resulting in the ending of the relationship of the States to the Crown, the inherent rights of the people are not affected thereby for the worse.

6. The arrangements made under paramountcy in the past dealt, inter alia, with the security of India as a whole. In the interest of that security, various arrangements were agreed to limiting the power of the State authorities and at the same time granting them protection. The question of the security of India as well as other matters are as important today as at any time previously and cannot be ignored in deciding the future of the State.

7. The A.I.C.C. cannot admit the right of any State in India to declare its independence and to live in isolation from the rest of India. That would be a denial of the course of Indian history and of the objectives of the Indian people today.

8. The A.I.C.C. trusts that the Rulers of the States will appreciate fully the situation as it exists today and will in full cooperation with their people enter as democratic units in the Indian Union thereby serving the cause of their own people as well as of India as a whole.

The Congress President then addressed the A.I.C.C. The following is the text of the concluding speech of the Congress President.
When I became President of this great organisation Gandhiji in one of his prayer speeches said that it was not only a crown of thorns that I would have to wear but that I would have to lie on a bed of thorns. I did not realize then that it would be literally so. On the 16th October, 1946 my name was announced as the President and on the 17th I had to fly to Noakhali. After that I had to go to Bihar and now recently to the Punjab. The visits were a succession of shocks, one greater than the other. It is not only that many innocent lives are lost. Much more than the massacre of the innocent, what has affected me profoundly is the fact that our respective religions are being degraded. Both the communities have vied with each other in the worst orgies of violence, so that in the latest communal frenzy more cruel and heartless things have been done than at any previous time. I have seen a well where women with their children, 107 in all, threw themselves to save their honour. In an other place, a place of worship, 50 young women were killed by their men folk for the same reason. I have seen heaps of bones in a house where 307 persons, mainly women and children, were driven, locked up and then burnt alive by the invading mob.

These ghastly experiences have no doubt affected my approach to the question. Some members have accused us that we have taken this decision out of fear. I must admit the truth of this charge, but not in the sense in which it is made. The fear is not for the lives lost or of the widows' wail or the orphans' cry or of the many houses burnt. The fear is that if we go on like this, retaliating and heaping indignities upon each other, we shall progressively reduce ourselves to a state of cannibalism and worse. In every fresh communal fight the most brutal and degraded acts of the previous fight become the norm. So we keep on degrading each other and all in the name of religion. I am a Hindu and am proud of the fact. But this is because Hinduism for me has stood for toleration, for truth and for non-violence, or at any rate for the clean violence of the brave. If it no more stands for these ideas and if in order to defend it people have to indulge in crimes worse than cannibalism then I must hang down my head in shame. And I may tell you that often I have felt and said that in these days one is ashamed to call oneself an Indian.

I have been with Gandhiji for the last 30 years. I joined him in Champaran. I have never swayed in my loyalty to him. It is not a personal but a political loyalty. Even when I have differed from him I have considered his political instinct to be more correct than my elaborately reasoned attitudes. Today also I feel that he
with his supreme fearlessness is correct and my stand is defective. Why then am I not with him? It is because I feel that he has as yet found no way of tackling the problem on a mass basis. When he taught us non-violent non-cooperation he showed us a definite method which we had at least mechanically followed. Today he himself is groping in the dark. He was in Noakhali. His efforts eased the situation. Now he is in Bihar. The situation is again eased. But this does not solve in any way the flare-up in the Punjab. He says he is solving the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity for the whole of India in Bihar. May be. But it is difficult to see how that it being done. There are no definite steps, as in non-violent non-cooperation, that leads to the desired goal.

And then unfortunately for us today though he can enunciate policies they have in the main to be carried out by others and these others are not converted to his way of thinking.

It is under these painful circumstances that I have supported the division of India. You know I belong by family and birth to the Pakistan area. My relatives and friends yet live there. When as back as 1906 I began my political career I never thought that I was working for the liberty of any particular portion of India. It was for the whole of India. Every nook and corner, every stream and mountain of the land is sacred for me. It shall so remain even after this artificial partition that separates brother from brother. Already in my opening speech I have said that in India at least one must not think in communal terms but in terms of Indian citizenship and in this respect I commend Mahatmaji's advice given to us yesterday. If there is to be a united India again his policy alone will work.

The fear has been expressed that this decision does not and cannot stop communal rioting. This fear may be well or ill-founded. For the time being the prophets of evil seem to be in ascendency. How are then future riots to be tackled? Will the vicious wheel revolve, as it has revolved recently, on the basis of retaliation? This question I had already answered in my Presidential address at Meerut. I said then that as the Centre had refused to function the provinces became virtually independent. The Government in Bihar should have given a warning to the Government of Bengal that if the Hindus who were living in Bengal were cruelly treated, the Bihar Government with the best will in the world would not be able to protect the lives of the Muslims resident in Bihar. This would have meant that the issue had been raised to the international plane where organised governments deal with each other. The issue would have been taken out of the hands of the excited mob fury that
knows no morality, no law, no restraint. Mob fury is always blind. International violence has at least some system and method about it. I am sure that those who hold the reins of authority after August 16th in India will make it their duty to see that justice is done to the Hindu minorities in Pakistan. If my words could carry weight with the Pakistan section of India I would say: "Let the two Constituent Assemblies appoint a Joint Committee to go into the matter of the minority rights." This may insure us against individuals and excited and fanatical mob from taking the work of vengeance that is outside political moral law, in their own hands.

We have passed just now the resolution on the States. In this connection I would suggest one thing. Let the people of all those States who have not yet sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly do so themselves. Wherever Legislative Assemblies exist let these Assemblies as in British India elect their representatives to the Constituent Assembly by single transferable vote. Where no such Assemblies exist other devices may be used to elect representatives. Such representatives have a right to sit in our Constituent Assembly which is a sovereign body. In our Fundamental Rights Committee we have postulated one common citizenship of India. Every State citizen is an Indian Citizen and he has a right to be represented in the Indian Constituent Assembly. No Dewan coming from outside the State can limit this right of the citizen. We need the help and advice of the States people in framing a constitution for India. We are no more bound by the document of May 16. In any case today ours is a sovereign assembly. No court of law here in India or outside has any jurisdiction over our Constituent Assembly. Now that it has met and has made its own rules of procedure it cannot even be dissolved except by its own vote. I do not see why the States People's representatives cannot be allowed in our Constituent Assembly.

In conclusion I would say, let us not rest content with the freedom that we shall be having shortly. Let us bend all our energies to the goal of unification which we have missed in order to achieve our freedom quickly. This can best be done by making India a strong, happy, democratic and socialist state, where all citizens irrespective of religion or caste, shall have equal opportunities of development. Such an India can win back the seceding children to its lap.

In this task we shall need all the devoted service and sacrifice that we have needed in our fight for freedom. Let us abandon all power politics. Let us not give up the glorious tradition of sacrifice, hardship and voluntary poverty which we built up when we courted
jail, lathi blows and bullets. Let us again absorb ourselves in this new task which is as important as the achievement of freedom, for the freedom we have achieved cannot be completed without the unity of India. Divided India will be a slave India. Let us, therefore, get out of this second slavery as quickly as we can. Let all the new opportunities we have got to mould our own destiny be henceforward directed to this supreme goal of Indian Unity. In this task may God help us."

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Statement by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on Indian States, 5 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 or 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 the bitter disappointment and sorrow of many of us some parts have chosen to go out of India and 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 contiguity and indissoluble ties, economic, cultural and political, must continue to maintain relations of mutual friendship and cooperation with the rest of India. The safety and preservation of these States as well as of India demand unity and mutual cooperation 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 Communications 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 are all 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, inspired 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 raise 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.

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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 for 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.

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Now, the Indian Independence Act release 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 interests 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 are not the successors of the Political Department. They have been set up simultaneously and side by side. While the Political Department 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 Nistar with Mr. Ikramullah as the Secretary. It was necessary to set up two States Departments, one in each Government because the States are theoretically free to link their future with whichever Dominion they may 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 the 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 to 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 is 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 expense 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 States. 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.

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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:

Now therefore it is agreed between the............State and the Dominion of India that:

1. (a) 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 the State.

   (b) 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 Excises, relief from double income-tax and other arrangements relating to taxation.
18. Wireless.

4. Form of Instrument of Accession executed by the 61 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
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 thereof, 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 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 Govern-
ment 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 the 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 can-
tonment 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 administrations 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 powers 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.

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The Nizam’s Firman on Berar
August 15, 1947

I have to-day promulgated an aìn for the regulation of administration of Berar in view of the provisions of the Independence Act, 1947. Berar is included in my dominions and my sovereignty over that territory continues. The aìn is in conformity with the line taken by both the parties in negotiations with the Crown Representative and has general effect of continuing the status quo with such modifications only as may be found to be legally necessary. Arrangements embodied in the aìn will remain in force until they are replaced or terminated by any further orders I may find it necessary to pass.

The aìn referred to in the firman states: Whereas under the agreement made between myself and His Majesty on October 24, 1936, and the Government of India Act, 1936, my territory known as Berar has since 1936 been administered with the Central Provinces as if they were one province but by reason of Indian Independence Act, 1947, that agreement will come to an end on August 15, 1947, and whereas I desire that until more permanent arrangements have been made for its future government Berar shall continue temporarily to be administered with the Central Provinces as if they were one province and I am in negotiation with the Dominion of India for a new agreement for that purpose;

And whereas Section 47 of the Government of India Act, 1935, has been amended to permit of the administration of Berar with the Central Provinces as if they were one province, pending conclusion of such new agreement;

Now, therefore, I declare that:

(1) The Central Provinces and Berar shall, notwithstanding continuance of my sovereignty over Berar and its inclusion in my
dominions, continue to be administered as if they were one province with the intention that the Federal and Central authorities of the Dominion and provincial authorities shall, during the subsistence of this aid, exercise in relation to the Central Provinces and Berar the same functions as are for the time being vested in them in relation to the Central Provinces by or under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Indian Independence Act, 1947, or any amendment of those Acts.

(2) All laws in force in Berar on the appointed day shall continue to be valid except in so far as they may be subsequently amended or revoked by an authority duly exercising the function conferred on it by the preceding clause hereof.

(3) The provisions of the agreement of 1936 relating to my rights, dignity and special interests, including payment of Rs. 25 lakhs, shall remain in force with necessary substitution of references to the Dominion of India, its officers and flag, for references to His Majesty, his officers and flag;

(4) This aid may be cited as aid-a-Berar, 1356 Fasli, and shall come into force on and from the appointed day unless and until determined by me.

(5) The 'appointed day' referred herein shall have same meaning as in the Independence Act, 1947.

* * *

Statement of Dr. Ambedkar on the Indian States June 17, 1947

The announcement by Travancore and Hyderabad that they will declare themselves independent sovereign States on 15th August, 1947, when India becomes a Dominion, and the inclination shown by other States to follow their example has created a new problem which may turn out to be worse than the Hindu-Muslim problem as it is sure to result in the further Balkanization of India. Such a crucial problem requires to be seriously considered by all so that the right solution may be found. It is in that spirit that I wish to state what I think about the Indian States declaring themselves independent instead of joining the Indian Union. There are obviously two aspects to the question. Can the States declare themselves independent? Should they declare themselves independent? For the sake of avoiding confusion it is better to deal with the two aspects of the question separately.
To begin with the first. The basis of the claim made by the States for a right to declare themselves independent lies in the Statement of 12th May, 1946, issued by the Cabinet Mission in which they say that the British Government could not and will not in any circumstances transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government, which means that the rights of the States which follow 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. The statement of the Cabinet Mission that the Crown could not transfer paramountcy is obviously not a statement of political policy. It is a statement of law. The question is: is this a correct statement of law as it applies to the States?

There is nothing original in the proposition set out by the Cabinet Mission. It is a mere repetition of the view propounded by the Butler Committee appointed in 1929 to examine the relationship between the Crown and the Indian States.

As students of the subject know, the Princes in the stand they took before the Butler Committee contended for two propositions:

(1) That paramountcy could not override the terms and conditions contained in the treaties between the Princes and the States but was limited by them.

(2) That the relations embodied in Paramountcy were of a personal nature between the Crown and the Princes and could not, therefore, be transferred by the Crown to an Indian Government without the consent of the Princes.

The Butler Committee without much ceremony repudiated the first of these two contentions. It put the matter in most ruthless language by declaring that paramountcy was paramount and was not limited by any terms contained in the treaties. As regards the second contention, strangely enough it was upheld by the Butler Committee. Whether the Butler Committee did it in order to appease the Princes who were annoyed with the Committee for turning down their contention regarding paramountcy it is no use speculating. The fact, however, remains that it gave immense satisfaction to the Political Department of the Government of India and to the Princes.

The doctrine that paramountcy cannot be transferred to an Indian Government is a most mischievous doctrine and is based upon an utter misunderstanding of the issues involved. The doctrine is so unnatural that the late Prof. Holdsworth, author of History of English Law, had to exercise a great deal of ingenuity in defending it in the pages of Law Quarterly Review for October, 1930. Unfortunately, no Indian student of constitutional law has ever bothered to
controvert his views with the result that they have remained as the last and final word on the subject. No wonder the Cabinet Mission adopted them as valid and acted upon them in setting the issue of British India v. Indian States. It is equally a matter for pity that the Congress Working Committee which was negotiating with the Cabinet Mission for a settlement did not challenge the proposition enunciated by the Mission in regard to paramountcy. But these circumstances cannot take away the right of Indians to examine the matter de novo and come to their own independent judgement and stand for it if they are convinced that their view is the right view, no matter what the Cabinet Mission have said.

The case against that position taken by the Cabinet Mission in regard to paramountcy can be stated in the following propositions:

(1) Much of the mystery which surrounds paramountcy is due to the fact that most people do not understand what it stands for. Paramountcy is merely another name for what is called the prerogative of the Crown. It is true that paramountcy as a prerogative of the Crown differs from the ordinary prerogative of the Crown in two respects.

(A) The basis of the ordinary prerogative of the Crown lies in common law as distinguished from statute law, while the basis of the prerogative arising from paramountcy lies in treaties supplemented by usage.

(B) The common law prerogative of the Crown extends to all the subjects of the Crown resident in the King’s dominions; and over aliens temporarily resident therein, while paramountcy as a prerogative extends only over the Indian States. Paramountcy is no doubt a distinct part of the prerogative of the Crown. Notwithstanding these differences the fact remains that paramountcy is a prerogative of the Crown.

(2) Paramountcy being the prerogative of the King, the exercise of paramountcy is, contrary to the general opinion, not subject to the rules of internal law but is subject to that part of the municipal law of the British Empire which is called the law of the constitution.

(3) According to the principle of the constitutional law of the British Empire, while the prerogative vests in the King, the King has no discretion in the exercise of his prerogative. The King cannot exercise it independently of the advice of his Ministers. He can exercise it only in accordance with the advice given to him by the Ministers.

The last proposition enunciated above requires further elaboration. For it may be asked, on the advice of which Ministry is the Crown
to act? The answer is, on the advice of the Ministry of the Dominion concerned. Before the Statute of Westminster the British Empire constituted one single dominion. Consequently in the matter of the exercise of its prerogative rights the Crown acted on the advice of the British Cabinet. After the passing of the Statute of Westminster which carved out Canada, Australia, South Africa and Ireland as separate Dominions, the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative rights acts on the advice of the Cabinet of the Dominion concerned. It is bound to do so. It cannot do otherwise. It follows when India becomes a Dominion the Crown will be bound to act in the exercise of its prerogative rights, i.e., paramountcy on the advice of the Indian Cabinet.

The protagonists of the theory that paramountcy cannot be transferred to the Government of India rely on the omission from the Government of India Act, 1935, of the provisions of Section 39 of the Government of India Act, 1833 (they were reproduced in Section 33 of the Government of India Act, 1915-19) according to which the civil and military government of India (as distinguished from the civil and military government of British India) is vested in the Governor-General-in-Council and argue that the omission is evidence in support of the conclusion that paramountcy could not be transferred to an Indian Government. To say the least, the argument is puerile. The existence or non-existence of such a provision in the Government of India Act is quite beside the point and proves nothing. The non-existence of the clause does not prove that India can under no circumstances claim the right to advise the Crown in regard to the exercise of paramountcy. Its existence in the Government of India Act does not mean that such a power was vested in it during 1833 to 1935 when it formed part of the Act. For that very clause contained the proviso whereby the Governor-General-in-Council was required to pay due obedience to all such orders as may be issued from the Secretary of State which means even during 1833 to 1935 the ultimate authority to advise the Crown in the matter of the exercise of the prerogative was the Secretary of State for India, i.e., British Cabinet of which he is a member.

The different methods of disposing of paramountcy adopted in the various Acts passed by Parliament relating to the Government of India between 1833 and 1935 do not and cannot in any way affect the claim of the Indian people to advise the Crown in the exercise of paramountcy. Under the constitutional law of the Empire, it is only when a country has become a Dominion that it can claim the right to advise the Crown and the fact that before it
became a Dominion the Crown was differently advised is no bar to
its claim. Under the 1935 Act India was not granted responsible
government. But even if India was granted responsible government
India could not have claimed to advise the Crown in regard to the
exercise of its prerogative rights regarding Indian States. This is
because the constitutional law of the British Empire makes an
important difference between responsible government and Dominion
Status. In responsible government the right of the Cabinet to
advise the Crown and the obligation of the Crown to accept it are
confined to cases of the exercise of the prerogative arising out of the
internal affairs of the country. As to external affairs, the British
Cabinet retained the right to advise the Crown. But in the case of
a Dominion, the Crown is bound to accept the advice of the Ministry
with regard to all cases of the exercise of the prerogative, whether
they relate to internal affairs or external affairs.

That is why a Dominion can make a treaty with a foreign
country without the intervention of the British Cabinet. The fact
that the Government of India was not in the past permitted to
advise the Crown in the exercise of its rights of paramountcy does
not mean that there is any inherent constitutional incapacity which
disentitles her from claiming the right to advise. The moment
India gets the status of a Dominion it automatically acquires the
capacity to advise the Crown on paramountcy.

What has been stated above is no more than a summary of
the constitutional law of the British Empire and the process of its
evolution, showing how a part of the Empire which acquires the
status of a Dominion becomes vested with the exclusive right to
advise the Crown in the exercise of its prerogative affecting that
Dominion. Why should this right be denied to India when she
becomes a Dominion, it is difficult to understand. On parity of
reasoning India should get the right to advise the Crown in the
exercise of its prerogative as did Canada, Australia, South Africa
and Ireland when they became Dominions. That Prof. Holdsworth
came to a different conclusion is due not to any difference in the
fundamental propositions of the constitutional law stated above.
Indeed, he accepts them in toto. The reason is that he posed quite
a different question for argument. The question posed by Prof.
Holdsworth was whether the Crown could cede or transfer para-
mountcy to an Indian Government. This is not the real issue.
The real issue is whether the Indian Dominion can claim the right
to advise the Crown in the exercise of paramountcy. In other
words, we are not concerned with the question whether para-
mountcy could be transferred. The issue with which we are con-
cerned is how paramountcy can be exercised. I am sure that if Prof. Holdsworth had realised what the real issue was he could not come to a different conclusion.

So far I have dealt with one part of the Cabinet Mission's Statement where they say that the Crown could not transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. There remains for consideration the other part of their statement in which they say that the Crown will not transfer paramountcy to an Indian Government. According to the Cabinet Mission, paramountcy will lapse. This is a most astounding statement and runs contrary to another well-established principle of constitutional law. According to this principle, the King cannot surrender or abandon his prerogative rights. If the Crown cannot transfer paramountcy the Crown cannot also abandon it. The validity of this principle was admitted by the Privy Council in *The Queen vs. Edulji Byramji* decided in 1840 and reported in *5 Moore's Privy Council Cases*, p. 276, wherein they said (p. 294) that the Crown could not even by charter part with its prerogative. It is, therefore, obvious that the statement made by the Cabinet Mission that the Crown will not exercise paramountcy is contrary to the constitutional law by which the Empire is governed. The Crown must continue to exercise paramountcy. It is of course true that the Crown can surrender its prerogative if permitted to do so by express statutory authority. The question is whether it could be legal and proper for the British Parliament to make a law permitting the abandonment of paramountcy. It would be open, I am sure for Indians to argue that such a step by the British Parliament would neither be proper nor legal. It would not be legal for the simple reason that after India becomes a Dominion the statute abrogating paramountcy can be passed by the Dominion Parliament of India and the British Parliament would have no jurisdiction in this matter at all. Again, a statute passed by the Parliament of the Great Britain abrogating paramountcy would be improper. The reason is obvious. The army is the ultimate sanction for paramountcy. This army has been the Indian Army for which British India has paid all along. Without the aid of this powerful army maintained by British India and placed at the disposal of the Crown through his agent the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the Crown would never have been able to build up and conserve the powers of paramountcy. These powers are of the nature of a trust held by the Crown for the benefit of the people of India and it would be a gross abuse of power on the part of the British Parliament to pass a statute destroying that trust.

A question may be asked: What happens when India becomes
independent? The Crown disappears and the question of advising the Crown does not remain. Can independent India claim to inherit the prerogative rights of the Crown? For an answer to this question, one must look to the provisions of international law relating to succession among states. Oppenhein admits that a succeeding state can inherit certain rights of the preceding state. From Hall's *International Law*, it would appear that among other things India may claim property and advantages which are secured to it by treaty with the princes. Independent India can, therefore, make a valid claim for the inheritance of paramountcy.

The conclusion is that the Indian States will continue to be in the same position when India becomes independent as they are now. They will be sovereign States to the extent they are but they cannot be independent States so long as they remain under the suzerainty—as they must be either of the Crown if India remains a Dominion or of the succession state if India becomes independent. While the suzerainty remains they can never be independent. The States may declare themselves Independent. But they must realize that while the suzerainty lasts it must continue even when India becomes independent—India will not recognize their independence nor can a foreign State accord them the status of an independent State.

The only way by which the Indian States can free themselves from paramountcy would be to bring about a merger of sovereignty or suzerainty. That can happen only when the States join the Indian Union as constituent units thereof. The States' spokesmen ought to know this. But as they seem to have forgotten it is necessary to remind them of what happened at the Round Table Conference. In the beginning, the States were not prepared to join the Federation. They agreed to join the Federation when they came to know that they could not escape from the clutches of paramountcy by reason of the Bulter Committee’s view that paramountcy was paramount. This change of attitude was due to the realization that to the extent the powers comprised in paramountcy were handed over to the Federation, to that extent paramountcy would vanish. In fact, as most of us know, the Princes did raise the question with the then Secretary of State for India and asked him that the scope of paramountcy should be dissolved to the extent of the subjects included in list No. 1. The then Secretary of State had no answer to give and silenced the Princes by frowning upon them.

Apart from the attitude of the then Secretary of State, the fact remains that the princes had seen the point that the only way for the dissolution of paramountcy lay in joining the Federation.
The point remains as valid now as it was then. It would be wise on the part of the Indian States to follow that line and not to pursue the mirage of independence. The States should realise that their existence as sovereign independent States will not be worth five years' purchase. It is in the interest of princes themselves that they should join the Indian Union and become constitutional monarchs. Any Dewan who advises his Princes not to join the Union is really acting as the enemy of Princes. The joining of the Federation will no doubt involve the introduction of responsible government but it has this advantage, viz., that the Union will guarantee to the Princes the rights relating to dynastic succession which is the most that a Prince can expect in these days. To be independent and to hope to get recognition and protection from the U.N.O. is to live in one's own paradise. It is doubtful if the U.N.O. will give recognition to Indian States ignoring the claim by India of suzerainty over them. But even if that happens the U.N.O. will never grant any assistance to an Indian State against external aggression or internal commotion without insisting upon the State first introducing responsible government within its area. All these things are writ large on the wall. He who runs may read them. The Dewan who refuses to read them will no doubt share the fate which befalls all those who were blinded by their self-interest.

Whatever the choice the Indian States may make the duty of the people is clear. On their behalf, I would ask the interim Government at the Centre to take the following steps:—

1) To notify to H.M.G. that the British Parliament has no right to pass any law abrogating paramountcy and that any clause to that effect in the forthcoming legislation conferring Dominion Status on India would be treated by the people of India as repugnant to their sovereignty and therefore null and void.

2) To declare that the Government of India will never recognize any Indian State as sovereign independent state.

3) To inform the U.N.O. that admitting an Indian State which declares itself as sovereign independent state to membership of the U.N.O. would meet with the strongest objection from the people of India as a violation of the sovereign rights of the Union of India.

On these the first is the most important and most urgent. If Great Britain abrogates paramountcy she will be ultimately committed to guaranteeing recognition to Indian States as sovereign independent states. It is, therefore, obvious that no time must be lost by the Interim Government in issuing a warning to H. M. G. against the course they intend to pursue in regard to paramountcy.
States*

“The resolution on ‘States’ was moved by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The mover of the resolution and the House accepted the following amendment to the first sentence of the resolution:—

1. Delete ‘East’ before ‘Punjab’.
2. Add ‘and in the South Indian States’ after ‘Central India’.
3. Add ‘and Hindu’ after ‘Muslim’.

The following is the text of the resolution:

“In view of the fact that in a number of States, people’s organisations, instead of rising in power and influence as a result of freedom, are being suppressed and prevented from functioning, and further in view of the fact that Rulers in Punjab and some parts of Rajputana and Central India and in the South Indian States have shown an unpatriotic attitude and have betrayed a woeful lack of imagination and have been party to the liquidation of the Muslim and Hindu population by inhuman means, it becomes necessary to reiterate in unequivocal language the policy of the Congress in regard to the States.

Whatever may be the legal implications of accession and lapse of British Paramountcy, the moral result of the independence of India was undoubtedly the establishment and recognition of the power of the people as distinguished from that of Princes and feudal or other interests hostile to natural popular aspirations. This power, the Congress is determined to uphold at any cost. Therefore, all such interests and specially the Princes should know that the Congress cannot uphold them unless they are demonstrably in favour of regarding the voice of the people as the supreme law. In such a democratic State, the individual who wants to assert himself against the popular will cannot count; no matter how powerful he may be.

The meeting of the A.I.C.C., therefore, hopes that the Princes will read the signs of the times and co-operate with the people, and those who have acted in a contrary spirit should retrace their steps and revise their undemocratic conduct and function through democratic organisations expressing the people’s will. This they can best do by seeking the association and advice of the All-India States People’s Conference which has been endeavouring to acton behalf of the people of the States.”

* Resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. in its meeting held in Delhi from 15th to 17th November, 1947.
Sardar Patel said: "With your permission, Sir, I should like to make a statement on the result of the negotiations with the Hyderabad Government on the future relationship between that State and the Government of India. The House will recall that I stated on the floor of this House that this was the last phase of these negotiations. I am happy to say that an agreement has been reached and I lay on the table of the House a copy of the agreement signed this morning as well as copies of the collateral letters exchanged between H. E. H. the Nizam and H.E. the Governor-General."

