

THE KARACHI CONGRESS

LAST DAYS' PROCEEDINGS

CONGRESS POLICY AND PROGRAMME

RE-DRAFTED RESOLUTION CARRIED

(Associated Special Service.)

KARACHI, Mar. 31.

The open session of Congress met at 6-30 and quickly passed eight resolutions put from the chair unanimously. Maulana Khatibuddin Wali of Ferozpur, Punjab, made a statement assuring the Congress that the large body of Mussalmans wholeheartedly associated themselves with the fight for Swaraj. There was no fear of conflict between Hindus and Mussalmans. The Federation would provide for Swaraj. There was no fear of conflict between Hindus and Mussalmans. The Federation would provide for Swaraj. There was no fear of conflict between Hindus and Mussalmans. The Federation would provide for Swaraj.

FUTURE OF BURMA

Mr. Maung Ji moving the resolution on Burma declared that 94 per cent of the people of Burma were not in sympathy with the British. The Federation would provide for Swaraj. There was no fear of conflict between Hindus and Mussalmans. The Federation would provide for Swaraj. There was no fear of conflict between Hindus and Mussalmans. The Federation would provide for Swaraj.

Pt. Jawaharlal seconding the resolution on Burma said, India should at once recognise the right of Burma to self-determination. Propaganda however was made in certain quarters that India wanted to retain Burma in order to exploit her. There was some truth in it as some Indians had actually exploited Burma, and that was why they had made it clear in the resolution that Burma's partnership with India was at her will.

Pt. Jawaharlal said: "It was a fact that a large majority of the Burmese were in favour of joining the Indian Federation and Britain wanted her to separate from India because there was oil resources in Burma. The empires of today, he said, were floating on oil, and not on gold and silver. The resolution was further supported by Rev. Kuka who spoke in Burmese and it was unanimously adopted."

FORWARD POLICY IN FRONTIER CONDEMNED

Pt. Jawaharlal next moved the resolution on the forward policy on the Frontier. Pt. Jawaharlal said the Government had been intentionally raising the bogey of the Frontier in India in order to keep their control over India. For years past, the Afghans had been painted as savages who were out to murder and pillage and the moment the British Government were out of India there would be universal looting. Pt. Jawaharlal said it was a totally false impression and he believed similar misrepresentation of India was made in the Frontier. He had known Pathans in his life who were honest, brave and loyal friends. He was confident that under Swaraj India would have most friendly relations with the borderland. The speaker then referred to "No man's land" and said there the British Government were doing their utmost to enslave the people of that area by means of a policy which was called "forward policy". Indians who were growing under the foreign yoke did not wish others to be enslaved but their silence to-day would be misinterpreted. That was why they were asked to pass the resolution which he placed before the House.

KHAN GHAFAR KHAN SECONDS RESOLUTION

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan supporting the resolution said the Government had purposely kept Indians in the dark about the real facts in regard to the Frontier. The speaker relating the incidents of "Beshwar shooting" last April said it was after the horrors of Peshawar and Charsada that the Afghans had demanded the release of Gandhiji and Abdul Ghaffar Khan. It was after the Government had failed to comply with their request and after their troops had been invaded and bombarded that the Afghans had taken to arms against the British. It was entirely an act of self-defence. The speaker said that the Afghans were not the British Government could keep India divided by the Afghans. He assured Gandhiji and the House that if in future they were to launch civil disobedience, the Pathans would not be found backward in helping India to win Swaraj. "We will demonstrate what we are," he declared and made a touching appeal for communal unity. He said slaves had no religion and Hindus and Mussalmans should not fight over insignificant things. They would bring down the whole status of India which they had won under the banner of Gandhiji if they continued communal strife.

Khan Ghaffar Khan also told the House that the Government had been carrying on