As the House is aware, it was in July last that we initiated negotiations with the States for their accession to the Dominion of India, which due to the spirit of cooperation evinced by the rulers, resulted in the accession before the 15th August of all States except Hyderabad, Kashmir and Junagadh. We had negotiations with representatives of His Exalted Highness the Nizam also at the same time. I do not wish to take the House through the many phases of the negotiations. I need only say that when the 15th August came no agreement could be reached. At the same time, His Exalted Highness the Nizam was anxious not to break off negotiations and accordingly at his request we decided to give him an extension of two months within which to finalise his attitude. When the negotiations were resumed, His Excellency the Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Cabinet, undertook to continue them on our behalf. He had several meetings with the Delegation sent by His Exalted Highness and about a month ago a complete agreement had resulted but owing to developments of which the House is aware the old Delegation resigned and a new one was sent by His Exalted Highness the Nizam in its place. During the negotiations with the new Delegation we adhered to the stand we had already taken up and finally the agreement which we have now succeeded in obtaining from the present Delegation is exactly the same as we had negotiated with the old one."

"The settlement makes it clear that Hyderabad does not propose to accede to Pakistan. This, if I may say so, is only right, for placed as Hyderabad is, its destiny is inextricably bound up with that of India."

"I fully realise that Hon'ble Members of this House as well as the public outside have been considerably concerned over the happenings in the State in recent months. Now that accord has been reached, I am sure it will have a wholesome effect on the existing
situation and will exercise a beneficial influence on the relations between the two communities, both in the State and outside. We can thus put these happenings back in the past and look forward to a relationship in which amity and cordiality will prevail. An atmosphere will thus be created which will enable people who have left the State to return to their homes. I am also certain that as this settlement is intended to serve as the basis of friendly and cordial relations it will be worked in that spirit. We on our part will do our best to secure this end."

"I would also like to refer briefly to the fact that proposals for constitutional reforms are now engaging the attention of His Exalted Highness. On this, as well as on the question of final accession, I hope he will readily agree that in the ultimate analysis it is the will of the people that should guide his judgement. There are unmistakable signs in several other States of the triumph of this principle and I feel certain that His Exalted Highness will, as becomes a ruler of his pre-eminent position, set an example which others can follow."

"Finally, I am sure the House would like me to place on record our sense of appreciation of all that His Excellency the Governor-General has done in bringing about such a happy conclusion to the prolonged negotiations."

* * *

India's Standstill Agreement with the Nizam,
November 29, 1947

Text of Agreement.

Agreement made this Twenty-ninth Day of November Nineteen Hundred and Forty-seven between the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.

Whereas it is the aim policy of the Dominion of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar to work together in close association and amity for the mutual benefit of both but a final agreement as to the form and nature of the relationship between them has not yet been reached:

And whereas it is to the advantage of both parties that existing agreements and administrative arrangements in matters of common concern should, pending such final agreement as aforesaid, be continued:

Now therefore, it is hereby agreed as follows:
Article 1. Until new agreements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matters of common concern, including External Affairs, Defence and Communications, which were existing between the Crown and the Nizam immediately before the 16th August, 1947, shall, in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India (or any part thereof) and the Nizam.

Nothing herein contained shall impose any obligation or confer any right on the Dominion

(1) To send troops to assist the Nizam in the maintenance of internal order.

(2) To station troops in Hyderabad territory except in time of war and with the consent of the Nizam which will not be unreasonably withheld, any troops so stationed to be withdrawn from Hyderabad territory within six months of the termination of hostilities.

Article 2. The Government of India and the Nizam agree for the better execution of the purposes of this agreement to appoint Agent in Hyderabad and Delhi respectively, and to give every facility to them for the discharge of their functions.

Article 3. (1) Nothing herein contained shall include or introduce Paramountcy functions or create any Paramountcy relationship.

(2) Nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to create in favour of either party any right continuing after the date of termination of this agreement, and nothing herein contained and nothing done in pursuance hereof shall be deemed to derogate from any right which, but for this agreement, would have been exercisable by either party to it after the date of termination hereof.

Article 4. Any dispute arising out of this agreement or out of agreements or arrangements hereby continued shall be referred to the arbitration of two arbitrators, one appointed by each of the parties, and an umpire appointed by those arbitrators.

Article 5. This agreement shall come into force at once and shall remain in force for a period of one year.

In confirmation whereof the Governor-General of India and the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar have appended their signatures.

Osman Ali Khan
Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar.
Mountbatten of Burma
Governor-General of India.
The Working Committee discussed the question of setting up Congress Organisation in States and considered the A.I.C.C. Office note which gave a review of the many questions that had arisen in connection with the implementation of the A.I.C.C. resolution on States passed in Bombay in April, 1948 and that of the Working Committee adopted in May last. The Working Committee appointed a sub-committee consisting of the following members to go into these questions and submit its recommendations to the Working Committee at its next meeting:

1. Shri Shankar Rao Deo
2. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
3. Dr. Profulla Chandra Ghosh
4. Shri Gokal Bhai Bhatta
5. Shri Kanayalal Desai
6. Shri Kamal Nayan Bajaj

The Committee would consider the following matters and make its proposals:

1. The Regional Councils have been recognised as Provincial Congress Committees and State Praja Mandal as Congress Committees. The Committee would inquire and find out whether these Regional Councils and Praja Mandal are functioning properly and whether their members conform to conditions laid down, for effective membership.

2. Arrangements have to be made for the return of delegates from State to the annual session of the Congress. The Committee shall consider whether the present delegates to the last A.I.S.P.C. should be accepted as delegates or fresh elections be held and if so, in what States. What should be the basis of procedure of these elections?

3. Mayurbhanj is not attached to any P.C.C. or Regional Council. Should it be constituted into a separate provincial unit or be included in Orissa?

4. Should Cooch-Behar be included in Bengal?

5. There is demand for Tripura, Cachar, Sylhet, Manipur, Lushai Hill States to be constituted into a separate province.

6. Banaras and Rampur States are not attached to any Regional Union. Should they be included in U.P.?

*Summary of Proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held at New Delhi on July 1 and 2, 1948.*
7. The A.I.C.C. Office has received many complaints about the composition and character of Praja Mandalas in many States. The Committee shall examine these complaints and recommend whether and in what form the Praja Mandalas in these States should be recognised as Congress Committee.

8. The Committee may consider questions about demarcation and constituencies that may be referred to it.

9. The Committee may consider the recognition of organisation in States in which no affiliated Praja Mandalas exist.


* * *

Parliamentary Activities in The States

"The principles determining the relationship of the All-India Parliamentary Board vis-a-vis the Ministries that were being formed in the States following on the transference of power in the hands of the people came in for discussion and the Working Committee adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas the Congress has decided to function directly in the acceding States and whereas the Working Committee has recognised for the interim period the Regional Councils and Praja Mandalas affiliated to the All-India States' People's Conference as Congress Committee, the Working Committee hereby directs that the Parliamentary activities in these States should be subject to the same control as similar activities in the existing provinces of the Indian Union. For this purpose, the Working Committee directs the All-India Parliamentary Board to issue necessary instructions and to frame rules for the guidance of the Ministries in the States."

W.C. July 1-2, 1948 : New Delhi : II.

* * *

Congress Organisation in States

"The report of the States Sub-Committee appointed by the Working Committee was discussed in the meeting and the Working Committee resolved that:

A. The P.C.C.'s enumerated below should be formed so as to include as their component parts Unions and States in the following manner:

*Resolution of the Congress Working Committee meeting held in New Delhi from September 5 to 8, 1948.
(i) Rajputana P. C. C. Rajasthan Union, Matsya Union, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Jaisalmer.

It is agreed that Sirohi and Danta States should continue provisionally to be attached to Rajputana P. C. C.

(ii) Madhya Bharat P. C. C. Gwalior-Indore-Malwa Union and Bhopal.

(iii) Vindhya Pradesh P. C. C. Rewa and Bundhelkhand.

(iv) Himachal Pradesh P. C. C. Himachal States and Bilaspur.

(v) Patiala and E. Punjab States Union P. C. C. Patiala and East Punjab States.

Narnaul, Dadri and Bhawal should be constituted into a District Congress Committee attached to this province.

(vi) Cachar, Manipur and ... should be constituted into a separate bilingual Congress Province, with Bengali and Manipuri as provincial languages.

B. The following P. C. C.s will extend their Jurisdiction over the states marked against them:

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<tr>
<th>P. C. C.</th>
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<td>(i) Utkal</td>
<td>Mayurbhanj</td>
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<td>(ii) Maharashatra</td>
<td>Kolhapur</td>
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<td>(iii) Gujarat</td>
<td>Saurashtra, Baroda and Cutch</td>
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<td>(iv) United Provinces</td>
<td>Tehri-Garhwal, Rampur and Banaras</td>
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C. The consideration of the question of Cooch-Bihar State’s affiliation was postponed pending the submission of report by Dr. P. C. Ghosh.

D. With respect to Travancore and Cochin (Kerala) and Mysore and Coorg (Karnatak), it was decided that the existing Congress organisations of Kerala and Karnatak should continue, so that the Kerala P. C. C. includes Cochin and Travancore and the Karnataka P. C. C. includes Mysore and Coorg, provided that in matters concerning parliamentary activities, the autonomy of each administrative unit, falling within the jurisdiction of the P. C. C. shall be secured and maintained. For that purpose an ad hoc Committee consisting of members of P. C. C. from the respective areas should be set up in each administrative area for conducting its parliamentary activities.

The Working Committee laid down the following procedure for holding Congress elections in the States.

1. Where no election was held during the past 12 months, fresh elections should be held of the office-bearers and the executive committee of the Regional Councils and the Praja Mandal which are
now the P. C. C.'s and D. C. C.'s respectively. A date should be fixed for that.

2. The executive of the Praja Mandal should fill the vacancies in Regional Councils now turned into P. C. C.'s and elect delegates to the Congress.

3. The P. C. C.'s which were formerly Regional Councils should consist of delegates to the Gwalior Conference and delegates returned to the Meerut Congress Session from that region excepting in those provinces where P. C. C.'s have been formed on the basis of the award given by the General Secretaries of the A. I. C. C.

4. The Delegates to the last Meerut Congress session returned from the area of the province should be the delegates to the Jaipur session, provided however that if the number of delegates falls short of the quota to which the Province is entitled on the basis of one delegate for every lakh of population, the delegates to the Gwalior session of the A.I.S.P. Conference from that region should form an electorate and elect the required number from amongst themselves. Delegates so elected will become members of the P.C.C. of their respective province or region.

5. Delegates so elected under the formula stated above in clause 4 will be entitled to elect A.I.C.C. members according to the provision of the Congress constitution, that is, one member for every eight delegates. Where there are less than eight delegates and not less than four, they will be entitled to elect one member to the A.I.C.C.

6. As now regular Provincial Congress Committees have been formed in different Regions, the Committee thinks that they should directly elect members to the A.I.C.C. according to the Congress constitution and after these elections have taken place, the members nominated by the Working Committee should cease to be members. These elections should take place by the end of October, preferably when and if the newly-formed P.C.C.'s in the different Unions or States meet for the election of the Congress President for the Jaipur Session."

W. C. Sept. 5-8, 1948 ; New Delhi : XI.

*Indian States*

The question of the formation of new provinces on a unilingual basis and the re-distribution of the existing provinces for this pur-

*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Jaipur on December 18 and 19 1948.*
pose, wherever necessary, has engaged public attention for a considera-
table period. The Congress is aware of the strong desire for the forma-
tion of separate provinces on the linguistic basis and it has ac-
cepted the principle. In view, however, of the report of the
Linguistic Provinces Commission appointed by the President of the
Constituent Assembly and the new problems that have arisen out
of the achievement of Independance, this Congress appoints a Com-
mittee of the following three members:

1. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
2. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
3. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

to review the position and to examine the question in the light of
the decisions taken by the Congress in the past and the requirements
of the existing situation. The Committee will submit its report
to the Working Committee within three months.

*   *   *

“The Congress welcomes the developments that have taken
place in regard to the States in India, resulting in the ending of the
Indian States systems which the British Government had built up
early in the 19th century. While welcoming this process of integra-
tion, merger and union, so as to make the States approximate to
the Provinces, the Congress trusts that all Feudal relics and
impediments to the free development of the people will be removed.”
55 : 1948 : Jaipur : IX.

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Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee

The Working Committee endorses the report of the Linguistic
Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Session of the Indian
National Congress and authorises its publication. It is further
resolved to transmit it to the Government of India and the
President, Constituent Assembly. Shri Shankarrao Deo, however,
dissented.

The Working Committee have already accepted the report of
the Three-Man Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress in
regard to linguistic provinces. The Government of India have also
endorsed this report.

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in April, 1949.*
The Committee are clearly of opinion that any satisfactory solution of this problem is only feasible on the lines of this report and the recommendations contained therein.

In regard to the proposed Andhra Province, the Committee are of opinion that necessary steps for its formation can be taken as soon as the conditions in regard to it mentioned in the report are fulfilled.

The Government of Madras, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee are requested to inquire and report as to how far these conditions are satisfied so that further decisions may be taken thereon.

These reports should be made before November 14, 1949.

A similar procedure will hold in regard to the creation of separate provinces in Karnataka and Maharashtra.

Prof. N.G. Ranga dissenting.

The Committee considered the various resolutions on Linguistic Provinces received from Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Nagpur, Vidarbha, Maharashtra, Bombay and Gujarat Provincial Congress Committees, and also the communications from the Bombay, C.P. and Madras Governments in reply to the Working Committee resolution dated 5th October, 1949 and adopted the following resolution:

'Considered the resolutions of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and the Madras Government in regard to the formation of Andhra Province. In view of their general agreement that the Andhra Province may be constituted in accordance with the report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by Jaipur Congress, resolved that the Government of India be requested to form forthwith the Andhra Province consisting generally of undisputed Andhra districts but without the city of Madras. The exact demarcation should be made by a Boundary Commission to be appointed therefor. The Committee trusts that these steps will enable the inclusion of Andhra Province in Schedule I of the new Constitution.'

The letter received from Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee regarding the formation of Karnataka Province on linguistic basis was read and considered.

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in November 1949.*
It was decided that the Congress President should write a letter to the Government of India in this connection drawing their attention to the fact that the Congress had to make a mention in its manifesto about the formation of linguistic provinces. Government should, therefore, be requested to consider this question and to decide what priority they want to give to this question.*

Shri S. Nijalingappa's draft resolution regarding linguistic provinces was considered. It was accepted in the following form:**

"The Congress in its election manifesto adopted at Bangalore has reiterated its adherence to the principle of the formation of Linguistic provinces regard being had also to other considerations, such as economic, administrative and financial. The Working Committee feel that there is general agreement on this subject among the concerned parties in South India in view of the fact that the Pradesh Committees of Tamil Nad, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and Maharashtra have already expressed themselves in favour of such provisions.

The Working Committee are, therefore, of opinion that where the Government of India are satisfied that the necessary agreement exists they should take requisite steps to implement this demand and to appoint a Boundary Commission as early as possible.

The question of linguistic provinces was discussed. Though no decision was taken, the consensus of opinion was that the resolution of the Working Committee passed in August 1951 should be strictly adhered to.***

* * *

The Congress approves of the steps taken by the Government of India in the matter of the formation of a separate Andhra State.**** These steps are in accordance with the policy laid down in the Congress Manifesto and the Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee appointed by the Jaipur Congress.

While confirming that policy, the Congress would draw special attention to the other factors which must be taken into consideration in any reorganisation of the present States in India, such as

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*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting dated January, 1951.

**Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting dated August, 1951.

***Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting dated June, 1952.

****Resolution passed by the Annual Session of the Indian National Congress held in Hyderabad in January, 1953.
the unity of India, national security and defence, financial consideration and economic progress, not only of the whole nation, but of each state. The successful implementation of the Five-Year Plan must always be kept in view. Any further steps in the direction of reorganisation of States on the basis of language or any other basis will naturally depend on the stabilisation of the Andhra State.

S. R. C.

The Congress clarified its policy in regard to the reorganization of States* by a resolution passed at the Hyderabad Session.

The Working Committee welcome the steps taken in regard to the formation of the Andhra State and trust that the people and the States concerned will co-operate to make this a success.

The Committee welcome the indication given on behalf of Government that a high-powered Commission will be appointed, after the establishment of the Andhra State, to consider the reorganization of States. Any such reorganization should take into consideration as laid down in the Hyderabad resolution, not only cultural and linguistic matters but also other important factors, such as the preservation of the unity of India, national security and defence, administrative advantages, financial considerations and the economic progress of each State as well as of the whole nation.

The Committee regret that a matter affecting the whole of India, in regard to which a policy has been clearly stated, should be made the basis for separate and often mutually hostile and occasionally even violent agitations. Such an approach is not only likely to lead to harmful results but is likely to create conflict and ill-will and to delay the reorganisation desired.

In particular, the Committee deplore and wholly disapprove of the attempts made to bring about political decisions of high importance by resort to hunger strikes.

The reorganisation of States can only be successfully brought about by the largest measure of cooperation and goodwill of all concerned. The Committee have noted with regretful surprise the occasional tendency of a State Legislature or a Pradesh Congress Committee to act in a manner which is hostile to other States and to other Pradesh Congress Committees. This is completely opposed

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*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee dated May 1953.
to the manner in which Congressmen and Congress Committees should approach any problem.

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The Congress welcomes the appointment by the Government of India of a Commission for the reorganisation of States* and the wide terms of reference that have been laid down for it. The present constitution of the States in India, as a result of historical growth and the changes brought about after independence, is in many aspects unsatisfactory and their reorganisation has thus become necessary. In considering this problem it is important that all relevant factors should be borne in mind such as cultural and linguistic affinities, administrative convenience, financial considerations and economic progress both of each State and of the nation as a whole. In particular the unity of India and national security must be given first priority.

This problem can only be considered satisfactorily in a dispassionate and objective manner and therefore, an agitational approach is not only not necessary now, but is likely to prove harmful and delay satisfactory solution. The Congress, therefore, recommends to the nation to help in the solution of this problem by encouraging a cooperative and objective approach and avoiding bitterness and mutual recrimination. Congressmen, in particular, must avoid public controversy, especially among themselves, on these issues.

This is particularly necessary when the present situation in India demands national unity and a combined effort to build up the nation.

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The Working Committee invite the attention of the Congress Committees and Congressmen to their resolution regarding reorganization of States† passed in May 1953. The Committee in this resolution emphasised that "the reorganisation of States can be successfully brought about only by the largest measure of cooperation and goodwill of all concerned." It was also noted with regretful surprise that there was occasional tendency of a State Legislature or a

* Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Kalyani, in January 1954.

† Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee, at its meeting Dated April 1954.
Pradesh Congress Committee to act in a manner which was hostile to other States and other P.C.C.'s. It was also laid down that this was completely opposed to the manner in which Congress Committee and Congressmen should approach any problem.

The Committee further desire to invite the attention of the country to the latest resolution passed by the annual Session of the Congress at Kalyani in January 1954, where the Congress had pointed out that "the problem of reorganisation of States can only be considered satisfactorily in a dispassionate and objective manner and therefore an agitational approach is not only not necessary now, but is likely to prove harmful and delay a satisfactory solution." It, therefore, desired the nation's operative and objective approach and avoiding bitterness and mutual recrimination. Congressmen in particular were asked to avoid public controversy, specially among themselves on this issue. This was particularly considered necessary when the situation in the country demanded national unity and combined effort to build up the nation.

References are often made to the A. I. C. C. and advice sought about the approach that Congress Committees and Congressmen should adopt in regard to the manner of representing their views before the States Reorganisation Commission. In the opinion of the Committee, all Congress Committees and Congressmen should have full freedom to represent their points of view before the States Reorganisation Commission. In case of any difference of opinion, the minority in any Congress Committee should be free to represent its views before the Commission.

Now that the States Reorganisation Commission is devoting itself to the examination of this problem, it is expected that Congress Committees and Congressmen will not participate or carry on agitation on this matter, nor will they associate with other parties in making joint representation to the Commission. Congressmen should not join in a common platform with other political parties in the expression of the views by Congressmen on this question. Congressmen cannot, in the very nature of things, carry on public agitation against each other on this subject.

Congress Legislature Parties should avoid moving any resolution on this subject in the Legislature concerned and they should not support any resolution moved by other parties on the same subject. Congress members of the Legislatures, if they so desire, may individually or collectively present their case to the Commission in the normal course."
The Committee took up the question of Congressmen participating in the propaganda in connection with the reorganisation of the States. Shri B.S. Hirey and Shri S. Nijalingappa were invited to attend the meeting at this stage, to present their viewpoints. The local situation in Karnataka and Maharashtra was reviewed.

After considering all aspects of the question, the Working Committee adopted the following resolution:

"The Working Committee heard Shri B.S. Hirey and Shri S. Nijalingappa in regard to the presentation of memoranda to the States Reorganisation Commission. They stated that they completely agreed with and accepted the resolution on the Reorganisation of States passed by the Working Committee on the 5th April, 1954. But, in view of their previous commitments, they requested permission of the Working Committee to present a joint memorandum in each case to the States Reorganisation Commission. Shri Hirey stated that the Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad had functioned for some time past with a view specially to drawing up such a memorandum. There was no dispute about the contents of such a memorandum and the Pradesh Congress Committee fully agreed with the substance of that memorandum. It would be difficult for them at this stage to withdraw from the position they had taken up previously. All they desired was to present this joint memorandum and not to carry on any agitation or function otherwise on behalf of Samyukta Maharashtra Parishad. If, however, any of them were required, as a consequence of the presentation of the memorandum, to give evidence before the Commission, this would naturally follow. Apart from this, they would strictly abide by the directions in the Working Committee resolution.

"Shri Nijalingappa stated that, for some time past, a joint drafting committee had been constituted in the Karnataka to present the case of the Karnataka Province. He requested permission to present this memorandum to the Commission. Otherwise the drafting committee had no other function. He accepted entirely the resolution of the Working Committee.

"In view of the special circumstances in regard to the two cases mentioned above and the assurances given by Shri Hirey and Shri Nijalingappa, the Working Committee decided, as special cases, to give permission for the presentation of the joint memoranda to the States Reorganisation Commission.

"The Committee would like to lay stress again on the directions

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting dated May, 1954.
given in the previous resolution on the subject of reorganisation of States and would request all Congressmen to act up to them."

* * *

The Working Committee have given careful, though necessarily preliminary, consideration to the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission.* This Report deals with vital problems affecting the future of our country and our people, and raises many issues in regard to which there are marked divergences of opinion. The Committee will give further consideration to the problems raised in this Report and will, meanwhile, give opportunities for full consultation, so that the final decisions arrived at should represent the general consensus of opinion and should further the great cause of India's unity and progress.

2. The members of the Commission were outstanding men chosen for their ability, independence and impartiality. They travelled to all parts of India and consulted large numbers of groups and individuals. Their report is thus the result of widespread consultation and dispassionate consideration of these intricate problems. The Report deals with individual problems affecting different States. It deals with them, however, as a connected whole, keeping in view always the unity and security of India and the basic concept of the primacy of the nation and national solidarity. The Report has, therefore, to be considered as a whole, although individual problems, many of which are of high importance, have necessarily to be considered separately also.

3. Soon after the appointment of the Commission, the Working Committee, keeping in view the necessity of maintaining national solidarity and, in particular, the unity and discipline of the Congress organisation, advised Congress Committees and Congressmen not to participate in or to carry on a public agitation in regard to this matter and not to associate themselves with other parties in any such agitation or expression of views. In particular, it was pointed out that Congressmen should not carry on public agitation against one another on this subject. It was the desire of the Committee that these vital problems should be dealt with objectively and dispassionately, so that they might be decided in an atmosphere free from passion and prejudice, resulting in fair and equitable decisions, promoting national unity and well-being.

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee dated October, 1955.*
4. Now that the Report of the Commission has been published and the public has been given every opportunity to consider it, the same considerations still apply and it is earnest hope of the Working Committee that, while the fullest consideration should be given to the Report and its recommendations and allied problems, this will be done in a spirit of co-operation and without the introduction of acrimony and conflict. Our country and our people are faced with a great test and our future will naturally depend on the manner in which we deal with this great problem. While it is natural that various parts of the country desire to maintain their individuality and cultural traditions and to have full opportunities for growth, it must always be remembered that the progress of our people depends upon the unity of the nation and the advance made by the nation as a whole. Whether States are big or small, they have the same importance and their future is tied up with the larger future of the whole of which they are parts. To introduce a spirit of disunion and conflict is not only to hamper this general progress but also to weaken the very foundation on which our national strength and progress depend.

5. The Working Committee, after full consultations with their colleagues and others most concerned, will later give their general advice and directions. In the meantime, they ask for a calm and cooperative approach to the Report and the problems dealt with in it, which should be seen in their entirety, apart from their individual merits. In particular it calls upon Congressmen to avoid the agitational approach. More particularly, they should not associate themselves with other parties or groups in any agitation or demands. The Committee are of opinion that Congressmen holding responsible positions, whether in the Governments, Legislatures or in the Organisation, should function with dignity and avoid taking any step which may further the spirit of disunity.

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Since the last meeting of the Working Committee held on October 13 and 14, 1955, full and detailed consideration has been given to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission.* The Congress President and other members of the Working Committee have met a large number of deputations and conferred

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*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held in November, 1955.
with their colleagues in the different parts of the country. They have also considered the opinions expressed by various organisations, individuals and the Press. Chief Ministers of States as well as the Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees have also met and had an opportunity of expressing their views.

2. Having considered in detail the recommendations of the Commission, the Working Committee are of opinion that, broadly speaking, the Commission's recommendations should be generally accepted, except in cases where it is possible to find alternate solutions which receive a more general agreement or in certain cases of adjustments of boundaries.

3. The committee have come to final decisions in regard to certain matters. In regard to certain other matters, they have also come to certain tentative decisions which will be finalised soon. There is a third category of subjects which are being referred by the Committee to a Sub-Committee for final decisions.

4. The Committee have always laid stress on national unity and solidarity as over-riding considerations to be borne in mind in determining the constitutional structure of India. These considerations necessarily apply to any reorganisation of the States. Language is undoubtedly one of the important considerations, but there are, however, other factors which are equally important and must be kept in view. The reorganisation of States is only a means to an end, the basic objective being the unity of the nation and the prosperity of the people. In this unity, the people of every part of India should have the fullest opportunity of growth. From this point of view, the Committee particularly welcome the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission contained in Part IV of the Report in regard to various safeguards for linguistic and other minorities in the sphere of administration and education, integration of Services, financial and other administrative measures, in order to ensure the unity of India. The Committee broadly accept these recommendations. In regard to those which refer to the appointment of Public Service Commissions and the creation of new All-India Services, further consideration is however, necessary.

The Committee hope that the Government of India will take early and suitable steps for the implementation of these recommendations.

5. The Committee approve of the proposal of the Commission that there should be only one class of States as well as certain Centrally-administered territories. In these Centrally-administered areas, adequate opportunities should be given to the people for the management of local affairs, subject to Central supervision and con-
trol. Each such area will have to be considered separately in this matter.

6. The Committee have given careful consideration to the views expressed by the Pradesh Congress Committees of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Bombay City in regard to the future of the present Bombay State. In view of the opinion expressed by the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, the Working Committee have come to the conclusion not to press for the acceptance of the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission in favour of a composite State of Bombay. The Committee have, therefore, explored alternative proposals which lead to the greatest measure of agreement and are in the larger interests of the country. They are of the opinion that three States should be formed. They should be:

(i) Maharashtra, comprising the Marathi-speaking areas of the Bombay State, excluding Bombay as defined below, the Marathwada districts of Hyderabad and the Marathi-speaking areas of Madhya Pradesh; Vidarbha, that is, the Marathi-speaking area of the present Madhya Pradesh, should be invited to join the new Maharashtra State, and the wishes of the people there should be ascertained;

(ii) Gujarat, comprising the Gujarati-speaking areas of the present Bombay State, Saurashtra and Kutch; and

(iii) Bombay, comprising the area at present under the jurisdiction of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

These three States will, to a considerable extent, be interdependent in relation to Bombay City and arrangements should be made to avoid any interference with this interdependence.

7. The proposals of the Commission in regard to a new State of Madhya Pradesh comprising Mahakoshal, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal is accepted. The suggestion of the Commission in regard to the capital of the new State is not accepted. Minor border adjustments might be made where considered necessary.

8. The State of Uttar Pradesh should remain as it is, subject to such minor border adjustments as might be considered necessary.

9. The division of the present Hyderabad State is generally accepted. The Committee are of opinion that it would be desirable, subject to the wishes of the people concerned, for the Telengana area to be attached to the Andhra State at the beginning of this reorganisation, and advise accordingly.
10. The Committee accept the recommendation in regard to the new Kerala State, subject to border adjustments, and the consequential changes in the State of Madras.

11. The committee also accept the merger of Ajmer in Rajasthan as well as certain other minor changes in the Rajasthan State.

12. The Committee agree that Delhi, Manipur and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands should be Centrally-administered territories.

13. The Committee recommend that the Laccadive Islands as well as the Amandive Isles should also be Centrally-administered.

14. In regard to the Punjab, Pepsu and Himachal Pradesh, the Committee appoint a Sub-Committee consisting of Shri U. N. Dhebar, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant for a further consideration in consultation with the people concerned, and to come to a final decision.

15. The Sub-Committee will also consider and decide in regard to the proposed Karnataka State and the various border issues that have been raised in the Report or are connected therewith.

16. The Working Committee have endeavoured to deal with the complicated issues raised in the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission and the divergences of opinion in regard to them with the sole desire to arrive at decisions which are as widely acceptable as possible and which are conducive to the good of the nation as well as the constituent parts of the country. It is essential that the decisions arrived at should be accepted in good spirit by all concerned and with a view to mutual cooperation. This spirit of cooperation is even more necessary than the actual letter of the decision. It is in the hope that this cooperative spirit will be forthcoming and that all Congressmen and others will set aside their conflicts of opinion and join in the great adventure of building up a new India that the Working Committee have come to these decisions.

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The Committee reviewed the position in regard to the recommendations of the S. R. C. Report* with reference to the decisions taken in the respective State Legislatures as well as in the Pradesh

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*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting met in December, 1955.*
Congress Committees. It was decided that the S. R. C. Sub-Committee be authorised to deal with all the remaining problems and announce its decisions early.

Call to the Nation*

During the last three months the Working Committee and its Sub-Committee have laboured incessantly and with anxious care in order to find as large a measure of agreement as possible in regard to the reorganisation of States. At an early stage they expressed the opinion that the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission should be generally accepted, such changes as were considered necessary being made by agreement. The Sub-Committee appointed by the Working Committee for this purpose met and discussed various proposals with representatives of all the States concerned and endeavoured to find a way of agreement. In a number of cases, agreement was reached and the proposals of the Commission were accepted with minor variations.

2. The Committee were, above all, anxious that the unity and solidarity of India should be maintained and furthered, and they noted with deep regret that disruptive forces were at work in the name of linguistic provinces, but often with other aims in view. They tried to check them and to emphasise that primary importance should be attached to the solidarity of India as a whole and not to administrative divisions. Unfortunately disruptive elements, taking advantage of the people's love of their language, misled many people and gathered strength.

3. The Committee paid very particular attention to the future of the great State of Bombay. In their desire to arrive at an agreed solution of this problem, they had numerous consultations with their colleagues from the various parts of Bombay State, and, as a consequence, certain proposals were put forward from time to time. Each one of these proposals appeared to have been accepted at the time, but was later rejected. Finally, again in consultation with the people concerned, the decision in regard to the Bombay State was announced, together with other decisions.

4. In spite of the efforts of the Committee, serious disturbances took place in Bombay City, resulting in vast damage to person and property. Bombay and India were disgraced and dishonoured. In some other parts of India also deplorable occur-

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting met in January, 1956.
rences, though on a lesser scale, took place. All these occurrences have produced a situation which imperils the future of India and her people. The ideals for which India has stood have been repudiated and trampled under foot not only by the miscreants who indulged in this orgy of violence but also by those who gave them direct or indirect support. Even the pictures of the Father of the Nation were insulted. It is clear that those who indulged in this disgraceful behaviour cared little for India or the well-being of her people. They were either anti-social and anti-national elements or those who had been misled into these wrong courses. There can be no progress of any kind through mob violence and denial of democratic and peaceful methods.

5. Even though mob violence has been curbed by Governmental action, the situation that has arisen is a dangerous one and full of peril for the nation. No citizen of India who loves his country, and certainly no Congressman can view this situation without the gravest anxiety. In the larger context of things it is of relatively small importance what re-arrangement of States there might be within India. It is of the highest importance that anti-national, reactionary and anti-social forces should not be allowed to lead the country to disruption and disaster. It is the primary duty, therefore, of every Indian to realise the dangers of this present situation and to do his or her utmost to stop all activities and trends which are doing so much injury to the country.

6. It should be clearly understood that there can be no surrender to violence and methods of terrorism and that they have to be met with all the forces of the State in order to protect innocent citizens and the well-being of the nation. It must also be clearly understood that no changes will be made in the decisions already arrived at or that might be taken later in regard to the reorganisation of States because of violence or terroristic methods.

7. The Committee have been informed that some Ministers and members of Legislatures have offered or propose to offer their resignations from their Governments or Legislatures. Such resignations, in the present context, can only encourage mob action and violence and are injurious to the nation as well as to the causes they are supposed to further. Even from the point of view of the Congress Constitution, no resignation can be tendered without the approval of the Parliamentary Board or the Working Committee. No Pradesh Congress Committee is competent to demand such resignations and any such action is ultra vires of the Constitution and cannot be approved. All such resignations, where they have been made, should be withdrawn.
8. Recent events have demonstrated the grave danger encouraging any tendencies which promote disruption, separation and provincialism, and it has become the urgent and primary task of the nation to curb these tendencies and to give a new direction to people's thinking. The whole question of the reorganisation of States must, therefore, be viewed from this positive point of view so that it might lead to the promotion of Indian unity.

9. The Working Committee, therefore, call upon the nation and, in particular, every Congressman to put forth every effort to meet the challenge of this grave situation and not to allow any difference of opinion over relatively minor matters to come in the way of this larger effort. For every Congressman it is essential to work for the unity and discipline of the Congress which has been the strongest force in India in bringing about the integration of all parts of this great country. To weaken that force is to weaken India at a moment when broad horizons open out for her to progress. It is the duty of every Pradesh Congress Committee as well as all the other Congress Committees to preserve this discipline of the Congress and to adhere to the ideals of the Congress, even though this might lead for the moment to unpopularity. It has been the Congress policy not only to have the right objective but always to remember that right means have to be adopted. At a time of crisis and difficulty it is all the more important for these basic facts to be remembered and not weakly to surrender to evil forces. The Congress has been the historic agent for achieving India's freedom and for the realisation of the manifest destiny of the Indian people. Freedom has been achieved but is imperilled afresh not by any external force but by our own inner weaknesses. The Congress is, therefore, called upon again to defend this freedom which has been won at such great cost. Every Indian who cherishes this freedom must defend it keeping the ideals and high destiny of our country always in view.

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This Congress has noted with deep concern recent developments in India in regard to the reorganisation of States.* The Congress fully agrees with and endorses the "Call to the Nation" issued by the Working Committee last month.

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*Resolution passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session held at Amritsar on 10th February, 1956.
2. More than thirty years ago, the Congress encouraged the formation of linguistic provinces from the point of view of its own Constitution, and such Congress provinces were constituted regardless of State administrative units. The object aimed at was to break the barrier which had been created under British rule between the English-knowing classes in India and the masses and to encourage the growth of the Indian languages and the cultures associated with them. This was a necessary step both from the political and the cultural points of view. Language is important and the Constitution of India has laid stress on this fact by enumerating the great languages of India which have to be encouraged in every way. It is necessary for these languages to be used progressively more and more for educational, cultural and administrative purposes.

3. But language cannot be the dominating factor in the demarcation of States, although it is an important factor to be considered. This has been pointed out previously by the Congress and this principle has been accepted by the States Reorganization Commission. If language is allowed to encourage separatist tendencies, then it does injury to the basic conception of the unity of India. Further, in a developing and dynamic economy other factors are of greater importance and demarcations based on language alone may not only not fit in with the physical features of an area but come in the way of a proper exploitation of our resources. After Independence, the major activity of the country is directed towards the economic development of the people, greater production, more equitable distribution and higher standards of living. Anything that comes in the way of this development or weakens India's unity is, therefore, harmful.

4. If linguistic demarcation of States leads to conflicts between States and to considerations of provincialism, overriding the vital necessity of unity and the good of India as a whole, then linguism has over-stepped its proper sphere and become a danger. If, further, some people of any area wish to enforce their wishes against the wishes of other people in that or any other area by methods of violence, then the natural result is civil conflict. That is the negation of democracy and of progress and leads to the narrowest provincialism and parochialism.

5. Recent events have demonstrated that in spite of the basic feeling of unity in the country, other passions and provincial considerations have encouraged disruptive and violent tendencies in the country and brought it to the brink of disaster. It is this that disturbed the Working Committee and resulted in the 'Call to the Nation' which they made and with which the Congress entirely agree.
6. Although vast areas of India are more or less unilingual, there are many areas which are bi-lingual and it is often in respect of such areas that controversies have arisen and passions have been aroused. Any attempt to have rigid unilingual States will be unjust to these bi-lingual areas and will come in the way of the movement of population which naturally takes place in a rapidly developing country. This unilingual rigidity will thus tend to fix an unchanging pattern for the country, which may conform to a static condition but is wholly out of place in a dynamic and developing economy. Even more limiting is the mental approach which results from a narrow provincialism applied to political considerations and administrative boundaries. India requires today the larger vision and the capacity for co-operation in the greatest measure, and anything limiting that outlook must be deprecated.

7. Another set of problems arising from re-distribution of States relates to relatively small units, which are not viable or cannot be fully developed without the cooperation of larger areas. Both administrative convenience and planned development require larger units. Apart from size and geography, other important considerations to be kept in view are those of defence and natural resources. In coming to decision, all these matters have to be considered in the wider framework of the larger interests of India. The democratic structure of the Constitution indicates the way and provides methods for the consideration of such problems and for decisions to be taken in conformity with the wishes of the people. It is only in this way that differences of opinion can be resolved. Violence and methods of coercion by one group against another for the purpose of provincial demarcation is a betrayal of all that India has stood for and can never be accepted as a legitimate way for setting such problems.

8. The full development of a language and the culture associated with it can be secured, where considered necessary, by the proposal to have regions within a State and the Congress, therefore, welcomes suggestions which have been made to this end. In this way linguistic homogeneity will be secured and, at the same time, the larger interests of the State preserved. Uni-lingual State may exist where this is considered desirable, but uni-linguism cannot be made into a fetish over-riding other considerations. In the circumstances existing in India today and for the rapid development of various areas, it is desirable to encourage, wherever feasible, the formation of bi-lingual States with regional councils for each linguistic area.

9. The Congress accords its warm welcome to the proposal
made on behalf of the States of West Bengal and Bihar for a union of the two States. This is particularly desirable because the richest mineral and industrial area in India lies in these two States and a union will enable its rapid development and be advantageous to the people of both Bengal and Bihar. Where this advantage in the sphere of development is indicated because of natural resources, minerals, waterways, the development of electric power, forests, etc. such a union would be desirable. The Congress hopes that this new approach will be made to this complex problem in the South as well as in other parts of India. This will not in any way come in the way of the development of languages and culture and will, at the same time, facilitate the exploitation of natural resources for the common benefit. It will also strengthen the feeling of unity which has recently been menaced by too narrow an advocacy of linguism. Though the controversy over the reorganisation of States has in some cases been based on arguments which deserve consideration, it has led to conflicts which are largely artificial and which have often been utilized by anti-national elements which seek the disruption and weakening of India. This tendency must be stopped.

10. The Congress has explained its position at some length in order to remove misunderstandings and give a clear lead to the country. This subject, as every other, must be viewed from the point of view of the development of the whole of India and more particularly of the masses of the people and their betterment. It trusts that this will lead to a dispassionate and objective consideration of these problems Congressmen more especially have a duty to perform. They have to maintain the discipline of the Congress and through that the integrity and unity of India.

PROHIBITION
See
SOCIAL REFORMS
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
See
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
See
FOREIGN RELATIONS—SOUTH AFRICA
RELIGIOUS REFORMS
See
SOCIAL REFORMS
RELIGIOUS SUPPRESSION OF
See
SOCIAL REFORMS
ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (Vol. I)
ROWLATT ACT
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (Vol. I)
JALLIANWALA BAGH TRAGEDY
See
CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE I—IX (Vol. I)
TAXATION
SHUDDHI MOVEMENT
See
COMMUNALISM (Vol. I)
SIMLA CONFERENCE
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (Vol. I)
SIMON COMMISSION
See
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (Vol. I)
SMALL SCALE INDUSTRIES
See
COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (Vol. I)
SOCIAL CONDITIONS
See
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND PLANNING
SOCIALISM
See
POLITICAL PARTIES—SOCIALIST PARTY
SOCIALIST CONGRESSMEN
See
POLITICAL PARTIES—SOCIALIST PARTY
SOCIALIST PARTY
See
POLITICAL PARTIES—SOCIALIST PARTY
CHAPTER XXXII

SOCIAL REFORMS

Note: The eminent political parties passed resolutions and the Government of India issued statements on the Social Reforms in India. Below are given a few prominent documents which are mainly concerned with the object of this study.

Documents:

"That, while recognising the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform, by H. M's Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on the spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all provincial administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in paras 103, 104, and 105, of the despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1st 1890, especially as to subsection 4 of Para 103, viz.—"That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.""

6:1890: Calcutta: IV.

"Read the following telegram from General Booth:—"

"May I be allowed to commend, to the attention of the Congress, the claims of the millions of India's starving poor and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country in such an organised and befriended manner as will enable them to gain, for themselves, those necessaries of a healthy existence which, in
their present circumstances, are denied; praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every effort for the amelioration of the miseries of mankind."

7: 1891: Nagpur : IX.

* * *

"That this Congress is of opinion that it is inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country that Government grants for High 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 to 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 or 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 students; and, focussing the universal opinion of the Indian Community that undue stress is being laid at present upon mere 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: 1893: Lahore : XII.

* * *

Government of India circular on reforms, 1907*

2. It is now 20 years since Lord Dufferin’s Government initiated the discussions which resulted in the passing of the Councils Act of 1892. The reforms then introduced, comprising the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, the recognition of the elective principle, the admission of interpellations and the free discussion of the Budget, were held to be justified by the spread of English education, by the increased employment of natives of India in the actual administration of the country and by the indubitable proof which they had given of their intellectual fitness for such employment.

*A circular which was circulated to the Local Governments on August, 24 1907.
The extent of the advance that has since taken place in the development of the educated classes can hardly be judged by statistical tests. But it may be mentioned that within the last twenty years the number of scholars studying English has risen from 298,000 to 505,000; whilst the number of students passing the annual Matriculation Examination of the Indian Universities has increased from 4,286 in 1886 to 8,211 in 1905, and the number of Bachelors of Arts from 708 in the former year to 1,570 in the latter. During this period higher education has penetrated to circles which a generation ago had hardly been affected by its influence. The ruling chiefs and the landholding and commercial classes possessing a material stake in the country, and representing the most powerful and stable elements of Indian society, have now become qualified to take a more prominent part in public life, and to render a larger measure of assistance to the Executive Government. They no longer stand aloof from the new social and political conditions which affect the course of Indian affairs; they have profited greatly by the educational advantages offered to them under British rule; and they are anxious to be afforded an opportunity of expressing their views on matters of practical administration. No scheme of constitutional reform would meet the real requirements of the present time which did not make adequate provision for representing the landed aristocracy of India, the mercantile and industrial classes and the great body of moderate men who, under existing conditions, have no sufficient inducement to enter political life, and find but little scope for the exercise of their legitimate influence. For the present at any rate the needs and sentiments of the masses of the people must find expression through those, whether officials or non-officials, who are acquainted with their daily life and are qualified to speak with authority on their behalf. Nor does the scheme now put forward contemplate any surrender or weakening of paramount British power in India upon which depend the safety and welfare of the vast populations there committed to it.

3. The Governor-General-in-Council has been much struck by the difficulty encountered by the Governments in India in making their measures and motives generally understood and in correcting erroneous and often mischievous statements of fact or purpose imputed to them. When the right of interpellation was granted by the Indian Councils Act of 1892 to the Legislative Councils, it was hoped that by that means correct information on public affairs might be more widely diffused. The Legislative Councils, however, are called together only when there is legislation to be undertaken; their meetings are too infrequent to offer the means of confidential
and intimate consultation between Government and its subjects; the strict procedure by which they are restrained naturally tends to formality.

* * *

9. When the Councils were thus enlarged and the elective principle was introduced, it was recognised that the territorial representation was unsuited to India, but an endeavour was made to constitute the electorates so that all the more important classes and interests should, as far as possible, be represented. In the case of provincial Councils it is admitted that the results have not justified the expectations formed. The District Boards in particular have conspicuously failed to fulfil the expectation that they would represent the landed interest. Out of 54 members elected by them to the provincial Councils, only 10 have been landholders, while 36 have been barristers and pleaders. Similarly, out of 43 members elected by the District Municipalities, 40 have been barristers or pleaders and only two landholders. Something has been done by nomination to remedy these defects; but of the 338 non official members who have been appointed, whether by election or by nomination, to the provincial Councils since election was introduced in 1893, as many as 123 or 36 per cent. have been lawyers, and only 77 or 22 per cent. landowners. It is thus apparent that the elective system has given to the legal profession a prominence in the provincial Councils to which it is not entitled, while it has signalled failure to represent other important elements of the community. These shortcomings are reflected in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General where, of the non-official members nominated or elected since 1893, 27 or 40 per cent. have been lawyers or school masters while the landholders have numbered only 16 or 23.5 per cent and the mercantile community has been represented by 17 or 25 per cent. The Government of India are far from denying that the professional classes are entitled to a share of representation proportioned not merely to their numbers, which are small, but to their influence, which is large and tends continually to increase. But they are not prepared to allow them a virtual monopoly of the power exercised by the Councils and they believe that the soundest solution of the problem is to be found in supplying the requisite counterpoise to their excessive influence by creating an additional electorate recruited from the landed and monied classes.

10. It is the desire of the Governor-General-in-Council that the Legislative Councils in India should now be enlarged to the fullest
extent compatible with the necessary authority of the Government. He desires, moreover, that these bodies should be so constituted in respect of non-official members as to give due and ample representation to the different classes and interests of the community. In carrying out this system, which the Government of India agree with Lord Lansdowne's Government in regarding as the only one in any way applicable to Indian conditions, they consider it essential that the Government should always be able to reckon on a numerical majority, and that this majority should be strong enough to be independent of the minor fluctuations that may be caused by the occasional absence of an official member. The principle of a standing majority is accepted by the Government as an entirely legitimate and necessary consequence of the nature of the paramount power in India, and so far as they know it has never been disputed by any section of Indian opinion that does not dispute the legitimacy of the paramount power itself. That is not an open question, and if two men are not able to wield one sceptre, it is idle to disseminate that fact in constructing political machinery. The question then arises: what number of official members of the requisite standing and experience can, without detriment to the public service, be spared from their regular duties for attendance in Legislative Councils? The enlargement of the Councils is certain to add considerably to protraction of debate, thus entailing larger calls upon the time of their members. The necessity of maintaining an official majority thus implies the necessity of limiting the number of non-official members; and the problem which faces the Government of India now as it faced Lord Landsowne's Government fifteen years ago, is how to provide for the due representation, within the narrow limits thus imposed, of the vast diversity of classes, races, and interests in the Indian Empire.

16. The last point that remains for consideration under this head relates to the representation of special interests and minorities and in particular, of the Mohammedan community. In this connection I am to invite attention to the observations made by His Excellency the Viceroy in reply to the address presented to him by a large and representative deputation on the 1st October, 1906. The Government of India concur with the presenters of the address that neither in the Provincial nor in the Imperial Legislative Councils has the Mohammedan community hitherto received a measure of representation commensurate with its numbers and political and historical
importance, and they desire to lay stress upon His Excellency’s observation that "any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent". Under the system of election hitherto in force Hindus largely predominate in all or almost all the electorates with the result that comparatively few Mohammedan members have been elected. These have been supplemented by nomination made by Government. But the total representation thus effected has not been commensurate with the weight to which the Mohammedan community is entitled; and it has, moreover, been strongly urged that even the system of nomination has frequently failed to secure the appointment of Mohammedans of the class by whom the community desires to be represented.

17. The Government of India suggest, therefore, for the consideration of the Local Governments, the adoption of the following measures:—Firstly, in addition to the small number of Mohammedans who may be able to secure election in the ordinary manner, it seems desirable in each of the Councils to assign a certain number of seats to be filled exclusively by Mohammedans. Secondly, for the purpose of filling the latter or a proportion of them, a special Mohammedan electorate might be constituted.

*     *     *

"That this Congress views with grave alarm and deep regret the rapid increase in the consumption of intoxicants, specially liquor, in this country, and the Congress is of opinion that the cheap supply of liquor, and c., is alone responsible for this. The Congress, therefore, fervently appeals to the Government of India to pass measures like THE MAIN LIQUOR LAW OF AMERICA and introduce Bills like Sir Wilfrid Lawson’s PERMISSIVE BILL or the LOCAL OPTION ACT and impose an additional tax upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicine. The Congress records its firm conviction that if the Government do not take these practical steps immediately, the moral, material and physical deterioration of those classes among whom liquor and c., have obtained a firm hold, would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian Arts and Industries would bear no fruit. The Congress gives great importance to this question, which it strongly believes, is intimately connected with the material progress of the
country, and emphatically protests against the cheap supply of liquor, and c..." 16:1900: Lahore: XV.

* *

"This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley’s despatch have been received throughout the country; it places on record its sense of the high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter and it tenders to Lord Morely and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

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

This Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed Scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State’s despatch have been conceived." 23:1908: Madras: II.

* *

Lord Morley on Reforms, 1908*

"I do not think I need go through all the contents of the despatch of the Governor-General and my reply, containing the plan of His Majesty’s Government, which will be in Your Lordship’s hands very shortly. I think Your Lordships will find in them a well-guarded expansion of principles that were recognized in 1861, and are still more directly and closely connected with us now by the action of Lord Lansdowne in 1892. I have his words, and they are really as true a key to the papers in our hands as they were to the policy of the noble Marquess at that date. He said:

"We hope, however, that we have succeeded in giving to our proposals a form sufficiently definite to secure a satisfactory advance

*Extracts from Lord Morley’s speech in the House of Lords, dated December 17, 1908.*
in the representation of the people in our Legislative Councils, and
to give effect to the principle of selection as far as possible on the
advice of such sections of the community as are likely to be capable
of assisting us in that manner."

Then you will find that another Governor-General in Council
in India, whom I greatly rejoice to see still among us, my noble
friend the Marquess of Ripon, said in 1882:

"It is not primarily with a view to the improvement of ad-
ministration that this measure is put forward; it is chiefly desirable
as an instrument of political and popular education."

The doctrines announced by the noble Marquess opposite and
by my noble friend, are the standpoint from which we approach the
situation and framed our proposals.

I will not trouble the House by going through the history of
the course of the proceedings... though some points of difference
arose, though the Government of India agreed to drop certain
points of their scheme—the Advisory Council, for example—on the
whole, there was remarkable agreement between the Government of
India and myself as to the best way of dealing with these proceed-
ings as to Legislative Councils.

This is a list of the powers which we shall have to acquire from
Parliament when we bring in a Bill. This is the first power we shall
come to Parliament for. At present the maximum and minimum
number of Legislative Councils are fixed by statute. We shall come
to Parliament to authorise an increase in the numbers of those
Councils, both the Viceroy's Council and the Provincial Councils.
Secondly, the members are now nominated by the head of the
Government, either the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor. No
election takes place in the strict sense of the term. The nearest
approach to it is the nomination by the Viceroy, upon the recommend-
ation of a majority of votes of certain public bodies. We do not
propose to ask Parliament to abolish nomination. We do propose
to ask Parliament, in a very definite way, to introduce elec-
tion working alongside of nomination with a view to the aim
admitted in all previous schemes, including that of the noble
Marquess opposite—the due representation of the different classes of
the community. Third, the Indian Councils Act of 1892 forbids—
and this is no doubt a most important prohibition—either resolu-
tions or divisions of the Councils in financial discussions. We shall
ask Parliament to repeal this prohibition. Fourth, we shall propose
to invest Legislative Council with power to discuss matters of public
and general importance, and to pass recommendations or resolutions
to the Indian Government. The Government will deal with them
as carefully, or as carelessly, as they think fit—just as a Government
does here. Fifth to extend the power that at present exists to ap-
point a Member of the Council to preside. Sixth, Bombay and
Madras have now Executive Councils, numbering two. I propose to
ask Parliament to double the number of ordinary members. Seventh,
the Lieutenant-Governors have no Executive Council. We shall ask
Parliament to sanction the creation of such Councils, consisting of
not more than two ordinary members, and to define the power of
the Lieutenant-Governor to overrule his Council I am perfectly
sure there may be differences of opinion as to these proposals. I
only want Your Lordships to believe that they have been thought
out, and that they are accepted by the Governor-General in
Council.

There is one point of extreme importance which no doubt,
though it may not be over-diplomatic for me to say so at this stage,
will create some controversy. I mean the matter of the official
majority. The House knows what an official majority is. It is a
device by which the Governor-General, or the Governor of Bombay
or Madras, may secure a majority in his Legislative Council by
means of officials and nominees. And the officials, of course, for
very good reasons, just like a Cabinet Minister or an Under-
Secretary, whatever the man's private opinion may be, would still
vote, for the best of reasons, and I am bound to think with perfect
wisdom, with the Government. But anybody can see how directly
how palpably, how injuriously an arrangement of this kind tends to
weaken, and I think I may say even to deaden, the sense both of
trust and responsibility in the non-official members of these Councils.
Anybody can see how the system tends to throw the non-official
member into an attitude of peevish, sulky, permanent opposition,
and, therefore, has an injurious effect on the minds and characters
of members of these Legislative Councils.

I know it will be said......that these Councils will, if you take
away the safeguard of the official majority, pass any number of wild-
cat Bills. The answer to that is that the head of the Government
can veto the wildest Bills. The Governor-General can withhold
his assent, and the withholding of the assent of the Governor-General
is no defunct power........

......And it must be remembered that the range of subjects
within the sphere of Provincial Legislative Councils is rigorously
limited by statutory exclusions.

There is one proviso in this matter of the official majority, in
which Lordships may, perhaps, find a surprise. We are not prepared
to divest the Governor-General in his Council of an official majority.
In the Provincial Councils we propose to dispense with it but in the Viceroy's Legislative Council we propose to adhere to it. Only let me say that here we may seem to lag a stage behind the Government of India themselves—so little violent are we—because that Government say in their despatch;

"On all ordinary occasions we are ready to dispense with an official majority in the Imperial Legislative Council, and to rely on the public spirit of non-official members to enable us to carry on the ordinary work of Legislation."

My Lords, that is what we propose to do in the Provincial Councils. But in the Imperial Council we consider an official majority essential. It may be said that this is a most flagrant logical inconsistency. So it would be, on one condition. If I were attempting to set up a Parliamentary system in India, or if it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or necessarily up to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it......If my existence, either officially or corporeally, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, a Parliamentary system in India is not at all the goal to which I would for one moment aspire.

One point more. It is the question of an Indian member on the Viceroy's Executive Council. The absence of an Indian member from the Viceroy's Executive Council can no longer, I think, be defended. There is no legal obstacle or statutory exclusion. The Secretary of State can, to-morrow, if he likes, if there be a vacancy on the Viceroy's Council recommend His Majesty to appoint an Indian member. All I want to say is that, if, during my tenure of office, there should be a vacancy on the Viceroy's Executive Council, I should feel it a duty to tender my advice to the King that an Indian member should be appointed. If it were on my own authority only, I might hesitate to take that step, because I am not very fond of innovations in dark and obscure ground, but here I have the absolute and the zealous approval and concurrence of Lord Minto himself. It was at Lord Minto's special instigation that I began to think seriously of this step. Anyhow, this is how it stands, that you have at this moment a Secretary of State and a Viceroy who both concur in such a recommendation. I suppose—if I may be allowed to give a personal turn to these matters—that Lord Minto and I have had as different experience of life and the world as possible, and we belong, I dare say, to different schools of national politics, because Lord Minto was appointed by the party opposite. It is a rather remarkable thing that two men, differing in this way in political antecedents, should agree in this proposal. We need
not discuss what particular portfolio should be assigned to an Indian member. That will be settled by the Viceroy on the merits of the individual. The great object, the main object, is that the merits of individuals are to be considered and to be decisive, irrespective and independent of race and colour.

We are not altogether without experience, because a year ago, or somewhat more, it was my good fortune to be able to appoint two Indian gentlemen to the Council of India sitting at the India Office. Many apprehensions reached me as to what might happen. So far, at all events, those apprehensions have been utterly dissipated. The concord between the two Indian members of the Council and their colleagues has been unbroken, their work has been excellent, and you will readily believe me when I say that the advantage to me of being able to ask one of these two gentlemen to come and tell me something about an Indian question from an Indian point of view, is enormous. I find in it a chance of getting the Indian angle of vision, and I feel sometimes as if I were actually in the streets of Calcutta.

I do not say there are not some arguments on the other side. But this, at all events, must be common-sense—for the Governor-General and the European members of his Council to have at their side a man who knows the country well, who belongs to the country and who can give them the point of view of an Indian—surely, my Lords, that cannot but prove an enormous advantage.

......I propose at once, if Parliament agrees, to acquire powers to double the Executive Council in Bombay and Madras, and to appoint at least one Indian member in each of those cases, as well as in the Governor-General’s Council. Nor, as the papers will show, shall I be backward in advancing towards a similar step, as occasion may require, in respect of at least four of the major provinces.

We believe that this admission of the Indians to a larger and more direct share in the government of their country and in all the affairs of their country, without for a moment taking from the central power its authority, will fortify the foundations of our position. It will require great steadiness, constant pursuit of the same object, and the maintenance of our authority, which will be all the more effective if we have, along with our authority, the aid and assistance, in responsible circumstances, of the Indians themselves.

Military strength, material strength, we have in abundance. What we still want to acquire is moral strength—moral strength in guiding and controlling the people of India in the course on which time is launching them......
"This Congress desires to give expression to the deep and general satisfaction with which the Reform proposals formulated in Lord Morley’s despatch have been received throughout the country; it places on record its sense of the high statesmanship which has dictated the action of the Government in the matter and it tenders to Lord Morley and Lord Minto its most sincere and grateful thanks for their proposals.

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

This Congress expresses its confident hope that the details of the proposed scheme will be worked out in the same liberal spirit in which its main provisions as outlined in the Secretary of State’s despatch have been conceived.”


* * *

"This Congress records its opinion that the Regulations framed for the Punjab under the Reform Scheme fail to give satisfaction for the following reasons, namely:

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

(b) that the elected element prescribed by the Regulations for the Local Legislative Council is unduly small and altogether insufficient to meet the needs and requirements of that Province and compares unfavourably with those accorded to other Provinces;

(c) that the proportion of nominated members of the Punjab Legislative Council is inequitable and out of proportion to the ratio of the different sections of the populations; and
(d) that the regulations as framed tend practically to keep out non-Mohammedans from the Imperial Legislative Council."

25 : 1910 : Allahabad : XIX.

* * *

"That this Congress urges that women, possessing the same qualifications as are laid down for men in any part of the scheme, shall not be disqualified on account of their sex."

33 : 1918 : Delhi : IX.

* * *

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

33 : (Special) : 1918 : Bombay : VIII.

* * *

Memorandum by Sir K. V. Reddy to the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 6 August 1924*

As Minister for Development from 17 December 1920 to 17 November 1923, I was in charge of the following subjects:—

(1) Agriculture
(2) Civil Veterinary Department
(3) Co-operative Societies
(4) Development of Industries, including industrial research and technical education
(5) Fisheries
(6) Weights and Measures

It will be noticed that I was a Minister for Development without the Forests which in this Province is a Reserved subject. I was the Minister for Agriculture minus Irrigation, again a Reserved subject, which has been in the hands of the Law Member while Public Works Department whose entire staff also looks after Irrigation is a Transferred subject under another Minister. As Minister of Agriculture I had nothing to do with the administration of the Madras Agriculturists' Loans Act or the Madras Lands Improvements Loans Act. An attempt made by me at one time, only to make a few suggestions regarding the administration of these Acts,

was considered *ultra vires* and a serious encroachment upon the rights of the Reserved half of the Government on the ground that no file could be started by a Minister in any of the Reserved subjects, the initiative being always with the Members of the Executive Council in all matters connected with Reserved subjects. Famine Relief of course could not be touched by the Minister for Agriculture. The efficacy and the efficiency of a Minister for Agriculture without having anything to do with Irrigation, Agricultural Loans, Land-Improvement Loans, and Famine Relief is better imagined than described.

Then again I was a Minister for Industries without Factories, Boilers, Electricity and Waterpower, Mines or Labour, all of which are Reserved subjects. Forests which supply so much material for Industries is also a Reserved subject in Madras. How a Minister for Industries can co-ordinate his work in industrial development with a ban not to touch any of the subjects so intimately connected with it, and without the least power to have a hand in them it is impossible to conceive. At the suggestion of the Governor and in fact on his command I once prepared a note with a view to give certain powers of initiative now enjoyed by District Collectors and the Board of Revenue to be transferred to the Director of Industries in the matter of mining concessions. Down came the thundering bolt of the Finance Member smashing my note to pieces on the solitary ground that a Minister cannot take the initiative in subjects Reserved. The fact that I did so under the orders of the Governor was nothing. The circumstance that the Director of Industries who was directly working under me had long been looking after matters connected with mines and assisting the Board of Revenue, was a matter of no consequence. My note had to be dropped like a hot potato, the Governor who ordered me to prepare the note having surrendered to the objection.

* * *

*Memorandum by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani to the Reforms Enquiry Committee, 10 August, 1924* *

*Education. This is a much divided subject. It is partly Central and partly Provincial; partly Reserved and partly Transferred. It is under a hon. member of the Governor-General’s Exe-

*Report to the Reforms Enquiry Committee (1924), Appendix 5, pp. 302-9
cutive Council; it is under all the Members of the Provincial Government. The Education Member of the Government of India had (I do not know if he has it still) the Central Advisory Board and has his Educational Commissioner and the Universities Conference. Our Director of Public Instruction used to be addressed direct and we had to stop the practice except where only statistical and other information was wanted. Banaras and Aligarh Universities was a Central and hence an Agency subject and European and Anglo-Indian education because probably an Indian Minister cannot be the Government Press is under the Home Member because the Government Press being 'Reserved' and under him its primary school had also to be under the same control. Primary and all vernacular education was under the Minister of Local Self-Government while I was responsible for English secondary and collegiate education. I was also responsible to the Council for the Universities of Allahabad and Lucknow. It was decided by Sir Harcourt Butler in 1921 that as he was Chancellor ex officio in his capacity of Governor, as both universities were almost entirely dependent for their existence upon financial aid from the Government which had to be voted by the Legislative Council on my motion, as my failure to get the demand voted might have to be followed by resignation; in short, as I was the man responsible to the Council, all communications from the university including those intended for him as Chancellor should be addressed to the Education Secretary to the Government and submitted to him after I noted thereon. This, however, he reversed in 1922 and directed that the latter class of letters should be addressed to his Private Secretary. His Excellency would send them direct to the Education Secretary (though neither was the Chancellor's Secretary) and if ordinarily the latter sent the papers to me before submitting them to the Chancellor (or the Governor, I could not be sure which), this was not done invariably. My representation in favour of a return to the first year's practice was not successful.

Agriculture. The fragmentation and minute sub-division of holdings has long been recognized as an economic evil that effectually retarded agricultural progress and increased the difficulties in the way of the introduction of improved methods. In the Department of Agriculture an inquiry was instituted in 1921 with the approval of H. E. the Governor. When, however, the officer who had conducted the inquiry submitted his report in 1922 and a certain amount of noting had been done by the officiating Secretary for Agriculture, it began to be doubted whether after all the question should not have been dealt with in the Revenue Department—
a Reserved subject in charge of the Finance Member. H. E. the Governor decided that the case should be transferred to him. I raised no objection. It was only the other day—two years later—that the Governor-in-Council issued his resolution on the report of 1922. And his decision is that some work should be done in the Co-operative Department—a Transferred Department, again! This case may be cited as one of many illustrations of the impracticability of making or maintaining a clear cut division of subjects into 'Reserved' and 'Transferred'.

* * *

**Industries.** Industries like education is a much divided subject. Heads 17 to 20 of the schedule of Central subjects, and heads 14, 24, 26, 27, 31 and 43 of the schedule of Provincial subjects reveal the extent to which matters pertaining to Industries are excluded from the purview of the Ministers in charge of 'development of industries'. It may possibly be held that not all the excluded heads have a necessary connection with 'development of industries' but I think my contention will generally be admitted with regard to the majority of them. And the non-provincialization or the non-transfer of some of them have the effect of hampering the work of Ministers of Industries. The Provincial Directors of Industries have to be under two or, it may be, three Members of the Government. Factories established by the United Provinces Government in the Forest Department were disposed of last year without any reference to the Minister of Industries. A carpentry school established at Bareilly in the Industries Department had been transferred to the Forest Department before the new system of Government came into being and rich Christened Woodworking Institute and was retransferred to Industries only last year after nearly two years of effort. The latter was immediately able to make a substantial reduction of expenditure. The Minister of Industries can afford no relief to owners and managers of factories (boiler and factory inspectors are 'Reserved') or to the labouring population. He does not know and cannot touch applications for prospecting licences or mining leases. He can do very little if any thing to facilitate the development and utilization of water power.

* * *

...Early in the life of the Government a question had to be answered that related to mineral springs. It was remitted by the
Industries Department to the Revenue (or some other) Department under the Home Member on the ground that, 'mineral springs' had nothing to do with 'development of industries' and 'development of mineral resources' was a Reserved subject under that hon. member. The latter refused to deal with it on the ground that 'mineral springs' were not 'mineral resources'. The Governor was appealed to and His Excellency decided that it was Medical. 'Burma dry meat trade' was another matter that was kicked like a football from one department to another. It was first said that it came under 'development of industries'. When I firmly pleaded 'not guilty' it was presented to the Home Member as being a trade matter. He declined the present and it was eventually forced upon the Minister of Local Self-Government on the plea that slaughter-houses were a municipal concern.

As the Government of Bombay observed in their despatch to the Government of India of 11 November, 1918:

"A reference to the records of Government will show that there is scarcely a question of importance which comes up for discussion and settlement in any one of the departments of Government which does not require to be weighed carefully in the light of considerations which form the province of another department of Government. The primary duty of the Government as a whole is to preserve peace and order, to protect the weak against the strong and to see that in the disposal of all questions coming before them in the conflicting interests of the many different classes affected receive due attention. And it follows from this that practically all proposals of importance put forward by the Minister in charge of any of the departments suggested for transfer will involve a reference to the authorities in charge of the Reserved Departments. There are few, if any, subjects on which they (the functions of the two portions of the Government) do not overlap. Consequently the theory that, in the case of a Transferred subject in charge of a Minister, it will be possible to dispense with references to departments of Government concerned, with the control of Reserved subjects is largely without foundation."

The extent to which this prediction has been realized in actual administration is remarkable. In the light of my experience I must endorse every word of the above passage. The observations of the Government of Bombay on the question of financial control leading up to the conclusion that Ministers alone cannot be responsible to the Legislature because of the very real control that the Finance
Department must exercise over 'all expenditure up to the time when it is made', have been demonstrated to be not a whit less true.

* * *

Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee
3 December, 1924*

The division of subjects into Reserved and Transferred subjects is of the very essence of Dyarchy, and Dyarchy must be held responsible for any failure in the working of the Constitution which can be directly attributed to the administration of a Transferred subject impinging upon the administration of a Reserved subject or vice versa. The Governments of the United Provinces and of the Punjab have both referred to this point which is also dealt with by Sir K.V. Reddi and Mr. Chintamani, while several of the grievances indicated in Mr. Kelkar's evidence are also directly due to this reaction of one department of Government upon another. It is indeed a difficulty which must arise when any attempt is made to divide the functions of government, and none of us would seek to minimize its importance. It is in fact a difficulty which is experienced to a greater or less extent in the division of sovereignty between the Federal and Local Governments which is a feature of all federations. Some authority must decide on which side of the dividing line the decision of a particular case must be reached. In the Provincial Governments in India this power has been placed with the Governor, and it was therefore, in the exercise of his proper functions that the Governor was called upon to decide which department should deal with the particular cases which, according to one witness, were kicked like a football from one department to another. We fully agree that before any question is decided in a dyarchic Constitution which impinges upon the two sides of the administration it is necessary that both sides should see the case and be given an opportunity of expressing their individual views. In some such cases decisions were apparently reached without one side of the administration having had an opportunity of being heard, but this is contrary to the scheme of administration contemplated by the existing Constitution. It is true, however, that there should be no doubt upon which side of the administration responsibility for the actual decision taken should be placed. The other side must be free from responsibility for such decisions, and it can then have no real

grievance if the decision taken is contrary to any advice which it may have given. Sir K. V. Reddi suggests that such success as Madras is believed to have achieved in working the Constitution was rendered possible by the attempt to ignore the dyarchic system, and Mr. Chintamani also suggests that the dyarchic system worked well in the United Provinces for some time after its inception just in the measure in which it was departed from. The evidence of these witnesses, however, appears to indicate—we hope we are not misrepresenting them—that they were disappointed in not being able to control the decisions on the Reserved side of the administration, and in Mr. Chintamani's case the disappointment was doubtless increased because of the change of system to which he refers. Sir K. V. Reddi, for example, states that the Ministers were only three and the Executive Councillors were four, and the former were often obliged to yield to the latter. Mr. Chintamani also says that he asked the Governor to abandon the meetings which he was holding with his Councillors or else to meet his two Ministers together, whenever the need was apparent. Mr. Chintamani also says that the Ministers found that contrary to expectation they were not being taken into confidence on all subjects (the italics are Mr. Chintamani's). From Mr. Kelkar's evidence it would appear, also, that he felt himself aggrieved on account of some decisions which clearly concerned the other side of the Government. He further stated in his written evidence that there is nothing in the Act or in the rules or executive instructions that gives the Ministers a right to force their advice or views on the other half of Government. We must conclude the examination of this question by admitting, as we have already done, that the inevitable result of a division of subjects is that one side of the administration must react upon and consequently restrict the operation of the other.

* * *

Minority Report of the Reforms Enquiry Committee,
3 December, 1924

It was pointed out to us by the majority of the ex-Ministers whom we examined that the Ministers were dealt by their Governors individually and not collectively. In other words, the point raised was that there were Ministers but no Ministries. The evidence of Mr. Chintamani and Rao Bahadur Kelkar of the Central Provinces, of Lala Harkishen Lal of the Punjab, and of Sir P. C. Mitter of Bengal shows that not only did the Governors act with their
Ministers separately but the latter, in some Provinces at any rate, themselves, did not observe the convention of joint responsibility. On the other hand, the evidence of Chintamani shows that the late Ministers in the United Provinces prescribed for themselves a different course of conduct consistent with the true constitutional position. We recognize that sometimes a Governor may find it difficult to form a homogeneous Ministry, but in our opinion there should be no insuperable difficulty for a Governor to appoint, from different groups, Ministers who would agree to work upon a footing of joint responsibility...

As regards the question of joint responsibility of the Ministers we suggest that section 52 (3) itself should be modified so as to secure this end. We would not leave it to the growth of a convention on the subject. We desire to say that the Cabinet system with a Chief Minister should be definitely provided for. It has been tried successfully in Madras and we do not agree with the suggestion of the majority that the difficulties in the way of establishing joint responsibility in India are great and that they are enhanced where the two main communities, Hindu and Mohammedan, are keenly divided in a local Council. We think that in every Council there are at least a certain number of Hindus and Mohammedans who share common political aims and ideals and we believe that the enforcement of the principle of joint responsibility will promote common political action and help strengthen political parties in Council and outside.

Action taken upon the Recommendations made in the Reforms Enquiry Committee Report (1924)

The Government of India have no hesitation in accepting the principle of joint responsibility of the Ministry as the ideal, but apart from the difficulties mentioned in paragraph 28 of the Committee's Report, the conception of Cabinet responsibility, as it obtains in England, is, in their opinion, one which is incapable of translation into regulations and any attempt to do so would be likely to prevent rather than to foster its development.
It has been decided on these grounds that no amendment should be made either in Devolution Rule 10 or in the Instrument of Instructions or elsewhere for the purpose of giving effect to this recommendation.

* * *

"The Congress notes with satisfaction the progress in Hindu opinion regarding the removal of untouchability but is of opinion that much yet remains to be done and therefore appeals to the Hindu members of all Congress organisations to make a greater effort in the cause. The Congress hereby urges the Hindu members of Provincial Congress Committees to devote great attention to the amelioration of the lot of the depressed classes by ascertaining their wants such as in regard to wells, places of worship, facilities for education etc., and making provision for meeting such wants. The Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis of Vykom, who are engaged in asserting the right of way of untouchables through a thoroughfare which is open to caste Hindus, on their non-violence, patience, courage and endurance, and hopes the State of Travancore which is regarded as enlightened will recognise the justice of the Satyagrahis' claim and grant speedy relief." 39 : 1924 : Belgaum : VII.

* * *


Ministers have worked together with far less friction than might have been expected in circumstances in which they were, more often than not, drawn from different groups or communities, and in which, the taking of office has seldom been conditioned by any understanding that the principle of joint responsibility would be observed. This principle, it is true, was recognized by the Justice Party Ministries in Madras; and we may instance, by way of further examples, the resignation of a United Provinces' Minister, Pandit Jagat Narain, in company with the Education Minister, Mr. Chintaman, on a matter arising in the education department; or the acceptance by Mr. Chakravarti, in August 1927, of the Bengal Legislature's vote of no confidence in Mr. (now Sir A.K.) Ghuznavi as a vote of no confidence in the Ministry to which they both belonged. It is curious to note that the Bengal Legislature refused to recognize the principle of joint responsibility accepted by the Ministers themselves, and insisted on carrying a second separate
motion against Mr. Chakravarti, in spite of his statement that he would resign as a consequence of the vote against Mr. Ghuznavi.

* * *

"This Congress notes with gratification the great success that has so far attended the boycott of foreign cloth and the sales of intoxicating drugs and drink, and calls upon the Congress organizations not to relax their efforts in the matters of peaceful picketing provided that the picketing shall be in strict accord with the terms of the settlement in this behalf between the Government and the Congress.

45 : 1931 : Karachi : X.

* * *

Unity and Integration

"This Congress is of opinion that the progress and well-being of the people of India necessitate not only political and economic advance but also social reform so as to remove the barriers which come in the way of individual and social growth. The unity of India requires that every separatist tendency that comes in the way of such unity should be actively discouraged. While preserving the great variety of India and the richness of her cultural life; it is essential that India should be integrated culturally and psychologically. Caste, which is not only separatist but is opposed to the democratic ideal of equality, should be put an end to, and communilism, which degrades both religion and politics, should be sternly repressed. Provincialism, which is a narrowing and disruptive factor, checking the development of a unified and integrated India, should also be opposed."

60 : 1955 : Avadi : VII.

* * *

Welfare of Women and Children

"This Congress is strongly of opinion that all social and legal disabilities as well as reactionary customs and usages to which women are at present subject and which retard their development and prevent them from taking their rightful place in the various activities of the nation should be removed and ended. The history of India contains numerous examples of women who have shown their greatness in many fields of activity. In the struggle for freedom, women
took an active and effective part. It is, therefore, not only desirable but essential in the national interest that they should have full opportunities of growth and service and should also have rights of inheritance so that they might not suffer from any legal or social disability.

2. The welfare of children is of paramount importance and should be given first place in the plans for national development.

3. The Congress appreciates the efforts made by the various governments in India for the welfare of women and children and urges them to pay even greater attention to them. In particular, the Congress welcomes the Hindu Law Reform Bills at present before Parliament, and trusts that they will be enacted at an early date."

60 : 1955 : Asadi : XIII.

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SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION
See
FOREIGN RELATIONS—SOUTH AFRICA
STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS
See
CIVIL DISOBEEDIENCE MOVEMENTS—I-IX. (VOL. I)
STUDENT MOVEMENT
See
CIVIL DISOBEEDIENCE MOVEMENTS—I-IX (VOL. I)
SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES
See
CIVIL LIBERTIES, SUPPRESSION OF (VOL. I)
SWADESHI MOVEMENT
See
CIVIL, DISOBEEDIENCE MOVEMENTS—I-IX (VOL. I)
SWARAJISTS
See
POLITICAL PARTIES—SWARAJYA PARTY

* * *
CHAPTER XXIV

SWARAJ BHAWAN

Note:—Formerly known as Anand Bhawan it is situated at Allahabad (U.P.) and is the home of the Nehru family. Late Shri Jawaharlal Nehru’s father, late Shri Motilal Nehru donated his home ‘to the nation’ in 1930 and, thereafter, as Swaraj Bhawan (Abode of Freedom), it housed the office of the All-India Congress Committee until 1948, when after Independence the Congress Secretariat was shifted to its present premises, 7, Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi. The Swaraj Bhawan virtually was the Headquarters of India’s major political party for almost eighteen years during the course of which many historic decisions were taken by the Indian National Congress.

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Documents:

Swaraj Bhawan

The Working Committee examined the proposal received from Srimati Anusuyabai Kale, President, All-India Women’s Conference, seeking permission to convert the Swaraj Bhawan into a model Children Institute, devoted specially to research work in children’s diet and passed the following resolution:

"The Committee approves of the proposals made by Mrs. Kale, President of the All-India Women’s Conference in respect of use to which Swaraj Bhawan may be put and recommends the same to the Trustees. The Committee appoints the following ad hoc committee to advise the Managing Committee of Swaraj Bhawan in regard to this matter.

1. Smt. Perin Captain.
2. Smt. Anusuyabai Kale (President, All-India Women’s Conference).
4. Smt. Indira Gandhi,
5. Smt. Sucheta Kripalani,
6. Dr. (Mrs.) Vatsala Samant (Superintendent, Kamla Nehru Memorial Hospital).
7. Sri Kamal Nayan Bajaj
8. Sri Jugal Kishore.
Smt. Mridula Sarabhai will be the convenor of this Committee.

W.C. : July 1-2, 1948 : New Delhi : VI.
New Delhi 7/8 Sept. 5, 6 & 8, 1948.

Swaraj Bhawan*

The letter of the Secretary, Board of Management, Swaraj Bhawan Trust asking for a special grant by the A.I.C.C. was placed before the Working Committee, and the Committee sanctioned the sum of Rs. 15,000/- for Swaraj Bhawan repairs in consideration of the use of the Swaraj Bhawan buildings by the A.I.C.C. Office for over 15 years. The Working Committee directed that the balance of the amount (Rs. 8,382-8-0) of the Swaraj Bhawan Building Fund lying with the A.I.C.C. be transferred to the account of Swaraj Bhawan Trust, as suggested by the Swaraj Bhawan Board.


*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee meeting met in New Delhi from 5th to 8th September, 1948.
CHAPTER XXV

TAXATION

Note: — One of the important items on the agenda of the Programme of the Indian National Congress was to organize campaigns against the taxes imposed on the masses by the British Government. Below are given a few resolutions passed by the Congress from time to time.

*   *   *

Documents:

"That, as the administration of the Income Tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, the loss of revenue thus involved being made good, and further financial difficulties, if any, met by reductions in the existing public expenditure, or, should this prove impossible, by the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton goods". 3: 1887: Madras: VI.

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"That, having regard to the fact that a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants has taken place under the systems of Abkari and Excise now prevailing in India, the Government be respectfully urged to adopt some such improved system as shall tend to discourage insobriety." 4: 1888: Allahabad: VII.

*   *   *

"That, as the administration of the Income Tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential, in the opinion of the Congress, that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000".
"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."

* * *

"That in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers), but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution." 5: 1889: Bombay: VIII.

* * *

"That the condition of the finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject, in its name and on its behalf, to H. E. the Viceroy in Council". 6: 1890: Calcutta V.

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

(b) That this Congress puts on record its firm conviction that in proposing this excise the interests of India have been sacrificed to those of Lancashire, and it strongly deprecates any such surrender of Indian interests by the Secretary of State."
(c) That in case the Excise Bill becomes Law this Congress earnestly prays that the Government of India will without delay seek the sanction of the Secretary of State to exercise the powers which the Bill confers on Governments to exempt all Cotton from “twenties” to “twenty-four” to the operation of act.

(d) That the President be authorised to telegraph the above Resolution to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State.”


* * *

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

10:1894:Madras:XX.

* * *

“That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating:

(a) The raising of the Income Tax taxable minimum from five hundred to one thousand rupees;

(b) 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, 105 of the Despatch, published in the GAZETTE OF INDIA of March 1890, and the introduction of a simple system of local option in the case of all villages:”

11:1895:Poona:XXII.

* * *

“That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Secretary of State for India for his promise of September last to take an early opportunity to reduce the Salt-Duty, and, concurring with previous Congresses, once more places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of salt taxation imposes upon the poorest classes of the country—a hardship which renders it incumbent on
Government to take the first opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

"That this Congress once again places on record its sense of the great hardship which the present rate of Salt tax imposes upon the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to the level of 1868.

"That inasmuch as large bodies of British troops have, with perfect safety and without imperilling the peace of the country, been withdrawn for service outside the statutory limits of British India, this Congress is of opinion that the Indian taxpayer should be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India the present strength of the European Army:—the claims of financial justice to India demands the transfer of the cost of a portion of British troops from the Indian to the British Exchequer."

"That the Congress strongly protests against the present high duty on salt, and in view of the fact that the prevalence and spread of many diseases are now traced to the insufficient of salt consumed by the Indian masses and that the accounts of the Government of India have now been showing large surpluses year after year the Congress urges that Government should be pleased to reduce the salt tax by at least the amount of its enhancement in 1888."

"That this Congress tenders its thanks to the Government of India for the relief granted to the poorer classes of the country by the reduction of the Salt-Tax and by raising the assessable minimum for Income-Tax and prays that the Government of India be pleased to make a further reduction in the Salt-Tax.
(a) "That this Congress, while thanking the Government of India for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the Excise Administration in the several provinces of the country, regrets that its composition is exclusively official and that, therefore, it cannot inspire full public confidence.

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

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

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

21 : 1905 : Banaras : III.

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

21 : 1905 : Banaras : VII.

"That this Congress is of opinion that the countervailing excise duties on Indian cottons are handicapping the growth and
expansion of the Indian manufacturing industry and earnestly prays to the Government of India that they may be abolished at an early date.

26:1911:Calcutta:X.

* * *

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 cooperative. 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 coordination 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 the District Development Board for

concerted 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 coordination 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."
CHAPTER XXVI

WORLD WARS—I AND II

*Note*:—The World War I (1914-1918) broke out in June 1914 after the murder of the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand by a Serbian nationalist. India, then being a colony of Great Britain was, therefore, indirectly involved in it. Eminent leaders of major political parties extended their remarkable cooperation to the British Government. Mahatma Gandhi said: "...If we would improve our status through the help and cooperation of the British it was our duty to win their help by standing by them in their hour of need,..." Lord Harding while giving evidence in July 1917, before the Mesopotamia Commission said: "The Imperial Government allowed India to be blended absolutely white during the first weeks of War." According to the official estimate India supplied 800,000 combatants and more than 400,000 non-combatants besides, the monetary contributions.

The Victory of the Allies roused expectations of those political leaders who whole heartedly helped the British cause. It also stimulated constitutional agitation for reforms and infused a new life in India’s struggle for freedom. Contrary to the aspirations of the National leaders, the Government introduced in February 1919 into the Legislative Council two bills, popularly known as Roundel Bills, to deal with an archical offence in an expeditious manner. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy and similar other ugly incidents gave non-violent character to India’s struggle for freedom. Mahatma Gandhi who appeared at the scene of Indian politics in 1914, by now was an undisputed leader of India’s national movement. He placed before the nation his programme of non-violent, non-co-operation. To some of his colleagues it appeared merely Utopia but later they also joined the movement in some form or other.

*World War II*

Lord Linlithgow who was then the Viceroy of India declared India a party to the World War II, which broke out in 1939. In an announcement on 17th October, the Viceroy invited all the political parties to nominate persons from whom he will select his advi-
sors. Mr. Montagu especially came to India to negotiate with Indian leaders.

The Congress Working Committee at Wardha discussed for five days the War situation and finally expressed its dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the British Government declaring India a beligerent country, promulgating war ordinances and amending the Government of India Act in a manner circumscribing the power of the Provincial Governments. "The Congress offer of support to England’s war-effort was conditional in the sense that it demanded, (i) a declaration by Great Britain in favour of India’s right of self-determination, and (ii) immediate application to the declaration to the largest possible extent."

The Muslim League in its Working Committee meeting held in New Delhi on September 18th 1939, decided that it would lend its support only if the Muslim League was to be recognized as "the only organization that can speak on behalf of Muslim India." The stand the Hindu Mahasabha took was in favour of a policy of responsive cooperation, neither non-cooperation nor unconditional cooperation."

The Liberals as usual differed with the policies of the Congress and the Muslim League but wanted that the Government must do something to solve the political deadlock.

The documents given below further clarify the stand taken by various parties in India.

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Documents:

"This Congress notes with gratitude and satisfaction the despatch of the Indian Expeditionary Force to the theatre of war, and begs to offer to His Excellency the Viceroy its most heartfelt thanks, for affording to the people of India an opportunity of showing that, as equal subjects of His Majesty, they are prepared to fight shoulder to shoulder, with the people of other parts of the Empire in defence of right and justice, and the cause of the Empire."

29 : 1914 : Madras : V.

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"This Congress places on record its abiding sense of the righteousness of the cause espoused by Great Britain and her Allies in support of the principles of liberty, justice and humanity, and whiel
expressing its gratification and pride at the splendid achievements of the British Navy in consonance with its glorious traditions and at the heroism displayed by the British Indian and Colonial soldiers, earnestly prays that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success."

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"This Congress respectfully begs to convey to His Majesty on behalf of the people of India, their deep loyalty and profound devotion to the Throne, unswerving allegiance to the British connection and their firm resolve to stand by the Empire. This Congress prays that the cause of the Allies may be crowned with success."

30 : 1915 : Bombay : VI.

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(a) "This Congress places on record its grateful appreciation of the sentiments conveyed in the message of and fully the Prime Minister to the Princes and People of India and fully shares in the determination of the British people to bring the war to a triumphant issue.

(b) That this Congress regrets that larger use has not been made of the man-power of India and urges that an army may be raised immediately in India from the Civil population under Indian commissioned officers for that purpose.

(c) That the President be authorized to submit the above resolution to the Prime Minister by wire through the proper channel." 31 : 1916 : Lucknow : V.

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

31 : 1916 : Lucknow : XVIII.
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"That this Congress tenders its most loyal homage to His Gracious Majesty the King Emperor and has learned with great satisfaction of the recent successes of the Allies in the War now raging and sincerely prays for their early and decisive victory and the final vindication of the principles of Freedom, Justice and Self-determination."

33 : (Special) : 1918 : Bombay : I
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(b) WORLD WAR—II

"The Congress, at its sessions held in Madras in 1927, drew the attention of the country to the danger of imperialist war and the possibility of India being made a tool in such a conflict for imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any such war without their express permission. That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of fascist dictatorships, the Italian attack on Abyssinia the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great imperialist Powers, and the feverish growth of armaments, and vast and terrible war threatens the world. In such a war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage and for the benefit of British imperialism. The Congress, therefore, reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against this danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any imperialist war.
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This Congress, meeting after six and a half years of war and upheaval and frightfulness, pays its homage to the memory of all those who have given their lives in the cause of India's freedom and all those who have suffered in the struggle for freedom and the emancipation of India's millions.

During these years the World War raged in all its fury, and in India the armed might of an alien imperialist power tried to crush
the spirit of freedom and the passionate desire of the Indian people to gain independence. The Indian people resisted this ruthless onslaught and through travail and agony demonstrated their will to freedom. The complete failure and incompetence of an out-of-date political and administrative system resulted in famine which took its toll of millions of lives.

The end of the World War has not brought peace to the World and the appearance of the atom bomb as a weapon of war, with its frightful and horrible powers of destruction, has brought to a crisis the immoral and self-destructive elements of the present-day political, economic and spiritual structure of the world. Civilisation is likely to destroy itself unless it gives up its imperialist and acquisitive tendencies and bases itself on the peaceful co-operation of free nations and on the maintenance of the dignity of man.

In India, as elsewhere, the period of transition from the old world, which has demonstrated its failure to the new, to which millions look with hope and for which they strive is full of peril and reactionary forces are everywhere trying to prevent the establishment of a new order of peace and freedom. This Congress has always stood for the full co-operation of free nations and for the removal of political and economic inequality between nations and peoples. India has been and is today the crux of the problem of freedom of subject peoples. On the complete emancipation of the Indian people depends the freedom of vast numbers of others in Asia, Africa and elsewhere, world peace and progress.

The Congress has drawn repeated attention in the past to the danger of imperialist war and has declared that India can be no party to it. Since the last session of the Congress the crisis has deepened and fascist aggression has increased, the fascist powers forming alliances and grouping themselves together for war with the intention of dominating Europe and the world and crushing political and social freedom. The Congress is fully conscious of the necessity of facing this world menace in co-operation with the progressive nations and peoples of the world, and especially with those peoples who are dominated over and exploited by imperialism and fascism. In the event of such a world war taking place there is grave danger of Indian man-power and resources being utilised for the purposes of British imperialism, and it is, therefore, necessary for the Congress to warn the country again against this and prepare it to resist such exploitation of India and her people. No credits must be voted for such a war and voluntary subscriptions and war
loans must not be supported and all other war preparations resisted.'

50: 1936 (Dec.): Faizpur: VII.

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Resolution of the Working Committee of the  
Indian National Congress on the  
War Crisis, 14 September, 1939

The Working Committee have given their earnest consideration to the grave crisis that has developed owing to the declaration of war in Europe. The principles which should guide the nation in the event of war have been repeatedly laid down by the Congress, and only a month ago this Committee reiterated them and expressed their displeasure at the flouting of Indian opinion by the British Government in India. As a first step to dissociate themselves from the policy of the British Government, the Committee called upon the Congress members of the Central Legislative Assembly to refrain from attending the next session. Since then the British Government have declared India as a belligerent country, promulgated Ordinances, passed the Government of India Act Amending Bill, and taken other far-reaching measures which affect the Indian people vitally, and circumscribe and limit the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments. This has been done without the consent of the Indian people whose declared wishes in such matters have been deliberately ignored by the British Government. The Working Committee must take the gravest view of these developments.

The Congress has repeatedly declared its entire disapproval of the ideology and practice of Fascism and Nazism and their glorification of war and violence and the suppression of the human spirit. It has condemned the aggression in which they have repeatedly indulged and their sweeping away of well-established principles and recognized standards of civilized behaviour. It has seen in Fascism and Nazism the intensification of the principle of imperialism against which the Indian people have struggled for many years. The Working Committee must, therefore, unhesitatingly condemn the latest aggression of the Nazi Government in Germany against Poland and sympathize with those who resist it.

The Congress has further laid down that the issue of war and peace for India must be decided by the Indian people, and no outside authority can impose this decision upon them, nor can the Indian people permit their resources to be exploited for imperialist ends. Any imposed decision, or attempt to use India's resources, for pur-
poses not approved by them, will necessarily have to be opposed by them. If co-operation is desired in a worthy cause, this cannot be obtained by compulsion and imposition, and the Committee cannot agree to the carrying out by the Indian people of orders issued by external authority. Co-operation must be between equals by mutual consent for a cause which both consider to be worthy. The people of India have, in the recent past, faced great risks and willingly made great sacrifices to secure their own freedom and establish a free democratic state in India, and their sympathy is entirely on the side of democracy and freedom. But India cannot associate herself in a war said to be for democratic freedom when that very freedom is denied to her and such limited freedom as she possesses taken away from her.

The Committee are aware that the Governments of Great Britain and France have declared that they are fighting for democracy and freedom and to put an end to aggression. But the history of the recent past is full of examples showing the constant divergence between the spoken word, the ideals proclaimed, and the real motives and objectives. During the War of 1914-18 the declared war aims were preservation of democracy, self-determination, and the freedom of small nations, and yet the very Governments which solemnly proclaimed these aims entered into secret treaties embodying imperialist designs for the carrying up of the Ottoman Empire. While stating that they did not want any acquisition of territory, the victorious powers added largely to their colonial domains. The present European War itself signifies the abject failure of the Treaty of Versailles and of its makers, who broke their pledged word and imposed an imperialist peace on the defeated nations. The one hopeful outcome of that Treaty, the League of Nations, was muzzled and strangled at the outset and later killed by its parent States.

Subsequent history has demonstrated afresh how even a seemingly fervent declaration of faith may be followed by an ignoble desertion. In Manchuria the British Government connived at aggression; in Abyssinia they acquiesced in it. In Czechoslovakia and Spain democracy was in peril and it was deliberately betrayed, and the whole system of collective security was sabotaged by the very powers who had previously declared their firm faith in it.

Again it is asserted that democracy is in danger and must be defended and with this statement the Committee are in entire agreement. The Committee believe that the people of the West are moved by this ideal and objective and for these they are prepared to make sacrifices. But again and again the ideals and sentiments of the people and of those who have sacrificed themselves in the
struggle have been ignored and faith has not been kept with them.

If the War is to defend the status quo, imperialist possessions, colonies, vested interests and privileges, then India can have nothing to do with it. If, however, the issue is democracy and a world order based on democracy, then India is intensely interested in it. The Committee are convinced that the interests of Indian democracy do not conflict with the interests of British democracy or of world democracy. But there is an inherent and ineradicable conflict between democracy for India or elsewhere and imperialism and Fascism. If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, then she must necessarily end imperialism in her own possession, establish full democracy in India, and the Indian people must have the right of self-determination by framing their own Constitution through a Constituent Assembly without external interference, and must guide their own policy. A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation. She will work for the establishment of a real world order based on freedom and democracy, utilizing the world’s knowledge and resources for the progress and advancement of humanity.

The crisis that has overtaken Europe is not of Europe only but of humanity and will not pass like other crises or wars leaving the essential structure of the present-day world intact. It is likely to refashion the world for good or ill, politically, socially and economically. This crisis is the inevitable consequence of the social and political conflicts and contradictions which have grown alarmingly since the last Great War, and it will not be finally resolved till these conflicts and contradictions are removed and a new equilibrium established. That equilibrium can only be based on the ending of the domination and exploitation of one country by another, and on a reorganization of economic relations on a juster basis for the common good of all. India is the crux of the problem, for India has been the outstanding example of modern imperialism and no refashioning of the world can succeed which ignores this vital problem. With her vast resources she must play an important part in any scheme of world reorganisation. But she can only do so as a free nation whose energies have been released to work for this great end. Freedom today is indivisible and every attempt to retain imperialist domination in any part of the world will lead inevitably to fresh disaster.

The Working Committee have noted that many Rulers of Indian States have offered their services and resources and expressed their desire to support the cause of democracy in Europe. If they
must make their professions in favour of democracy abroad, the Committee would suggest that their first concern should be the introduction of democracy within their own States in which today undiluted autocracy reigns supreme. The British Government in India is more responsible for this autocracy than even the Rulers themselves, as has been made painfully evident during the past year. This policy is the very negation of democracy and of the new world order for which Great Britain claims to be fighting in Europe.

As the Working Committee view past events in Europe, Africa and Asia, and more particularly past and present occurrences in India, they fail to find any attempt to advance the cause of democracy or self-determination or any evidence that the present war declarations of the British Government are being or are going to be, acted upon. The true measure of democracy is the ending of imperialism and Fascism alike and the aggression that has accompanied them in the past and the present. Only on that basis can a new order be built up. In the struggle for that new world order, the Committee are eager and desirous to help in every way. But the Committee cannot associate themselves or offer any co-operation in a war which is conducted on imperialist lines and which is meant to consolidate imperialism in India and elsewhere.

In view, however, of the gravity of the occasion and the fact that the pace of events during the last few days has often been swifter than the working of men's minds, the Committee desire to take no final decision at this stage, so as to allow for the full clarification of the issues at stake, the real objectives aimed at, and the position of India in the present and in the future. But the decision cannot long be delayed as India is being committed from day to day to a policy to which she is not a party and of which she disapproves.

The Working Committee, therefore, invite the British Government to declare in unequivocal terms what their war aims are in regard to democracy and imperialism and the new order that is envisaged, in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. Do they include the elimination of imperialism and the treatment of India as a free nation whose policy will be guided in accordance with the wishes of her people? A clear declaration about the future, pledging the Government to the ending of imperialism and Fascism alike will be welcomed by the people of all countries, but it is far more important to give immediate effect to it, to the largest possible extent, for only this will convince the people that the declaration is meant to be
honoured. The real test of any declaration is its application in the present, for it is the present that will govern action today and give shape to the future.

War has broken out in Europe and the prospect is terrible to contemplate. But war has been taking its heavy toll of human life during recent years in Abyssinia, Spain and China. Innumerable innocent men, women and children have been bombed to death from the air in open cities, cold-blooded massacres, torture and utmost humiliation have followed each other in quick succession during these years of horror. That horror grows, and violence and the threat of violence shadow the world and, unless checked and ended, will destroy the precious inheritance of past ages. That horror has to be checked in Europe and China, but it will not end till its root causes of Fascism and imperialism are removed. To that end the Working Committee are prepared to give their co-operation. But it will be infinite tragedy if even this terrible war is carried on in the spirit of imperialism and for the purpose of retaining this structure which is itself the cause of war and human degradation.

The Working Committee wish to declare that the Indian people have no quarrel with the German people or the Japanese people or any other people. But they have a deep-rooted quarrel with systems which deny freedom and are based on violence and aggression. They do not look forward to a victory of one people over another or to a dictated peace, but to a victory of real democracy for all the people of all countries and a world freed from the nightmare of violence and imperialist oppression.

The Committee earnestly appeal to the Indian people to end all internal conflict and controversy and, in this grave hour of peril, to keep in readiness and hold together as a united nation, calm of purpose and determined to achieve the freedom of India within the larger freedom of the world.

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Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League on the War Crisis,
17-18 September, 1939

The Committee are of opinion that the views expressed by the Council of the All-India Muslim League by its resolution No. 8 of the 27th of August 1939 in the following words 'while deploiring the policy of the British Government towards the Muslims of India by attempting to force upon them against their will a Constitution, and
in particular the Federal Scheme as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, which allows a permanent hostile communal majority to trample upon their religious, political, social and economic rights and the utter neglect and indifference shown by the Viceroy and the Governors in the Congress-governed provinces in exercising their special powers to protect and secure justice to the Minorities; and towards the Arabs in Palestine in refusing to meet their demands, holds the view that in these circumstances if the British Government desires to enlist the support and the sympathy of the Muslims of the world, and particularly of the Indian Muslims in future contingencies it must meet the demands of the Muslims of India without delay', are the true sentiments and opinions of the Mussulmans of India.

The Working Committee appreciate the declaration of H.E. the Viceroy, which is in the interest of India and particularly the Mussulmans, that the federal scheme embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, has been suspended. They wish that instead of its being suspended, it had been abandoned completely and desire to convey to His Majesty's Government that they should do so without further delay. The Committee desire to make it clear that they do not endorse the 'federal objective' of His Majesty's Government referred to by His Excellency in his address to the Members of the Central Legislature and strongly urge upon the British Government to review and revise the entire problem of India's future constitution de novo in the light of the experience gained by the working of the present provincial Constitution of India and developments that have taken place since 1935 or may take place hereafter.

The Committee in this connexion wish to point out that Muslim India occupies a special and peculiar position in the polity of India and for several decades it had hoped to occupy an honourable place in the national life, government and administration of the country and worked for a free India with free and independent Islam in which they could play an equal part with the major community with a complete sense of security for their religious, political, cultural, social and economic rights and interests; but the developments that have taken place, and especially since the inauguration of the provincial Constitution based on the so-called democratic parliamentary system of government, and the recent experiences of over two years have established beyond doubt that it has resulted wholly in a permanent communal majority and the domination of the Hindus over the Muslim minorities whose life and liberty, property and honour, are in danger and even their religious
rights and culture are being assailed and annihilated every day under the Congress Governments in various Provinces.

That while Muslim India stands against exploitation of the people of India and has repeatedly declared in favour of a free India it is equally opposed to the domination of the Hindu majority over Mussulmans and other Minorities and vassalization of Muslim India and is irrevocably opposed to any 'federal objective' which must necessarily result in a majority community rule under the guise of democracy and a parliamentary system of government. Such a Constitution is totally unsuited to the genius of the peoples of the country which is composed of various nationalities and does not constitute a national State.

The Muslim League condemns unprovoked aggression and the doctrine that 'might is right' and upholds the principles of freedom of humanity and 'that the will of the strongest irrespective of right and justice cannot be allowed to prevail'. The Committee express their deep sympathy for Poland, England and France. The Committee, however, feels that real and solid Muslim co-operation and support to Great Britain in this hour of her trial cannot be secured successfully if His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy are unable to secure to the Mussulmans justice and fair play in the Congress-governed provinces where today their liberty, person, property and honour are in danger and even their elementary rights are most callously trampled upon. The Committee strongly urge upon His Majesty's Government and Viceroy and Governor-General to direct the Governors to exercise their special powers where any provincial Ministry fails to secure justice and fair play to the Mussulmans or where they resort to oppression or interference with their political, economic, social and cultural rights, in accordance with the sacred promises, assurances and declarations repeatedly made by Great Britain, in consequence of which these special powers were expressly embodied in the statute. The Committee regret to say that so far these special powers have remained dormant and obsolete and the Governors have failed to protect the rights of the Mussulmans under the threat by the High Command of the Congress that exercise of these special powers on the part of the Governors will lead to a crisis in all the Congress-governed provinces where they are in solid majority.

While the Muslim League stands for the freedom of India, the Committee further urge upon His Majesty's Government and ask for an assurance that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any Consti-
tution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament with such consent and approval.

The policy of the British Government towards the Arabs in Palestine has wounded deeply Muslim feeling and sentiment and all representations in that behalf have had no real effect so far. The Committee once more urge upon His Majesty's Government to satisfy the Arab national demands.

If full effective and honourable co-operation of the Mussulmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world today and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination it must create sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussulmans and take into its confidence the Muslim League which is the only organization that can speak on behalf of Muslim India.

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Statement by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, on 'War Aims' and 'War Effort', 18 October, 1939

What are the intentions and aims of His Majesty's Government in relation to India? I cannot do better in reply to that question than to refer to the statement made on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and with their full authority, by the late Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on the 6th February, 1935. That statement makes the position clear beyond a shadow of doubt. It refers to the pledge given in the Preamble of the Act of 1919, and it makes it clear that it was no part of the plan of His Majesty's Government to repeal that pledge. It confirms equally the interpretation placed in 1929 by Lord Irwin, as Viceroy, again on the authority of the Government of the day, on that Preamble, that 'the natural issue of India's progress as there contemplated is the attainment of Dominion Status'. I need not dilate on the words of that statement. They are clear and positive. They are enshrined in the parliamentary record. They stand as a definite and categorical exposition of the policy of His Majesty's Government today, and of their intentions today in this end, the future constitutional development and position of India. I would add only that the Instrument of Instructions issued to me as Governor-General by His Majesty the King-Emperor in May 1937 lays upon me as Governor-General a direction so to exercise the trust which His Majesty has reposed in me 'that the partnership between India and
the United Kingdom within our Empire may be furthered to the end that India may attain its due place among our Dominions.

That is the policy and that is the position. These are the intentions of His Majesty's Government. Let me go on to say another word about the Act of 1935. That Act was based on the greatest measure of common agreement which it was possible to obtain at the time when it was framed. It was based, as is well known to all of us, on the common labours of British and Indian statesmen, and of representatives of British India as well as of the Indian States over a long period of years. All parties were at one stage or other closely associated with those deliberations. And I can speak from personal experience when I bear tribute to the extreme anxiety of all those of us on whom, in the Joint Select Committee, there fell the more particular responsibility for devising proposals for the consideration of Parliament to ensure that the fullest account had been taken of all interests, of the views of all political parties; and that nothing had been left undone to ensure that the outcome of our labours reflected the greatest measure of agreement practicable in the conditions that confronted us.

Be that as it may, His Majesty's Government recognize that when the time comes to resume consideration of the plan for the future federal Government of India, and of the plan destined to give effect to the assurances given in Parliament by the late Secretary of State, to which I have just referred, it will be necessary to reconsider in the light of the then circumstances to what extent the details of the plan embodied in the Act of 1935 remain appropriate. And I am authorized now by His Majesty's Government to say that at the end of the war they will be very willing to enter into consultation with representatives of the several communities, parties, and interests in India, and with the Indian Princes, with a view to securing their aid and co-operation in the framing of such modifications as may seem desirable.

I have, I trust, in what I have just said, made clear that the intention and the anxiety of His Majesty's Government is, as stated in the Instrument of Instructions to the Governor General, to further the partnership between India and the United Kingdom within the Empire to the end that India may attain her due place among the great Dominions. The scheme of Government embodied in the Act of 1935 was designed as an essential stage in that process. But I have made clear in what I have just said that His Majesty's Government will, at the end of the war, be prepared to regard the scheme of the Act as open to modification in the light of Indian views. And I would make it clear, too, that it will be their object, as
at all times in the past it has been, to spare no pains to further agree-
ment by any means in their power in the hope of contributing to
the ordered and harmonious progress of India towards her goal.
Let me in that connexion add that in the conversations I have had,
representatives of the Minorities have urged most strongly on me
the necessity of a clear assurance that full weight would be given
to their views and to their interests in any modifications that may
be contemplated. On that, I need say no more than that over more
than a decade, at the three Round Table Conferences, and at the
Joint Select Committee, His Majesty's Government consulted with
and had the assistance of the advice of representatives of all parties
and all interests in this country. It is unthinkable that we should
now proceed to plan, afresh or to modify in any respect, any impor-
tant part of India's future Constitution without again taking coun-
sel with those who have in the recent past been so closely associated
in a like task with His Majesty's Government and with Parliament.

That some even more extensive scheme than I have mentioned,
some even more widely phrased indication of the intentions of His
Majesty's Government, is desired in certain quarters in this country,
I am fully aware from the conversations I have had during these last
few weeks. That that is a desire held with sincerity, and that those
who hold it are convinced that it is in the manner in question that
the future progress and development of India and the expressed
intentions of His Majesty's Government can best be fulfilled, I fully
and readily accept. I would utter one word only of caution. And
if I say that the situation must be faced in terms of world politics
and of political realities in this country, I do so from no lack of
sympathy, and no lack of appreciation of the motives that weigh
with the people of India and the ideals that appeal to them. But I
would urge that it is essential in matters of this nature, affecting
the future of tens of millions of people, affecting the relations of the
great communities, affecting the Princes of India, affecting the
immense commercial and industrial enterprises, whether Indian or
European in this country, that the largest measure of agreement
practicable should be achieved. With the best will in the world,
progress must be conditioned by practical considerations. I am
convinced myself, if I may say so with the utmost emphasis, that
having regard to the extent of agreement which in fact exists in the
constitutional field, and on this most difficult and important question
of the nature of the arrangements to be made for expediting and
facilitating the attainment by India of her full status, there is
nothing to be gained by phrases which, widely and generally expres-
sed, contemplate a state of things which is unlikely to stand at the
present point of political development the test of practical application, or to result in that unified effort by all parties and all communities in India on the basis of which alone India can hope to go forward as one and to occupy the place to which her history and her destinies entitle her. I would ask that these words of caution be not taken as indicating any lack of sympathy on the part of His Majesty's Government for the aspirations of India, or any indifference to the pace of her advance; and I would repeat that His Majesty's Government are but concerned to use their best endeavours, now as in the past, to bring about that measure of agreement and understanding between all parties and all interests in this country which is so essential a condition of progress towards India's goal.

I turn now to the arrangements to be made to secure the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war. In the light of my conversations and of the views (by no means always in accord) of representatives of the great parties and of the Princes I am of opinion that the right solution would be the establishment of a consultative group, representative of all major political parties in British India and of the Indian Princes, over which the Governor-General would himself preside, which would be summoned at his invitation, and which would have as its object the association of public opinion in India with the conduct of the war and with questions relating to war activities.

This group, for practical reasons, would inevitably be limited in size. But His Majesty's Government contemplate that it should be fully representative, and in particular that its personnel should be drawn by the Governor-General from panels prepared by the various major political parties, from which a selection of individuals to attend meetings of the group would be made by the Governor-General. I hope in the very near future to enter into consultation with political leaders and with the Princes on this question. I have no doubt whatever that an arrangement of this nature will most materially contribute to associating the Indian States and British India with the steps which are being taken for the prosecution of the war and with the arrangements that are being made in that connexion: and I am confident, too, that in an association of this nature of representatives of all parties and all interests there lies the germ of that fuller and broader association of all points of view in this country which contains in it the seeds of much advantage for the future of India as a whole.
Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. M.A. Jinnah, 2 November 1939.

You will remember that I agreed during our conversation yesterday to let you have in concrete form the position which I put to you and the other gentlemen who were present at the meeting, emphasizing that I did so with a genuine desire to help, a desire fully shared by His Majesty’s Government.

The proposition which I invited you and the other gentlemen present to consider as leaders of the Congress and Muslim League, was that, given the great importance of ensuring harmonious working at the Centre, you should enter upon discussions between yourselves with a view to discovering whether you could reach a basis of agreement between yourselves in the Provincial field, consequent on which you could let me have proposals which would result in representatives of your two organizations immediately participating in the Central Government as members of my Executive Council. I brought out, too, that in my judgement it ought not to be necessary absolutely to resolve every detail of such differences as may exist in the Provinces. What was required, as was remarked in the course of the discussion, was a degree of agreement in respect of the Provinces, such as to make it possible for my visitors and the organizations which they represented to put forward a scheme which could be considered for the Centre.

I added, in regard to any arrangement at the Centre: Firstly, that one would hope that it might be found practicable to include also one or possibly more representatives of other important groups, and that was a question on which I should value your advice when we came to grapple with details. Secondly, that the arrangement which I invited you to consider for the Centre would be an ad hoc arrangement for the period of war and would be quite distinct from the much wider question of constitutional reform at the end of the war. And I mentioned that on the last point my declaration had set out the position of His Majesty’s Government. Thirdly, that the position of anyone appointed to my Executive Council as a member of a political party would be identical in privileges and in obligations with that of the existing members of my Council. Fourthly, that the arrangement would be within the general scheme of the existing law. It would admittedly be inevitably a makeshift arrangement for the duration of the campaign.

I brought out that what was required now, if we could get a workable scheme together, was to put it into operation with as little delay as possible, pending the more general review of the whole
constitutional position, which His Majesty's Government have expressed their readiness to undertake after the conclusion of the hostilities.

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*Letter from Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Lord Linlithgow,*
*3 November 1930*

... At the outset I would like to say that both Gandhiji and I missed at the interview any reference to the main and moral issue raised by the Congress about the clarification of the war aims without which it is impossible for the Congress to consider any subsidiary proposal. The present crisis has arisen owing to the outbreak of war in Europe and the action of the British Government in declaring India a belligerent country without the consent of the Indian people. This crisis is entirely political and is not related to the communal issue in India. It raises vital questions in regard to the war aims of the British Government and the position of India in relation to them.

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I am afraid it is quite impossible for us to accept this policy or consider any step to further co-operation unless the policy of the British Government is made clear in a declaration on the lines suggested by the Congress. It has pained us to find the communal questions being dragged in this connexion. It has clouded the main issue. It has been repeatedly said on behalf of the Congress that it is our earnest desire to settle all points of communal controversy by agreement and we propose to continue our efforts to this end. But I would point out that this question does not in any respect come in the way of a declaration of Indian freedom as suggested above.

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If a satisfactory declaration is made a discussion of the proposal made by Your Excellency will be appropriate and useful and we shall gladly discuss it with you.
Statement by Lord Linlithgow releasing his correspondence with Indian leaders, 5 November, 1939

I next invited Mr. Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and Mr. Jinnah to come to see me on November 1, and we discussed the whole position with them frankly. I had already in my previous conversations discussed with them, as with almost all my visitors, from various aspects the possibility of an expansion of the Governor-General’s Council. I now told them that if in regard to association at the Centre, we had been unable to go further than the Consultative Group it was because of the lack of prior agreement between the major communities such as would contribute to harmonious working in the Centre. I added that the manifestos issued on 22nd October by the Congress Working Committee and the Muslim League had shown only too clearly the gulf that existed between the attitudes of these two great parties.

I begged my visitors in these circumstances to meet and to have discussions among themselves on the Provincial position, with a view thereafter to putting forward in agreement proposals which could be considered for some expansion of the Governor-General’s Council at the Centre. I told them that I saw no necessity for every detail of the differences between them in the Province to be resolved. What was needed was a sufficient resolution of those differences to make the devising of a scheme for harmonious cooperation at the Centre practicable. I begged them in the most earnest manner to spare no endeavour to reach agreement; and I emphasized that this was essentially a question affecting Indians on which agreement between Indians themselves was what I was anxious to secure. I repeated the profound anxiety not only of myself but of His Majesty’s Government to leave nothing undone which would contribute to achieve that agreement.

The discussions which I suggested have taken place. But the result to me has been a profound disappointment. There remains today entire disagreement between the representatives of the major parties on fundamental issues.

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Letter from Mr. M.A. Jinnah to Lord Linlithgow, 5 November 1939

In my interview with you on the 4th of November the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am
herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply:

(1) That so soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war the entire problem of India’s future Constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered de novo:

(2) That no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any Constitution be enacted by His Majesty’s Government or Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, viz. the Mussulmans and the Hindus;

(3) That His Majesty’s Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine.

(4) That the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

* * *

Statement by Gandhiji, 8 November, 1939

I have read with respectful attention His Excellency the Viceroy’s broadcast and his introductory remarks on the correspondence between himself and Shri Rajendra Prasad and Jinnah Saheb released by His Excellency... Without, therefore, waiting for the Congress reaction to these two declarations and purely for the sake of assisting the common cause, I would like to suggest that no solution is possible unless an acceptable declaration of war aims about India is forthcoming. The pronouncements hitherto made whether here or in Great Britain, are after the old style, suspected and discredited by freedom-loving India. If imperialism is dead, there must be a clear break with the past. Language suited to the new era has to be used. If the time has not yet come for the acceptance of this fundamental truth, I would urge that further effort at reaching a solution should be suspended. In this connexion I would remind British statesmen that what is wanted is a declaration of Britain’s intention regarding her Indian policy irrespective of India’s wishes. A slave-holder, who has decided to abolish slavery, does not consult his slaves whether they desire freedom or not.

Once a declaration to free India from bondage, not in stages but at once, is made an interim solution will be found to be easy. Protection of rights of Minorities will then become simple. The game of seesaw will cease. The minorities are entitled to protection.
not in stages but to the fullest extent and in one single step. No charter of freedom will be worth looking at which does not ensure the same measure of freedom for the Minorities as for the majority. The Minorities will be full-fledged partners in the framing of the Constitution. How that can be attained will depend upon the wisdom of the representatives charged with the sacred duty of preparing the constitution. Britain has hitherto held power—this is inevitable in any system of imperialism—by playing the Minorities against the so-called majority and has thus made an agreed solution among the component parts well-nigh impossible. The burden of finding a formula for the protection of Minorities should be thrown on the parties themselves. So long as Britain considers it her mission to bear this burden, so long will she continue to feel the necessity of holding India as a dependency. And patriots impatient for deliverance will fight, non-violently if I can guide them and violently if I fail and perish in the attempt. God’s curse of war, I had hoped and still hope, would be turned into a blessing by Britain realizing that the one thing needful for her to justify and hasten the end of this war was to free a great and ancient country like India from her yoke.

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Letter from Lord Linlithgow to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
23 December, 1939.

... You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will nonetheless serve to remove your difficulties.

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty’s Government on October 18 last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

3. With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty’s Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which
your community’s position in India necessarily gives their views will be underrated.

4. In framing their policy for Palestine, His Majesty’s Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

Finally, you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country. This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power. You will appreciate, however, that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter, which would have the effect of limiting India’s rights to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances with cannot now be foreseen; in the present situation, however, as you are aware, every precaution has been taken by His Majesty’s Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

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Viceregal Communiqué on Gandhi-Viceroy Talks, 5 February, 1940

His Excellency set out in some detail the intentions and the proposals of His Majesty’s Government. He emphasized in the first place their earnest desire that India should attain Dominion Status at the earliest possible moment and to facilitate the achievement of that status by all means in their power. He drew attention to the complexity and difficulty of certain of the issues that called for disposal in that connexion, in particular, the issue of defence in a Dominion position. He made it clear that His Majesty’s Government were only too ready to examine the whole of the field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India when the time came. He made clear also the anxiety of His Majesty’s Government to shorten the transitional period and to bridge it as effectively as possible.

His Excellency drew attention to the fact that . . . the Federal scheme of the Act, while at present in suspense, afforded the swiftest stepping-stone to Dominion Status, and that its adoption, with the consent of all concerned, would facilitate the solution of many of the problems that had to be faced in that connexion.

He added that the offer put forward by him in November last of an expansion of the Governor-General’s Executive Council on the lines and on the basis then indicated remained open and that His
Majesty's Government were prepared to give immediate effect to that offer.

Subject to the consent of the parties affected, His Majesty's Government would be prepared also to reopen the Federal scheme so as to expedite the achievement of Dominion Status and to facilitate the settlement after the War of the issues to which it gave rise.

* * *

Gandhiji's statement on his talks with the Viceroy, 6 February, 1940

The vital difference between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's offer consists in the fact that the Viceroy's offer contemplates final determination of India's destiny by the British Government whereas the Congress contemplates just the contrary. The Congress position is that the test of real freedom consists in the people of India determining their own destiny without outside interference.

I see no prospect whatsoever of a peaceful and honourable settlement between England and India unless the vital difference is obliterated and England decides upon the right course, namely, accepting the position that the time has come when India must be allowed to determine her own constitution and her status. When this is done the question of defence, the question of Minorities, the question of Princes and the question of European interests will be automatically dissolved.

Let me make this a little clearer. Safeguards for the rights of Minorities is not only a common cause but a representative assembly of Indians cannot evolve a stable Constitution without the fullest satisfaction being given to the legitimate Minorities. I use the word legitimate advisedly because I see that Minorities crop up like mushrooms till there will be no Majority left. By the fullest satisfaction I mean satisfaction which will not militate against progress of the nation as a whole.

I would, therefore, in the event of differences refer them to the highest and most impartial tribunal that can be conceived by human ingenuity. Its voice shall be final as to what will amount to the fullest satisfaction of Minority interests.

* * *

Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, 17-21 June, 1940

...Mahatma Gandhi has presented to the peoples of the world crying for relief from the crushing burden of war, a weapon in
the shape of organized non-violence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression. He feels that at this critical phase in the history of man, the Congress should enforce this ideal by itself declaring that it does not want that India should maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.

While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of non-violence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human elements that they have to deal with, and the possible dangers in a period of transition and dynamic change, until the Congress has acquired non-violent control over the people in adequate measure and the people have imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organized non-violence. The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length with Gandhiji. But they recognize that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way and therefore absolve him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue under the conditions at present prevailing in India and the world in regard to external aggression and internal disorder.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered in this connexion are not of the present, though they may be of the near future. The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of non-violence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected in the least by the inability to extend it to the region of national defence.

** Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, 7 July, 1940 **

The Working Committee have noted the serious happenings which have called forth fresh appeals to bring about a solution of the deadlock in the Indian political situation; and in view of the desirability of clarifying the Congress position, they have earnestly examined the whole situation once again in the light of the latest developments in the world affairs.

The Working Committee are more than ever convinced that the acknowledgement by Great Britain of the complete independence of India is the only solution of the problems facing both India and
Britain and are, therefore, of opinion that such an unequivocal declaration should be immediately made and that as an immediate step in giving effect to it, a provisional National Government should be constituted at the Centre, which, through formed as a transitory measure, should be such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature, and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible Governments in the Provinces.

The Working Committee are of opinion that unless the aforesaid declaration is made, and a National Government accordingly formed at the Centre, without delay, all efforts at organizing the material and moral resources of the country for defence cannot in any sense be voluntary or as from a free country, and will, therefore, be ineffective. The Working Committee declare that if these measures are adopted, it will enable the Congress to throw in its full weight in the efforts for the effective organization of the defence of the country.

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**Muslim League's terms for co-operation with Government**

**Mr. M.A. Jinnah's tentative proposals, 1 July, 1940**

That no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would, in any way, militate against the basis and fundamental principles laid down by the Lahore resolution for division of India and creating Muslim States in the north-west and eastern zones; and it may be stated that that ideal now has become the universal faith of Muslim India.

That His Majesty's Government must give definite and categorical assurance to the Mussulmans of India that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India.

In view of the rapid development in Europe and the grave danger that is facing India, it is fully realised that everything should be done that is possible to intensify war efforts and mobilize all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquillity, and to ward off external aggression. But this can only be achieved provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the Provinces. In other words, Muslim India leadership must be fully trusted as equals, and have an equal share in the authority and control of Governments, Central and Provincial.
Provisionally, and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely, co-operation with the Government with an equal share in the authority of the Government:

(A) That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged, within the framework of the present Constitution and existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussions; but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Mussulmans in that case.

(B) In the Provinces where Section 93 has to operate non-official advisers should be appointed, the number to be fixed after further discussion, and the majority of the non-official advisers should be the representatives of Mussulmans: and, where the Provinces can be run by a combination of parties or a coalition, naturally it would be for the parties concerned to adjust matters by agreement among themselves.

(C) There should be a War Council consisting of no less than fifteen members, including the president, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I don't like the expression 'War Consultative Committee.' This Council should regularly meet to deal with, and review, the general situation as it may develop from time to time, and advise the Government with regard to matters in connexion with the prosecution of the war generally, and in particular, the fullest development of the defence possible, and finance, and to make a thorough economic and industrial drive. In this body it will not be difficult to secure the representation and full co-operation of the Indian Princes, and, as far as I can judge, they would have no difficulty in joining it. It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured. Here again, the representation of Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

Finally, the representatives of the Mussulmans on the proposed War Council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General and the additional non-official advisers of the Governors should be chosen by the Muslim League.

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His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow's views on the proposals: Letter to Mr. M.A. Jinnah dated 6th July, 1940

As regards my expansion of the Executive Council this would,
as you rightly observe in your memorandum, be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words, any Council so expanded would co-operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion, and there is a very definite limit of numbers to any possible expansion. At the same time, I readily accept the importance, in the event of any expansion, of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind.

There is, however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General in Council as a whole. Again it will be clear that under the existing law and practice it must remain with the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Governor-General, to decide upon such names as we may submit to His Majesty the King for inclusion in the Governor-General, Executive Council, and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties, however important, though it may of course be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would in all cases, do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of all community.

I need not remind you that under law the whole responsibility for the Government in Section 93 Provinces vests exclusively in the Governor, although a Governor can, of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether and if so at what point and in what strength non-official advisers from political parties should be appointed in Provinces under Section 93 administration, in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General’s Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of the circumstances of each Province. You will, I think agree with me also that the importance of the community from which advisers are drawn in a particular Province has a direct bearing.

Your idea for a War Council is, in my view, well worth while considering though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are, of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or Congress.

As regards section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as non-official advisers to rest with the Muslim League.
But in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestions you may put forward would not receive full consideration.

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Statement by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, President, at a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, 27 July, 1940

...There is not a soul in the Congress who is not anxious to go the whole length with Mahatma Gandhi, if he can help it; but we cannot close our eyes to hard facts. We know that arms and ammunitions have not been able to save the freedom of France, Holland, Belgium and Norway but we also know that human nature even after realizing the futility of armed resistance is not prepared to give up force. We had not the courage to declare that we shall organize a state in this country without an armed force. If we did it would be wrong on our part. Mahatma Gandhi has to give the message of non-violence to the world and therefore, it is his duty to propagate it, but we have to consider our position as the representatives of the Indian nation meeting in the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress is a political organization pledged to win the political independence of the country. It is not an institution for organizing world peace.

Honestly we cannot go as far as Mahatma Gandhi wants us to go. We admit that it is a weakness on our part but it is a weakness which we share with the entire humanity. Though we cannot go with Mahatma Gandhi the whole way, we do not wish to stop him from pursuing his own path.

* * *

Although Mahatma Gandhi would not be responsible for the policy of the Congress any longer, his advice would always be available to the Working Committee and the Congress. Our relations will continue with him as long as he lives and I pray to God that he may be spared long to guide us...

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Statement by His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, on the expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the establishment of a War Advisory Council, 8 August, 1940

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear
that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorize the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee. In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was obvious that some measure of agreement in the Provinces between the major parties was a desirable prerequisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain unbridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the war by the Central Government. They have authorized me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorized me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear, however, that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of Minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. These are the two main points that have emerged. On these two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of Minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any
part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the Minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government.

The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connexion with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility.

It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorize me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the war with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new Constitution and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten decisions on all relevant matters to the utmost degree.

Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and secondly upon the principles and outlines of the Constitution itself.

* * *
Statement by His Excellency the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow on the decision not to proceed with the proposals of 8 August, 1940

Outside India these proposals (contained in the statement of 8 August 1940), both in their immediate and in their larger ultimate aspects, have been welcomed as liberal in conception, and as representing the best practical solution of existing differences. In India itself, too, they have met with the support of a large body of opinion; in their more immediate aspect, namely, the expansion of my Executive Council, however, I have not secured the response that was hoped for from political leaders in India. The reasons for which they have been unable to accept the proposals of His Majesty’s Government are conflicting, and, indeed, in some ways mutually destructive. However that may be, the effect is that the major political parties concerned are not in present circumstances prepared to take advantage of the opportunity offered to them.

His Majesty’s Government note this conclusion with sincere regret. The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future. His Majesty’s Government do not propose to withdraw them, and are still prepared to give effect to them as soon as they are convinced that a sufficient degree of representative support is forthcoming. But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty’s Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council, or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment.

Letter from His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, 14 August, 1940

I think it may be convenient for you to have in writing the information on the points below which I gave you in our conversation today. I informed you in that conversation; first that my statement clearly safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to future constitutional development; secondly, that it equally provided a basis on which the Muslims could, if they so desired, co-
operate at the Centre. As I explained to you in our earlier conversation I cannot yet take up the issue of the Provinces: but I do not contemplate non-official advisers, at any rate at this stage.

You asked me the probable strength of the expanded Council. I cannot, for reasons which you will appreciate, yet indicate a precise figure but the total strength of the Council will be likely to be in the neighbourhood of 11. If, as I trust, the Muslim League are prepared to accept my invitation, I would like you to let me have a panel of names, say, four, with a view to my selecting two from it for appointment to my Council. As I have already made clear to you, Sir Zafrulla Khan, if he remains in my Council, will not count against this figure. It is clearly impossible, until the discussions on which I am at present engaged are complete, to indicate precisely what would be the parties represented in the expanded Council.

The strength and composition of the War Advisory Council can clearly only be fixed after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete. Hence, too, I should be grateful if you would to be good enough to let me have a panel of names for my consideration on the assumption that there would probably be, say, five Muslim League representatives out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of 20.

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Resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, 2 September, 1940

The Committee find that the specific offer now made as embodied in the letter of the Viceroy dated August 14 purporting to give effect and implement that principle of co-operation with authority in Government as partners is most unsatisfactory and does not meet the requirements nor the spirit indicated in the resolution of this Committee of June 16 which was communicated by the President to the Viceroy by his letter of that date nor does it meet the memorandum that was submitted to His Excellency by the President on July 1.

In these circumstances the Committee find it very difficult to deal with this offer for the following reasons: (1) Neither the President nor the Committee were consulted as to the number of the proposed increase of additional members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. (2) The Committee are not yet aware of the manner in which the entire Executive Council will be reconstituted. (3) The Committee have no information as to which are the other parties with whom the Muslim League will be called
upon to work. (4) The Committee understand that the President has not been informed as to what portfolios will be assigned to everyone of these additional members. The Committee are merely asked without any further knowledge or information, except that the total number of members of the expanded Executive Council will be in the neighbourhood of 11, to send a panel of four out of which two will be selected for appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council. (5) The Committee have considered the system of panel suggested and they are of the opinion that it is open to many objections, is not desirable and does not commend itself to them. (6) As regards the proposed War Advisory Council the Committee do not know its constitution, composition and functions beyond the information that it will probably consist of about 20 members and the Committee are asked to submit a panel out of which four will be nominated by the Viceroy. In these circumstances the Committee consider the offer unsatisfactory and request the Viceroy to reconsider the matter and hereby authorize the President to seek further information and clarification.

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Resolution of the All-India Congress Committee,
15-16 September, 1940

In order to end the deadlock in India and to promote the national cause, in co-operation with the British people, the Working Committee even at the sacrifice of Mahatma Gandhi's co-operation, made a proposal to the British Government in their Delhi resolution of July 7, which was subsequently approved by the All-India Congress Committee at Poona. This proposal was rejected by the British Government in a manner which left no doubt that they had no intention to recognize India's independence, and would, if they could, continue to hold this country indefinitely in bondage for British exploitation. This decision of the British Government shows that they will impose their will upon India, and their recent policy has further shown that they will not even tolerate free expression of public opinion in condemnation of their associating India in the war against Germany against the will of a vast body of the people of India, and of exploiting her national resources and man-power for this purpose.

The All-India Congress Committee cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom, which suppresses the free expression of public opinion and which would lead
to the degradation of her people and their continued enslavement. By following this policy the British Government have created an intolerable situation, and are imposing upon the Congress a struggle for the preservation of the honour and the elementary rights of the people. The Congress is pledged under Gandhiji's leadership to non-violence for the vindication of India's freedom. At this grave crisis in the movement for national freedom, the All-India Congress Committee, therefore, requests him to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. The Delhi resolution, confirmed by the All-India Congress Committee at Poona, which prevented him from so doing, no longer applies. It has lapsed.

* * *

In view of certain misapprehensions that have arisen in regard to the Congress policy of non-violence, the All-India Congress Committee desire to state this afresh, and to make it clear that this policy continues, notwithstanding anything contained in previous resolutions which may have led to these misapprehensions. This Committee firmly believes in the policy and practice of non-violence not only in the struggle for Swaraj, but also, in so far as this may be possible of application, in free India.

* * *

Resolution of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha,
21-3 September, 1940

Resolved that in view of the opportunity that the present war offers for the general militarization of the Hindus and for the organization of the system of India on sound and up-to-date modern lines so that India be converted into a self-contained defence unit, the Hindu Mahasabha is prepared wholeheartedly to work out the schemes of the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the War Advisory Council, but on honourable terms of equity and justice as stated below:

(1) In view of the declaration made by the Muslim League of its 'determination, firm resolve and faith' that the partition of India is the only solution of India's future Constitution the Hindu Mahasabha urges the Viceroy to make a clear and definite declaration that the Government has not approved or accepted any such proposal or scheme.

(2) (A) That in view of the reported understanding between
the Viceroy and the Muslim League that the League would be given two seats on the proposed extended Executive Council and five seats on the proposed War Advisory Council, the Hindu Mahasabha claims representation of six seats on the extended Executive Council and 15 seats on the War Advisory Council on the population basis. (B) That out of these six seats one be given to the Sikhs and one to the Scheduled Castes and the rest be given to the nominees of the Hindu Mahasabha.

(3) This Committee considers the demand of the Muslim League of 50 per cent representation on the proposed Executive Council and elsewhere as undemocratic, unconstitutional, unreasonable and preposterous and it would urge the Viceroy to give an assurance to the Hindu Mahasabha that no such demand would be entertained.

* * *

_The Proceedings of the Non-Parties Political Conference,
13 and 14 March, 1941_

In declaring the Conference open Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru observed:

We all know that there was an offer made by the Viceroy on the 8th of August. I am not going into the details of the controversy which then arose. It is enough to know that the offer was turned down by the Congress and the Muslim League. Whether the reasons for refusing to accept that offer where just or unjust, wise or unwise, is a question which we need not discuss at length. It is matter of the past. I would, however, like to know what has been done since. We have moved on to March from August. Repeated statements have been made in Parliament and outside Parliament by Mr. Amery, and we have been told time after time that there are unfortunate differences existing between the two organized parties, namely, the Congress and the Muslim League. The only inference to be drawn from these repeated references is that unless those differences are composed, we need not expect any advance. That to my mind is a most intolerable position.

* * *

'Well, Gentlemen, my answer to an argument of this character is this: there is a vast mass of unattached opinion in this country which could have been mobilized by the Government of India by this time, if they had put themselves at the head of the national movement. They have not done that. I, therefore, do not
understand the non-possimus attitude of the Government of India. I have no reason to believe that if the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India will move in the matter, their efforts will fail; but assuming that these bodies refuse to come to a settlement, why should not others, who are ready to place their services at the disposal of the country, be asked to shoulder responsibility during the period of the war, not permanently but temporarily, until it pleases these two bodies to revise their policy and to relieve these temporary men from that responsibility, which they shall have assumed in the interests of the country? I refuse to believe that this country of 400 millions is so devoid of men of talent, experience and character that it is impossible for the Government of India to find ten or twelve men who can command public support and public confidence.

'I, therefore, think that an attempt should be made seriously to bring these two bodies together, and to persuade them to assume responsibility; but if that attempt fails, there is no reason why an attempt should not be made to bring in others to serve the best interests of the country. We do not want mere careerists or office-hunters. We want men who will be actuated by the true spirit of service to the country, and who will not hesitate to make room if necessary for those who have large followings behind them, if they should be disposed to revise their policy. I feel sure men with that spirit can be found outside the ranks of the Congress and the League. It is in that spirit that I ask you to approach this resolution which is going to be moved before you by my friend Sir Nripendra Sircar and which will be seconded by Sir Jagdish Prasad.

The resolution as passed by the Conference is as follows:

While India dislikes the idea of taking advantage of Britain's difficulties in her heroic struggle, the Conference demands that India's domestic problems should not be pressed to her disadvantage. As a first step towards the removal of the present deadlock and, until a permanent Constitution is brought into force, the Conference desires to emphasize the immediate need for the reconstruction of the Governor-General's Executive Council.

The Conference considers that the present Council which consists of three European members from the Indian Civil Service, and three Indians, of whom two are non-officials and one is a member of the Indian Civil Service, in addition to His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, is neither adequate nor sufficiently representative to organize and direct India's war efforts at this moment of grave peril.
The Conference is anxious that India's defences should be put on a firm basis and that the resources of this great country in men and material should be used to the fullest advantage not only for defending her own frontier but for helping the British people to the fullest extent possible, consistently with the best interests of India.

For the reasons mentioned above, this Conference is of the opinion that the whole Executive Council should consist of non-official Indians drawn from important elements in the public life of the country. This would naturally involve the transfer of all portfolios including the vital ones of Finance and Defence, to Indians, while the Conference is willing during the period of the war that the reconstructed Centre may remain responsible to the Crown, and, so far as Defence is concerned, the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the executive head of the defence forces of the country, may not be in any way prejudiced. At the same time the Conference is strongly of the view that the reconstructed Government should not merely be a collection of departmental heads, but should deal with all important matters of policy on a basis of joint and collective responsibility. In regard to all inter-imperial and international matters, the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as the Dominion Governments.

The Conference is further of the opinion that with a view to create a favourable atmosphere for the working of the reconstructed Central Government, it is necessary to remove the doubts and misgivings of the people of this country as regards the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government by making a declaration simultaneously with the reconstruction of the Government, that within a specified time limit after the conclusion of the war, India will enjoy the same measure of freedom as will be enjoyed by Britain and the Dominions.

* * *

Going beyond what we think practicable in the midst of the ever-increasing strain and urgency of the war situation. It would also create internal constitutional problems of no little difficulty, both in relation to the Provinces, whether those now enjoying self-government or those administered under Section 93, and to the Princes; and in that way, it would raise still unresolved issues of the constitutional future.

That brings me to the underlying issues, but not faced, by the Bombay resolution. If I may say so without discourtesy to those who have sponsored it, the resolution seems to me to have been directed to the wrong address. I have already pointed out
that the time-table of India's constitutional advance depends far more upon Indian agreement than upon ourselves. But the same applies to any far-reaching alteration of the present constitutional position. As I think, I have already made clear, our existing proposal for the expansion of the Viceroy's Council is in suspense, not because those concerned—I am leaving the Congress on the one side for a moment—have condemned the proposal on the ground of inadequacy but mainly because of the difficulty of reconciling Moslem and Hindu claims for relative position. That difficulty is not lessened but inevitably enhanced by any suggestion of a new type of Executive with more extensive powers.

It is unfortunately already evident that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and his friends have not been able to secure beforehand for their scheme any kind of agreement if not between the Congress and the Moslem League—at any rate between the latter and other representatives of the Hindu majority. Mr. Jinnah, leader of Muslim League, has since repudiated it as being on 'entirely wrong lines' and as a trap, to use his phrase, into which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had been led by Congress wire-pullers. On the other hand, the General Secretary of the Mahasabha Party has declared that it will not cooperate in any scheme in which the numerical majority of the Hindu element is not reflected in the composition of the Council. There is obviously no such agreement here as would afford the reconstructed Council political support or even acquiescence, in the Legislature. On the other hand, if the reconstructed Council is to be composed not of leaders, who between them can secure some measure of political backing, but of men individually eminent, but politically unsupported, then the objections which weighed against that course in the case of an expansion of the existing Council become much more formidable if it is a question of an entirely new Council with greatly enlarged powers.

It would, I think, be very difficult to persuade Parliament to confer Dominion or equal Dominion powers on a body so constituted. Nor would such a body, between its responsibility to the Crown on one side and in face of an unfriendly Legislature on the other, be likely for long to maintain its precarious position. My appeal to Sir Tej and his friends would, therefore, be not to cease from their efforts but to concentrate, first and foremost, on bringing the contending elements in India together. Whether they can best do that by the exercise of their persuasion upon the existing party leaders or by building up a strong central party of men who are prepared to put India first, their efforts may well be decisive in shaping the whole future of their country.
Statement by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, May 1941

Coming to the proposals issued by the Sapru Conference, it is clear that they incorporated three main demands from the British Government:

(1) The entire Executive Council of the Governor-General should be reconstructed and should be composed of non-official members and all portfolios, including Finance and Defence, should be transferred to non-official Indians drawn from important elements of public life.

(2) That the Government at the Centre so constituted should be treated in regard to all internal and international matters on the same footing as a Dominion Government.

(3) That the British Government should issue a new declaration that within a fixed period after the conclusion of the war the British Government should commit itself to establish in India a Dominion and give it the status and powers enjoyed by Great Britain and the Dominions.

From these proposals, taken together, it is evident that they stood for nothing but an immediate, united and democratic Government at the Centre with the pretence that only for the duration of the war it would be responsible to the Crown and would assume the permanent character of a Dominion Government after a certain period by virtue of the new declaration. Emergency and permanent Governments were both to be constituted on the basis of India being taken as a single unit.

If this scheme were accepted and if the British Government were to commit itself to it, it is clear that it would have meant completely cancelling the declaration of August 8, which would have been the grossest breach of faith with Muslim India and other Minorities. The underlying idea was to get the British Government by hook or by crook to denounce and reject the Muslim League demand for the partition of India. The acceptance of these proposals would have meant without doubt prejudging the future constitutional problems and other adjustments. The proposals further involved a fundamental change in the present constitution of India which would require an amendment of the Government of India Act and adjustments between the provincial and Central Governments and of the relations with the Indian States.
Speech by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, 1 August 1941

The conference that met in Bombay last March under the chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru clearly voiced that sense of frustration. Their demands, though expressed in the form I ventured to point out in the debate on April 22 were open to serious practical objection, expressed the spirit with which both the Viceroy and myself were largely in sympathy and to which we were resolved to give effect. Accordingly, Lord Linlithgow, leaving the parties to pursue their own controversies, decided to address himself directly to those Indian public men who, as individuals, were by their ability or essentially representative character best fitted to strengthen the Government, both in actual administration and in the eyes of the public and to appeal to them to come forward, putting India first, to play their part in the conduct of her defence. How rightly he judged the public temper and the character of Indian public men will be apparent from the fact that, with hardly an exception, all those whom he approached, as the men best qualified for the task in view, responded unhesitatingly without regard to previous party affiliation.

India is at war and the menace may well draw closer to her frontiers, both east and west, within the next few months. The governing consideration in the expansion of the Viceroy’s Executive—his War Cabinet if I may use the term—was, therefore, necessarily efficiency. From that viewpoint, there was in any case the strongest justification for separation under war conditions of portfolios which have been previously combined as well as for the creation of special departments such as Civil Defence and Information.

I note that the Viceroy has been criticized in some quarters on grounds that he has not appointed new Indian members to the so-called key posts of Finance and Defence. The criticism will not I think, find much echo in this House where we fully realize the extent to which Supply and Labour, Civil Defence and Information are vital departments in time of war. For these undoubtedly key positions, Lord Linlithgow has selected men whom he believed individually best fitted for the work in hand—a great industrialist like Sir Hormusji Mody for Supply, experienced ex-Minister and administrators like Mr. Rao and Sir Firoze Khan Noon for Civil Defence and Labour, an elder statesman of unrivalled experience and authority like Sir Akbar Hydari for Information, an independent, courageous party politician like Mr. Aney for a lighter department, but for the work of the Legislature.
Two further appointments were made necessary by the promotion of Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan to the Federal Court, succeeded by another eminent lawyer, Sir Sultan Ahmad, and by the transfer of Sir Girija Shanker Bajpai to the newly created post of Indian Agent-General in Washington—a fresh indication of India’s growing importance and status—succeeded by Mr Nalini Sarkar, recently Finance Minister in Bengal. To attempt to make so small a body as the Executive representative of all the different elements of India’s national life would obviously have been impossible. The important thing was to find a team of individual competence, willing to share in the collective work and responsibility of the Council and in this I venture to say Lord Linlithgow has definitely succeeded. The old Executive contained, apart from the Viceroy, four European and three Indian members. In the new Executive, eight Indian members will be in a majority of two to one, a development marking a change, not indeed in the form of the Constitution but in its spirit.

The National Defence Council on the other hand will, except for the presence of one representative of the European commercial community, and one of the resident Anglo-Indian community, be entirely Indian. This is essentially a body representative of all elements, communal, local and political of the whole national life of India: of India in the fullest sense of the term, for on it will be nine representatives of Indian States whose rulers have shown their patriotism and loyalty in such full measure in the present war. The 22 members from British India include representatives not only of different Provinces and communities, but also of industry, commerce and agriculture. Labour is effectively represented both by Dr. Ambedkar, unwearied champion of the Scheduled Castes, which include so large a proportion of the most depressed of the working class, and to Mr. Jammadas Mehta. Nor should I pass by without a mention of the inclusion of a representative of women’s interests in the shape of Begum Shah Nawaz. It would, I think, have been difficult by any process to secure a better cross-section or microcosm of India’s national life in all its rich variety.

It may be said that, for all that, this is not a truly representative body, because its members owe their position to the personal invitation of the Viceroy, not directly to a popular election, and because the largest and most highly organized political party has deliberately excluded itself. It is, I think, worthwhile pointing out in answer to that criticism that, of the 22 British Indian members, no less than 16 are elected members of the Legislatures, including 4 Prime Ministers and if these four great Provinces with
a population of some 100 millions are not represented by their Prime Ministers, I do not know, who could claim to represent them.

It is true that the Congress, in its present mood, is not represented. But a very considerable proportion of the members—this applies to the Executive Council as well—have been closely associated with the Congress in the past and, if they have differed with the political tactics of the Congress High Command, they are no less genuine in the strength of their nationalist convictions.

The National Defence Council is in no sense a collection of 'yes men', carefully scraped together to create a facade of Indian support for the Government. It is a body of patriotic Indians, who have readily come forward to help their country at a critical moment. The National Defence Council is an advisory body and its main purpose is to bring the war effort in the Provinces and the States as well as in the ranks of commerce, industry and labour into more direct and effective touch with the Central Government. It will meet periodically under the Viceroy's chairmanship both to be informed of and discuss the course of events and the policy of Government and will convey to the Government suggestions of the needs of localities or interests which they represent. There will thus be continuous contact and exchange of views of information both ways between the Viceroy and his Executive and the Provincial or State Governments, local War Committees or industrial organizations which should be most helpful, both in guiding and stimulating India's national effort.

I might mention as a further instance of the anxiety of the Indian Government to secure the closest possible contact with public opinion and strengthen the Indian element in the administration, the creation on the initiative of the late Commander-in-Chief, General Auchinleck, since confirmed by General Wavell, of the Defence Committee of the Legislature in order to keep members in touch with the work of the Defence Department and the appointment of an able Indian to the Joint Secretaryship of that Department.

These measures have not brought about any change in the existing Constitution of India. Even if it were possible to change the basis of power and authority in the middle of a crisis so menacing to India's very existence, no such transfer would be feasible without some measure of agreement, such as unfortunately does not exist today, as to the kind of Constitution under which the various main elements of India's national life may be willing to work together. The immediate object of these measures has been to increase the efficiency of Government and, at the same time, to
make a fuller use of the vast and hitherto insufficiently tapped reservoir of Indian ability and patriotism. At the same time, they indicate our desire to transfer to Indian hands a steadily increasing share in the control of India's destiny. They mark a change in spirit, if not in letter, of India's constitution. Above all, I hope in all sincerity, that the coming together of all these distinguished representatives of every element of India's diversified and politically conflicting life may have made at least the beginning in breaking the political deadlock between Indians which has assumed so disquieting and, on the face of it, an increasingly intractable character.

Speech by Mr. Winston Churchill, Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, 9 September, 1941

The Joint declaration does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire.

We have pledged, by the declaration of August 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth with ourselves, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connexion with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests.

Burma also is covered by our considered policy of establishing Burma's self-government and by measures already in progress.

At the Atlantic meeting, we had in mind primarily the extension of the sovereignty, self-government and national life of the states and nations of Europe now under Nazi yoke and the principles which should govern any alterations in the territorial boundaries of countries which may have to be made. That is quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of the self-governing institutions in regions whose peoples owe allegiance to the British Crown. We have made declarations on these matters which are complete in themselves, free from ambiguity and related to the conditions and circumstances of the territories and peoples affected. They will be found to be entirely in harmony with the conception of freedom and justice which inspired the Joint Declaration.

* * *

Statement by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, 1-2 November, 1941

The Committee have noted with profound disappointment that
in his first and unfortunately only reference to India since he became Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill used language which has made many people to doubt whether he and his Government do really mean to part with power and whether India will ever attain real self government. 'The Joint Declaration,' said Mr. Churchill, 'does not qualify in any way the various statements of policy which have been made from time to time about the development of constitutional government in India, Burma or other parts of the British Empire. We are pledged, by the Declaration of August 1940, to help India to obtain free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of races, subject, of course, to the fulfilment of the obligations arising from our long connexion with India and our responsibilities to its many creeds, races and interests.' It seems to the Committee that so far as Mr. Churchill is concerned the fundamental principles to be applied to India are those contained in the Declaration of August 1940—a declaration which has afforded no satisfaction to any section of Indian opinion, and which, far from easing the tension in India or winning over those sections which had withheld their support from the British Government, and strengthening the position of those which have been friendly to the British Government and which would like to remain so, has given rise to grave misgivings and has caused a great deal of resentment. In the opinion of the Committee, the Declaration of August 1940 is not wholly consistent with the noble and generous sentiments contained in fundamental principle No. 3 of the Joint Declaration. His Majesty's Declaration of August 1940, hedged in by so many conditions, is so incomplete in the enunciation of the aim and so non-committal in regard to its being implemented within any reasonable distance of time that it can afford no satisfaction whatever to the people of this country.

The Committee think that the whole position in regard to the future of India should have been made clear long ago by using definite, certain and unambiguous language, so that India may feel sure that after the war, in the event of victory, her position shall be the same as that of Britain and the Dominions. In short, the Committee are strongly of the opinion that after victory the position of India in regard to her status and powers shall not be that of a dependency but shall be one of perfect equality.
Resolution of the National Liberal Federation, 28 December, 1941

The National Liberal Federation of India protests against the Prime Minister's speech excluding India from the scope of the Atlantic Charter and the recent speeches of Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow reiterating the determination of His Majesty's Government to make no change in their policy towards India.

The Federation while regarding the recent expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the appointment of additional Indian members as a step in the right direction, considers it as entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. It is of the opinion that the Central Government should be so reconstructed as to have a fully national character. The Executive Council should consist entirely of non-official Indians who should take charge of all portfolios including those of Defence and Finance. The reconstructed Government should deal with all questions of policy on the basis of joint responsibility, and the British Government should not ordinarily interfere with any policy that has the support of the Indianized Executive and the Central Legislature.

In regard to all inter-imperial and international matters the reconstructed Government should be treated on the same footing as Dominion Governments. The Federation further demands that in order to remove the doubts and apprehensions that have been created as to the genuineness of the intentions of His Majesty's Government regarding the future constitutional status of India, it should be immediately declared that India will enjoy the position of equality in regard to both status and functions with England and the Dominion within a period not exceeding two years after the conclusion of the war.

In the opinion of the Federation, the gravity of the international situation makes the acceptance of the demands put forward above, a matter of urgent importance. It is necessary at this juncture that the Government should take bold and statesmanlike steps to bring about a unity between the people and the Government in the best interest of both India and England.

* * *

Compensation for Lands etc. seized for Military Purposes*

*Whereas complaints have been received from various places regarding Government orders for evacuation of villages, lands and

*Resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee in its meeting held at Wardha from July 6-14, 1942.
buildings without due notice and proper compensation, seizure and
destruction of country boats, even where life is impossible without
them, requisition of cycles, motor vehicles and carts without proper
compensation and without regard for the needs of the civil popula-
tion, the Working Committee deem it necessary to issue the following
instructions for the guidance of the people concerned and hope that
the Government will take immediate and necessary steps to remove
grievances and that the people will carry out their instructions as
circumstances demand, provided that in all cases before the final
decision to disobey an order or resist any measure is taken, all
possible avenues of negotiation and relief through negotiations shall
be thoroughly explored.

With regard to evaluation and other orders involving loss,
either temporary or permanent of landed property of any kind full
compensation should be demanded. In fixing the compensation the
factors to be taken into consideration are the value of the land and
the crops, the inconvenience and expense likely to be caused to the
holder of the land by having to move to another place and the diffi-
culty and delay likely to be involved in obtaining other land where
the dispossessed landholder could settle.

Whatever possible, arrangement should be made for providing
other land to agriculturists where their agricultural land is
acquired. Where this is impossible compensation in money should
be paid.

Value of trees, water channels, and wells etc., taken over or
destroyed should be included in the compensation.

In case of temporary acquisition of agricultural land the full
value of the crop plus 15 per cent of it should be paid for each crop
lost and when the occupation by Government terminates compensa-
tion should be paid for restoring the land to its previous condition
for agricultural purposes.

Where the bulk of the land of an agriculturist is acquired and
the balance left over is so small that it may not be worth cultiva-
ting, the balance too should be acquired.

Houses, where acquired, should be fully paid for. Where the
whole bulk of the agricultural land of an agriculturist is acquired
and only his house is left over, the house should also be acquired by
paying full compensation if the agriculturist so desires.

Where a house is to be occupied temporarily for Government
purposes, fair rent should be paid and the owner compensated for
inconvenience and discomfort caused.

No one should be required to vacate his house without arran-
gement being made elsewhere for his residence and full compensation
should be paid for transport of the evacuee's belongings and for his maintenance for a reasonable period to enable him to find suitable occupation in his new surroundings.

Compensation should in all cases be paid promptly and on the spot by a responsible officer and not at the headquarters of a district. In case no agreement is reached between the authorities and the evacuee regarding the amount of compensation and the matter has to be referred to a tribunal for decision, the amount of compensation proposed by the authorities should be paid forthwith and should not be withheld pending the adjudication of the claim.

There should be no interference with the use of disposal of private property except with the consent of the owner or on payment of adequate compensation.

In case of requisition of boats full compensation should be demanded and no boats should be surrendered till the question of compensation is settled. In areas surrounded by water where boats are indispensable for normal everyday life they should not be surrendered at all.

Fishermen who depend upon their boats for earning their livelihood should be compensated for loss of their employment in addition to the price of their boats.

In case of requisition of cycles, motor vehicles, carts etc., full compensation should be demanded and until the question of compensation is settled they should not be parted with.

In view of scarcity of salt and apprehended famine of it due to war conditions facilities should be provided for collection, preparation and transport of salt on sea coast and in inland areas free of duty by individuals. People may manufacture salt for their own consumption and that of their cattle.

With regard to restrictions on organisations for self-protection, the Committee is of opinion that it is the inherent right of all to protect their own life and property and those of their neighbours and therefore all restrictions on them should be disregarded.

* W.C. : July 6-14, 1942 : Wardha : II.

* Demobilisation and Use of Camps Etc.*

"The end of the war has suddenly brought many problems to the forefront, among them being the provision for suitable employ-
ment of demobilised soldiers. It is not necessary to find gainful employment for them in such a way as not to throw others out of employment, but also to use their services, as trained men and women, for work of national reconstruction. This work, as all other large-scale activity, requires careful planning and adjustment. The resettlement policy and programme of the present Government are unsatisfactory. They have to be shaped in such a way as to fit in with other schemes of national development, and to afford the persons concerned an opportunity to be absorbed harmoniously in the national life of the country.

While the demobilization of the armed forces has yet to begin, the demobilisation of labour, especially employed for war work, has already started. Involving as this does millions of workers, there is danger of large-scale unemployment, and injury to the economic structure, unless immediate steps are taken to absorb these workers, as they are released, in work of national importance. From the social and economic viewpoint also it is harmful and wasteful of the nation's resources not to use trained and skilled workers.

Further, the large number of well-equipped hospitals, built all over India under the lend-lease system or otherwise, will not be required for military purposes. As hospitals are urgently needed in India for civilian use, all these hospitals should be handed over to suitable civilian authorities and public organisations, as soon as the military vacates them.

During the past five years of war, large numbers of training camps, transit camps, rest camps, farms and dairies, storsheds, factories and workshops have been constructed all over the country, with good roads, bridges and sometimes railway lines leading up to them. They are situated on healthy sites and their sanitation and drainage system have been carefully attended to. A vast sum of money amounting to hundreds of crores of rupees, has been spent on them, and every effort should be made to utilise these buildings, camps etc. for objects of public benefit. In particular, these buildlings etc., can be used, with suitable alterations, for educational establishments, hospitals, libraries, reading rooms, co-operative societies, village panchayats, sanatoria, health centres, recreation rooms, gymnasias, granaries and innumerable other purposes. They could also be used for housing purposes. In these and other ways, they can be of great help in improving village life and rehabilitating many of our villages.

In order to use these camps and buildings to the best advantage and to prevent any deterioration in them, in case they are left
vacant, the Working Committee are of opinion that immediate steps should be taken to consider this question in all its aspects."

INDEX

A

A.I.C.C., 836, 1299, 1316, 1317, 1341, 1345, 1354, 1392.
Abul Kalam Azad
See Azad, Abul Kalam
Abul Kassim, 846, 1001.
Abdul Rhiim, 840, 844, 997.
Abdul Shakoor, 840.
Abysinia, 1403, 1409.
Acceision, Draft Instrument of, 1297, 1298, 1326, 1328, 1329.
Adinajati Sevak Sangh, 1014.
Adult Education, 995.
Advisory Council, 1375.
Africa, 978, 979, 993, 1125, 1140, 1142, 1163, 1164, 1166, 1168, 1336, 1337.
Aguinhori, Satyanand, 840.
Agra, 1201, 1204.
Agrarian R-forms 1130.
Agriculture, 1382.
Ahmedabad, 829, 870, 878, 887, 912, 1003, 1396.
Ajmer, 859, 870, 886, 912.
Ajoychhikanath, 996.
Akbar Hydari, 1439.
Akola, 938.
Alexander, H.V., 817.
Algeria, 1066, 1121.
Allahabad, 998, 1006, 1024, 1175, 1192, 1201, 1202, 1224.
All India Federal Union, 1041, 1043.
All India Muslim League, 1017, 1018, 1025, 1026, 1035, 1049, 1050, 1051, 1056, 1057, 1058, 1059, 1064, 1067, 1068, 1069, 1070.
All India Spinners' Association, 888, 902.
All India States People's Conference, 1341.

All India Village Industries Association, 888, 902.
All Parties Conference Report, 815.
Allahabad, 1380, 1393, 1396.
Allied Powers, 833.
Alwar, 1232.
Ambedkar, 1333, 1440.
America, 1171, 1314.
Amery, L.S., 1439, 1444.
Amrrodi, 870, 887, 998, 1198, 1212.
Amritsar, 1002, 1015, 1205, 1225.
Andaman & Nicobar Islands, 1360.
Andhra, 866, 870, 886, 912, 938, 986, 1007, 1155, 1350.
Andhra Provincial Congress, 1350.
Aney, M.S., 816, 1439.
Anglo-American Bloc, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167.
Ansari, M.A. 1002, 1003, 1175.
Anti-Intoxican Association, 902.
Arab League, 166.
Arbitration Court, 1282.
Arms Act, 822, 824.
Asia, 902, 979, 980, 1125, 1163, 1164, 1166, 1168.
Atlantic Charter, 1444.
Auchinleck, General, 1441.
Australia, 1336, 1337.
Avadi, 1389, 1390.
Avadi Resolution, 968, 1013.
Azad, Abul Kalam, 817, 1360, 1427.

B

Bajaj, Jamnalal, 1003, 1005.
Bajaj, Kamal Nayan, 1345.
Bajpai, Sri Girija Shanker, 1440.
Baldev Singh, 1062.
Baluchistan, 837, 850, 1039, 1047, 1070, 1205, 1206, 1215, 1270.
Banaras, 1345, 1397.
Bandung Conference, 979.
Bangalore, 913, 938.
Bankipur, 858, 1203, 1204.
Banerjee, Kali Charan, 840, 843.
Bapna, Villach, W.C., 812, 843, 996, 997.
Baptisa, J., 1113.
Baroda, 859, 1227, 1271.
Basic Education, 995.
Basa, Bhupendra Nath, 1000.
Bilgaun, 879, 1003, 1338.
Belgrade Non-aligned Powers’ Conference, 1121.
Belgrade Summit, 1121.
Benaras, 1001, 1200.
Bengal Excise Bill, 1397.
Bengal National Liberal League, 1075.
Berar, 844, 845, 846, 849, 851, 855, 860, 863, 866, 867, 887, 1000, 1199, 1239, 1241, 1332, 1333, 1343, 1344.
Bezwada, 886.
Bhabha, Covesji Hormusji, 1062.
Bhagirath Prasad, 844.
Bhakra Nangal, 968.
Bhatia, Gokal Bhai, 1345.
Bharat Sevak Sangh, 1014.
Barucha, Barjorji, 1003.
Bhashaipur, 1274.
Bhide, Gopal Rao, 998.
Bhive, Vishnu Moreshwar, 998.
Bihar, 489, 551, 855, 860, 863, 866, 870, 886, 891, 912, 935, 996, 1318, 1319.
Bikaner, 1276.
Bishambhar Nath, 844.
Bhodan Samiti, 1014.
Bhopal, 1155, 1359.
Bhupendra Nath Bose, 843.
Bombay, Executive Council, 1376.
Bombay State, 1359, 1361.
Bose, A.M., 843.
Bose, Bipin Krishna, 998.
Boundary Commission, 1351.
Bradlaugh, Charles, 812.
Brahm Prakash, 932.
Brailsford, H.N., 1173.
Brelvi, S.A., 900.
Britain, 1436, 1438, 1443.
British Cabinet, 1286, 1361, 1337.
British Cabinet Delegation, 1049, 1058.
British Commonwealth, 1122, 1167, 1309, 1429, 1442.
British Commonwealth of Nations, 1277.
British Congress Committee, 843.
British Crown, 1239, 1240, 1242, 1267, 1277, 1287, 1335, 1336, 1337, 1442.
British Empire, 1004, 1173, 1293, 1442, 1443.
British Exchequer, 1396.
British Imperialism, 1291.
British India, 1041, 1199, 1200, 1209, 1212, 1215, 1217, 1221, 1222, 1227, 1228, 1230, 1232, 1233, 1236, 1238, 1239, 1248, 1254, 1258, 1259, 1260, 1261, 1263, 1264, 1267, 1268, 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1290, 1281, 1282, 1286, 1289, 1309, 1310, 1320, 1322, 1323, 1335, 1338, 1413, 1415, 1428, 1440.
British Paramountcy, 134.
British Parliament, 1174, 1338, 1340.
British Power, 833, 1250.
British Rule, 833, 1154.
Bulgaria, 1168.
Butler Committee, 1334, 1339.
Butler, Sir Harcourt, 1382.
Burma, 832, 849, 851, 855, 859, 860, 864, 867, 870, 887, 1344, 1442.

C

Cabinet Mission, 817, 1049, 1050, 1054, 1056, 1057, 1064, 1067, 1068, 1070, 1072, 1309, 1310, 1311, 1312, 1316, 1323, 1325, 1334, 1335, 1337.
Cachar, 1345.
Caime, W.S., 996.
Calcutta, 811, 827, 838, 866, 867, 880, 887, 913, 938, 998, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1004, 1015, 1029, 1063, 1192, 1194, 1197, 1199, 1203, 1225, 1229, 1231, 1290, 1396, 1398.
Calcutta Pact, 814.
Calicut, 870, 887.
Call to the Nation, 1361.
Canada, 1336, 1337.
Canning, Earl, 1227.
Canning, Lord, 1299, 1256.
Capital Levy, 1090.
Capitalism, 1146.
Carnatak, 1206.
Cawnpoore, 1000.
Central Election Committee, 1014.
Central Legislative, 1444.
Central Parliamentary Board, 1208.
Chakravarti, 1388.
Chakravarty, B., 1109.
Chambers, W.A., 844.
Champaran, 1318.
Chamrajendra Wadiabahadur, 1228.
Chandavarker, 840, 844.
Char, M.V.R., 846.
Charisar, C.V.R., 840.
Charisar, Vijay Raghava, 1000.
Charier, Wiraraghava, 997.
Charlu Ananda, 996.
Charlu, P.A., 843.
China, 833, 979, 980, 993, 1087, 1113, 1120, 1121, 1126, 1188, 1409.
Chintamani, 1385, 1386.
Chintamani, C.Y., 1381.
Chowdhuri, A., 1001.
Civil Defence and Information, 1439.
Civil List, 1307.
CIVIL MEDICAL SERVICE, 1196.
Cocanada, 814.
Cochin, 859, 1315.
INDEX

Colleges. 1369.
COMMUNAL AWARD 816, 1018, 1021, 1023.
Communal Problem, 1026.
Communal Unity, 995.
COMMUNALISM, 984, 1104, 1154.
Communism, 1144.
Communist Bloc, 1188.
Communist Party, 1113, 1159, 1165,
1169, 1169, 1170, 1172, 1179.
Community Development Movement, 985, 986.
Community Development Projects, 1116.
Community Projects, 976, 1014.
Congress Constitution, 1362.
Congress Democratic Party, 1113.
CONGRESS ELECTION MANIFESTO, 966, 1351.
Congress High Command, 1031, 1033,
1039, 1058, 1059.
Congress Legislature Parties, 1354.
Congress Organisation, 1346.
Congress Seva Dal, 1015, 1016, 1017.
Congress Policy, 835.
Congo, 1121.
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, 835,
837, 983, 994, 1022, 1041, 1047,
1052, 1055, 1056, 1058, 1060, 1061,
1063, 1064, 1066, 1068, 1070, 1072,
1073, 1290, 1308, 1315, 1322, 1325,
1407.
Constitutional Advisory Committee, 1311, 1312.
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, 1298.
See also Vol. I.
Consumer Cooperatives, 991.
Cooch-Behar, 1155.
COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT, 989.
Coorg, 1206, 1215.
Cotton, Henry, 812.
Councils Act, 1369, 1392.
CRIPPS MISSION, 816.
Cripps, Sir Stafford, 653, 664, 816,
1055, 1071.
Cuba, 1126.
Curzon, Lord, 1231, 1232, 1274.
Cuttack, 913, 938.
Czechoslovakia, 1406.
D
Dacca, 1017, 1018.
Dada, Bapu Rao, 844, 999.
Dalhouse, Lord, 1271.
Damodar Dass, 1032.
Damodar Valley, 968.
Dar, Bishan Narayan, 840, 844.
Dar, C.R., 814, 1173.
Dayananda, 811.
Defence and Communications, 1039,
1043, 1045, 1046, 1344.
Defence and Finance, 1444.
Defence Council, 1100.
Defence Services, 1188.
Delhi, 836, 838, 859, 867, 868, 870,
887, 903, 905, 909, 912, 938, 963,
966, 994, 996, 1002, 1009, 1010, 1012,
1049, 1055, 1059, 1205, 1206, 1269,
1278, 1360, 1380, 1433.
Deo, Narendra, 904, 906.
Deo, Shankar Rao, 838, 904, 1345.
Deogirikar, T.R., 932.
Desai, B.J., 960.
Desai, Bhulabhai, 1298.
Desai, Kanayalal, 1345.
Dharmsadas, 846.
Dharwar, 887.
Dholpur, 1280, 1284.
Digby, W., 996.
Disarmament, 993, 1120.
District Boards, 1371.
District Collectors, 1381.
District Development Board, 1398.
Diwakar, R.R., 904, 906.
Dominion Legislature, 1329, 1330, 1331.
Dominion Status, 1248, 1276, 1337,
1340, 1412, 1421, 1422, 1428.
Dumbarton Oaks Conference, 1075.
Dutt, Aswini Kumar, 843, 999.
E
Economic Conditions and Planning, 1208.
EDUCATION, 990, 991.
Egypt, 1141.
Electoral College, 1281, 1282, 1286.
Ellis, J.E., 996.
England, 817, 820, 824, 826, 828, 843,
996, 997, 1191, 1193, 1196, 1201,
1202, 1203, 1422, 1444.
Ernakulam, 938.
Europe, 1409, 1417, 1424, 1442.
Excise Bill, 1393.
Excise Reforms, 1368.
Executive Councils, 1200.
External Affairs, 1344.
F
Faizpur, 899, 1206, 1405.
Famine Relief, 1381.
Fascism, 831, 1409.
Faiz-ul-Haq, 1002.
Federal Court, 1048, 1067, 1069, 1069,
1070, 1282, 1287, 1329, 1440.
Federal Constitution, 1248, 1285.
Federal Legislature, 1266, 1288, 1289.
Federal Structure Committee, 1284,
1285.
Feudalism, 1146.
Ferdinand, Archduke Francis, 1400.
FIVE YEAR PLANS, 963, 968, 969,
973, 977, 983, 984, 987, 1090,
1113, 1114, 1117.
Flood Control, 1093.
FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1039, 1041,
1043, 1045, 1046.
Foreign Affairs and Communications, 1322, 1325, 1326.
Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1250.
France, 978, 1101.
Fundamental Rights, 1023.

G
Gaekwar, Khundee Rao, 1227.
Gaekwar, Mulhar Rao, 1226, 1227, 1232.
Gandhi Irwin Pact, 815.
Gandhi, Mahatma, 813, 814, 815, 818, 831, 834, 838, 839, 881, 900, 906, 909, 990, 981, 1025, 1127, 1173, 1179, 1184, 1207, 1296, 1318, 1418, 1419, 1422, 1423, 1427, 1432, 1433.
Ganta, W.S., 840.
Gauhati, 831, 870; 880, 886, 912, 938, 1004.
Gazette of India, 1395.
Geneva, 1099.
Germany, 1145, 1168.
Ghosal, J., 843.
Ghose, Monu Mohan, 997.
Ghosh, Atulya, 932.
Ghosh, Profulla Chandra, 1345.
Ghosh, Surendra Mohan, 906.
Ghosh&amp; F.A.K., 1288.
Goa, 978, 1086, 1126.
Gokhale, G.K., 846, 1000, 1001.
Government of India Act, 1401.
Governor-General-in-Council, 1370, 1371, 1378.
Govind Bulach, 840.
Govind Das, 932.
Great Britain, 1161.
Grow More Food Campaign, 975.
Gulbarga, 815.
Gujarat, 870, 887, 912, 938, 1155.
Gupta, Shivprasad, 1005.
Gwyer, M., 1034.

H
Hamid Ali, 840, 998.
Har Kishan Lal, 844, 846, 1001.
Haripra, 908, 912, 928, 1155.
Harish Chandra, 1395.
Health, 991.
Himachal Pradesh, 908, 912, 938, 1155, 1360.
Hind Mazdoor Sabha, 1159, 1160.
Hindu Law, 969.
HINDU MAHASABHA, 1018, 1433, 1435.
Hinduism, 1318.
Hindustani Dalip Singh, 901, 902, 908.
Hirakud, 968.
Hirey, B.S., 1355.
Holdsworth, Prof., 1334, 1337.
Home Guards, 1100.
Howard, J.E., 997.

Hubei, 912.
Hume, Allan Octavian, 811, 812, 840, 977.
Hungary, 1086, 1168.
Hunter, William, 1017.
Hyderabad, 912, 937, 938, 975, 1055, 1155, 1230, 1239, 1240, 1271, 1314, 1343, 1344, 1359.

I
Ibrahim Rahimtulla, 846.
Icramullah, 1324.
Imperial Conference, 1277.
Imperial Legislative Council, 1372, 1380.
Imperial Service, 1302.
Income Tax, 1393.
Income Tax Act, 824, 826.

INDIA ACT, 1206, 1302, 1328, 1332, 1336, 1337, 1410, 1419, 1438.
India League, 1008.
India's Standstill Agreement, 1343.
Indian Arbitration Act, 1327.
Indian Army, 822, 1193, 1338.
Indian Arts and Industries, 1373.
Indian Chiefs and Rulers, 1229.
Indian Civil Medical Service, 1201.
INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE, 824, 1083, 1197, 1201, 1204, 1270, 1435.
Indian Councils Act, 1201, 1203, 1372.
Indian Dominion, 1337.
Indian Empire, 841.
Indian Federation, 1292.
Indian High Courts, 1203, 1204.
INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT, 817, 1324, 1325, 1326, 1328, 1329, 1332, 1333.
Indian Legislature, 1259.
Indian Mutiny, 1017.
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 811, 812, 829, 837, 841, 842, 843, 847, 848, 853, 855, 857, 862, 865, 868, 869, 885, 906, 937, 940, 953,
INDEX

966, 981, 995, 997, 998, 1009, 1027,
1027, 1076, 1066, 1109, 1113, 1170, 1172,
1177, 1205, 1231, 1289, 1422, 1423,
1427.
Indian National Congress Resolution
on War.
See World War I and II.
Indian Penal Code, 1211.
Indian Press, 811.
Indian Press Act, 1215, 1225.
INDIAN PRINCES AND STATES
1231, 1232, 1233, 1244, 1248, 1279,
1413, 1415.
Indian Republic, 1122.
Indian Round Table Conference, 1276,
1284.
Indian Rulers, 1240, 1244.
Indian States, 1048, 1231, 1232, 1233,
1238, 1239, 1241, 1242, 1244, 1248,
1250, 1255, 1254, 1259, 1260, 1263,
1266, 1267, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1271,
1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1279, 1280,
1281, 1282, 1286, 1288, 1289, 1290,
1291, 1292, 1295, 1299, 1301, 1302,
1307, 1308, 1309, 1314, 1316, 1320,
1321, 1322, 1327, 1328, 1333, 1334,
1335, 1339, 1340, 1341, 1348, 1413,
1415, 1428, 1438, 1440.
Indian States Committee, 1241, 1249,
1260, 1266, 1267, 1270, 1271.
Indian Statutory Commission, 1261,
1268, 1388.
Indian Union, 835, 1314, 1315, 1316,
1322, 1333, 1339.
Indian Universities, 1370.
Industries, 1383.
Indore, 912, 12 80, 1284.
Indonesia, 1141, 1168.
Industrial Estates, 989, 1082.
Industrial Finance Corporations, 988.
Industrial Policy Resolution, 988, 1095.
Interim Government, 983, 1053, 1054,
1057, 1059, 1061, 1062, 1063, 1064,
1065.
International Affairs, 992, 1125.
Iraq, 1126.
Ireland, 1336, 1337.
Irwin, Lord, 815, 1255, 1412.
Isswar Chandra, 811.
Ityengar, Anandshivam, 900.
Ityengar, Rangasami, 1004.
Iyer, C.P., 1002.
Iyer, G.S., 845, 8 9, 1000.
Iyer, Krishna Swami, 846.
Iyer, S.A.S., 840.
Iyer, S.S., 840.
Jagat Narain, 1388.
Jagdish Prasad, 1435.
Jaipur, 839, 909, 1208.
Jairamdas Daulatram, 899, 900, 904.
Jai Prakash Narain, 1127.
Jaishiram, 844.
Jagannath Rao, M., 905.
Jagjivan Ram, 932, 1062.
Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy
See Civil Disobedience Movement,
Vol. I.
Jam Sahib, 1297.
Jammu, 978.
Japan, 1168.
Javeri, Revashanker Jagjivan, 1003.
Jayakar, M.R., 1073, 1111, 1113.
Jayaprakash Narayan, 899, 904.
Jhenda Singh, 844.
Jinnah, M.A., 1021, 1029, 1032, 1034,
1035, 1036, 1038, 1042, 1043, 1051,
1052, 1064, 1416, 1418, 1419, 1420,
1424, 1425, 1430, 1437, 1438.
Joshi, M.V., 844, 846.
Jubbulpore, 870, 887.
Jullundur, 913.
Jurisdiction Act, 1191.
Jury Commission, 823, 825, 827.
K
Kalo, Anusuyabai, 1391.
Kamaladevi, 904.
Kannada, 1155.
Kanpur, 1004.
Karachi, 1001, 1002, 1019, 1204, 1225,
1389.
Karanikar, 840.
Karanikar, R.P., 844.
Krishna Lal, 1000.
Karnatak, 870, 887, 912, 1155.
Kashmir, 978, 1120, 1126, 1315.
Kathiarwar, 859.
Kelkar, S.V., 1113, 1385, 1386.
Kelkar, H.V., 844.
Kelkar, N.C., 1113.
Kennedy, Pringle, 997.
Kenya, 1086.
Kerala, 870, 887, 912, 938, 1120, 1155,
1360.
Keshab Chandra, 811.
Keskar, B.V., 904.
Khadi and Village Industries Board,
1014.
Kharma, Jugal Kishore, 904, 905, 900
1010.
Khaparde, G.S., 844.
Khare, Daji Abaji, 840, 844, 998, 1000.
Khedkar, Gopalrao, 932.
Kher, B.G., 836.
Kidwai, Rafi Ahmed, 1009.
Kisan Mazdoor Raj, 1170.
Kisan Union, 902.
Korea, 979, 1168.
Kotah, 815.
Kripalani, J.B., 817, 900, 903, 1009,
1298.
L
Labour Movement, 1158.
Labour Party, 1161.
Labour Union, 902.
Ladakh, 1126.
Lahore, 826, 845, 870, 887, 998, 999, 1200, 1424.
Lajpat Rai, 814, 846, 1001, 1173.
Land Commission, 1153.
Land Improvement Loan, 1381.
Landsdowne, Lord, 1229.
Lawrence, Patrick, 817, 1055.
Lawson, Wilfrid, 1373.
League of Nations, 1406.
Legislative Councils, 1369, 1370, 1374, 1375, 1379.
Liberal Party, 1033.
Lieutenant Governors, 1376.
Life Insurance Corporation, 959.
Linguistic Demarcation, 1364.
Linguistic Provinces, 1364.
Linthgow, Lord, 1412, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1420, 1425, 1427, 1430, 1439, 1440, 1444.
Local Opinion Act, 1373.
Local Self Government, 1374.
Lok Sevak Sangh, 906.
London, 815, 1008, 1018.
Lord Dufferin, 1369.
Lord Harding, 1400.
Lord Lansdowne, 1372.
Lord Linlithgow, 1406.
Lord Minto, 1374, 1377.
Lord Morley, 1376, 1379.
Lord Morley Reform, 1308, 1374.
Lucknow, 815, 824, 845, 866, 887, 899, 913, 939, 1018, 1031, 1199, 1205, 1235, 1290, 1294, 1402.
Lushai Hill States, 1345.
Lyon, P.C., 1194.

M
Macarlan, W.S.P., 996.
MacDonald Ramsay, 1078.
Madan Mohan, 840.
Madhulkar, 843.
Madhya Bharat, 908.
Madhya Pradesh, 1359.
Madras, 823, 830, 840, 841, 846, 848, 851, 854, 859, 860, 863, 866, 870, 887, 913, 938, 969, 975, 986, 996, 998, 999, 1000, 1004, 1195, 1197, 1198, 1199, 1200, 1203, 1211, 1230, 1238, 1270, 1290, 1398, 1379, 1395, 1396, 1401.
Madras Agriculturists Loan Act, 1380.
Madras Executive Council, 1376.
Madras Lands Improvement Loans Act, 1380.
Main Liquor Law of America, 1373.
Maine, Sir Henry, 1252, 1245, 1257.
Maharashtra, 870, 887, 913, 938, 986.
Malaya, 1168.
Malaviya, Madan Mohan, 816, 844, 846, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, 1109, 1110, 1173.
Malaya, 831.
Malta, U.S., 932.
Manipur, 1155, 1271, 1345, 1360.
Marquess of Ripon, 1375.
Matthai, John, 1062.
Meerut, 834, 838, 903, 904, 1307, 1308, 1318.
Mehta, Ashok, 1127.
Mehta, Jamnadas, 1440.
Mehta, Balvantray, 932.
Mehta, P.M., 843, 846, 1000.
Mehta, Phersozeshah, 812, 813, 996, 997, 1000.
Menon, V.K.K., 1008.
Menon, V.P., 1324.
Merwars, 859.
Mesopotamia Commission, 400.
Minorities, 970, 1138, 1410, 1414, 1419, 1420, 1422, 1428, 1429.
Minto, Lord, 1232.
Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, 840.
Misra, Gokaran Nath, 1002.
Mitra, Trailokyanath, 840.
Mitter, Sir, P.C., 1386.
Mody, Sir, Hormusji, 1439.
Mohammedan Community, 1372.
Morley, Lord, 1174.
Montagu Chelmsford Report, 1324, 1320, 1262, 1264, 1269.
Moonje, B.S., 1109, 1110, 1113.
Mountbatten, 1344.
Mountbatten, Lord, 1314, 1323.
Mountbatten Plan, 817.
Mozumdar, Ambica Charan, 843, 846.
Mudaliar, C.J., 845.
Mudaliar, Sabapathy, 840.
Municipal Schools, 1369.
Muridhar, 840, 998.
Muslim India, 1046, 1410, 1411, 1424, 1435.
MUSLIM LEAGUE, 817, 834, 1017, 1021, 1022, 1029, 1030, 1042, 1044, 1054, 1062, 1063, 1065, 1066, 1072, 1119, 1205, 1409, 1411, 1416, 1418, 1425, 1426, 1431, 1433, 1434, 1437.
Muslim Mass Contact Movement, 1031, 1032, 1034.
Mysore, 859, 913, 938, 956, 1228, 1229, 1230.

N
Naga Hills, 970.
Nagpur, 870, 938, 998, 1195.
Naidu, P.R., 845.
Naidu, Raja Ram, 932.
Naidu, Rangiah, 840.
Nair, C.S., 845, 846.
Nair, K.P.M., 932.
INDEX

Nair, Sankara, 998.
Nambyar, V.R., 845, 1000.
Namjoshi, M.B., 998.
Naoroji, Dadabhai, 812, 813, 996.
Narendra Dev, Acharya, 1127.
Nasik, 911.
National Affairs, 1123.
National Cadet Corps, 1100.
National Congress Agency, 996.
National Defence Council, 1440, 1441.
National Demand, 831.
National Extension Service, 976, 1014.
National Flag, 815, 1295.
NATIONAL LIBERATION FEDERATION, 1073, 1075, 1076, 1444.
National Fact, 814.
National Plan, 963, 964.
National Planning Committee, 982.
National Revolt, 1017.
Nationalist India, 1291.
Native States, 1238, 1251, 1256.
NATO, 1126.
Nazism, 831.
NEFA, 1126.
Neiru, Jawaharlal, 815, 818, 836, 900.
1003, 1010, 1019, 1021, 1031, 1032, 1052, 1053, 1055, 1059, 1062, 1064, 1065, 1069, 1070, 1121, 1298, 1314, 1315, 1360.
Nehru, Motilal, 814, 1003, 1173.
Nepal, 1126.
Nijalingappa, S. 1351, 1355.
Nishtar, Abdul Rab, 1324.
Noakhali, 1318.
Non-Parties Political Conference, 1434.
Noon, Sir Firoze Khan, 1439.
North-West Frontier Province, 1042, 1044.
Norton, Eardby, 840, 997.
Nundy, A., 1000.
N.W.F. Province, 837, 844.
N.W.F.P., 870, 887.
N.W. Provinces, 1191.
O
Oppenheimer, 1339.
Orrisa, 863, 867, 870, 887, 987, 1345.
Oman Ali Khan, 1344.
Oudh, 844, 1000, 1191, 1201, 1204.
P
Padhye, M.K., 846.
Pakistan, 835, 967, 978, 993, 1018, 1040, 1046, 1047, 1049, 1057, 1076, 1086, 1087, 1099, 1120, 1121, 1128, 1170, 1320, 1324, 1325, 1342.
Palestine, 1410, 1419.
Panch Sheel, 1120.
Panchayat, 1398.
Panchayati Raj, 985, 986.
Pandurang, Raghunath, 999.
Pant, Govind Ballabh, 1000, 1360.
Paramount Power, 1239, 1240, 1244, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1252, 1253, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1257, 1258, 1259, 1268, 1271, 1272, 1291, 1334.
Parliamentary Activities, 1346.
Parliamentary Board, 1346.
Parliamentary Democracy, 1105, 1106.
Parliamentary System, 1377.
Patel, Vallabhbhai, 818, 1010, 1062, 1173, 1296, 1298, 1321, 1324, 1325, 1412.
Patel, V.J., 1002, 1004.
Patiala, 804, 906, 933, 1015.
Pattani, Sri Prabhshankar, 1280.
Patwardhan, Achuti, 900, 1127.
Pay Commission, 1157.
Pepsu, 1155, 1156, 1360.
Permissive Bill, 1373.
Peshawar, 870, 887.
Pillai, C.R.C., 845.
Pillai, P.K., 1002.
Planning Commission, 963, 975, 983, 1133, 1136, 1137, 1185.
Poland, 1411.
Political Parties, See Vol. II.
POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT, 1191.
Poona, 841, 870, 887, 913, 938, 994, 1195, 1196, 1211, 1305, 1396, 1433, 1448.
Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, 811.
Pradesh Congress Committee, 1354.
Pradesh Congress Committees of States, 1359.
Praja Mandal, 1007, 1010, 1345, 1346.
PRAJA SOCIALIST PARTY, 1078, 1079, 1080, 1081, 1082, 1083, 1084, 1085, 1086, 1087, 1089, 1091, 1092, 1094, 1095, 1096, 1097, 1098, 1099.
Presidents Prades Congress Committees, 1358.
Press Repression, 1208, 1209.
Press and Registration of Books Act, 1209, 1214, 1216, 1218, 1219, 1220, 1224.
Preventive Detention Act, 1125.
Princely States, 1154.
PRINCES AND THEIR TATES, 1226.
Prithvi Nath, 1000.
Privy Council, 828, 1238, 1250, 1273, 1287, 1338.
Prohibition
See Social Reforms.
Provincial Councils, 1375.
Provincial Legislative Council, 1376, 1377.
Provincial Volunteer Board, 1017.
Public Administration
See Politics and Government.
R

RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, 1101.
Radical Democratic State, 1107. See Foreign Relation
Raghavachari, C.V., 844.
Rajagopalachariar, C., 1003, 1005, 1006, 1062, 1173, 1177, 1178.
Rajasthan, 913, 938, 986.
Rajendra Prasad, 898, 899, 904, 1010, 1034, 1062, 1173, 1416, 1417, 1418, 1419.
Rajkot, 1296, 1297.
Rajputana, 859, 908, 1279, 1341.
Raju, A.S., 832.
Rangar Congress, 1169.
Rampal Singh, 840.
Ramaswamy, C.P., 1002.
Rampur, 1155, 1345.
Ranchi, 816.
Rangoon, 870, 887.
Reading, Lord, 1239, 1271.
Reddi, K.V., 1380, 1385, 1386.
Reform Schemes, 1379.
Reforms Enquiry Committee Report, 1385, 1387.
Regional Council, 1084, 1345.
Religious Reforms, See Social Reforms.
Religious Suppression, See Social Reforms
Report of Linguistic Provinces Committee, 1349, 1351.
RESPONSIVE COOPERATIVE PARTY, 1108, 1110, 1112.
Revolutionary Socialist Party, 1113.
Rippon, Lord, 1228.
Round Table Conference, 815, 1077, 1298, 1339.
Round Table Conference, See Constitutional Reforms, Vol. I.
Rowlatt Act, See Constitutional Reforms.
Roy, Kiran Sankar, 900.
Roy, M.N., 1001, 1102.
Royal Commission, 1101.
Royal Prerogative, 1242.
Royal Proclamation, 1263, 1268, 1274.
Roy, Ram Mohan, 811.
Rumania, 1168.
Rural Development, 1398.
Russia, 1113, 1163, 1165, 1170, 1171.
Russian Bloc, 1164, 1165.
Russian Social Democratic Party, 1151.

Salimullah, Nawab, 1017.
Salt Duty, 1385.
Salt Law, 815.
Salt Tax, 825, 827, 1396.
Sambamurti, 1007.

Samyuktta Maharashtra Parishad, 1355.
Sapru, Tej Bahadur, 1073, 1076, 1434, 1437, 1439, 1442.
Sarabhai, Mridula, 904.
Sarkar, Namini, 1440.
Sarva Seva Sangh, 1014.
Satyagrahis of Vykom, 1388.
Saurashtra, 1155, 1156.
Sayana, R.M., 844.
Sayyid Muhammad, 1001.
Scot, Sir Leslie, 1249.
Security Act, 1125.
SEATO, 1126.
Selection Committee Report, 813.
Sen, Baidinath Nath, 843, 846, 1000.
Sen, Guru Prasad, 998.
Shah Nawaz Begum, 1440.
Shastri Lal Bahadur, 937.
Shab, K.K., 932.
Shah Nawaz Khan, 1016.
Shafkat Ahmad Khan, 1062.
Shome, Joy Gobind, 840.
Shuddhi Movement, See Communism.
Vol. I.
Shurufuddin, 997.
Simla, 912, 938.
Simon Commission, 1173.
Singa, S., 846, 1000, 1001.
Sinor, Sir Nripendra, 1435.
Simon Commission Report, 815.
Singh, 870, 887, 1039.
Singapore, 832.
Simla, Dipnarain, 843.
Sirar, Tawarilal, 840.
Sitalwad, C.H., 844.
Sitaranayya, Pattabhi, 900, 904, 906, 1341, 1345.
Social Conditions, See Economic Condition and Planning.
Social Democratic Movement, 1145.
Social Reforms, 1368.
Socialism, 1104, 1150, 1153, 1154, 1171.
Socialism, See Political Parties, Socialist Party.
Socialist Cooperative Commonwealth, 973.
SOCIALIST PARTY, 1126, 1127, 1128, 1136, 1138, 1139, 1140, 1143, 1144, 1146, 1155, 1156, 1157, 1158, 1159, 1160, 1162, 1163, 1164, 1165, 1166, 1167, 1168, 1169, 1170, 1172.
Social Reforms, 1368.
Spain, 1409.
Sri Prakasa, 1005.
State Finance Corporation, 988.
State Trading Corporation, 1095, 1138, 1185.
States Reorganisation Commission, 1014, 1352, 1366.
Statutory Commission, 1077.
Suba, B. 1002.
INDEX

Subramania, G., 840.
Supreme Legislative Council, 1200.
Swaraj Bhawan, 1391, 1392.
SWARAJYA PARTY, 815, 1172, 1173, 1174, 1175, 1177.
SWATANTRA PARTY, 814, 816, 1172, 1177, 1178, 1179, 1180, 1181, 1182, 1183, 1184, 1185, 1186, 1187, 1188, 1189, 1190.
Sylhet, 1345.
Syed Ahmed, 1017.
Syed Ali Zoheer, 1062.
Syed, Mahomed, 846, 1002, 1005.

T

Tahirram Khem Chand, 844.
Tandon, Purushottamdas, 904, 906.
T mil N-du, 887, 913, 938.
Taxation, 991, 1393.
Tilak, Bal G. udhar, 1110.
TRADE, 1137.
Travancore, 859.
Tripura, 831, 1296, 1297, 1345.
Tungabhadra, 968.

U

U.N.O., 1340.
Unilingual State, 1365.
United Kingdom, 868, 1166, 1413.
UNITED NATIONS, 817, 833, 834, 879, 980, 1086, 1099, 1100, 1121, 1141, 1167, 1168.
Unity Conference, 1024.
Universities Conference, 1382.
Upadhyaya, Muniwar Dutt, 932.
Utkal, 870, 887, 913, 938.
Uttar Pradesh, 913, 938, 975, 986.
1359.
U.S.S.R., 1126.

V

Venkataratnam, G., 845.
Vidarba, 938.
Viceroy's Council, 1375.
Viceroy's Executive Council, 1377.
Viet-Nam, 1168.
Vijayawada, 912.
Village Sanitation, 995.
Vinayak, Doora, 844, 998.
Vindhya Pradesh, 913, 1155.
Vivekanand, 811.
Vyas, Jai Narain, 932.

W

Wages Act, 1092.
War Advisory Council, 1427, 1428, 1430, 1431, 1432, 1433, 1434.
War Cabinet, 1439.
War Council, 1425, 1426.
Wartha, 834, 881, 1007, 1008, 1059, 1102, 1298, 1299, 1446.
Washington, 1440.
Wavell, Lord, 1062, 1302, 1303.
Wedderburn, William, 812, 996.
Welfare of Women and Children, 1389.
Welfare State, 1114.
West Bengal, 1366.
Westminster, Statute of, 1336.
Workers' Education Movement, 1162.
World Federal Government, 1166.
World War I & II, 1400.

Y

Yule, George, 812, 996, 997.

Z

Zafarulla Khan, 1431, 1440.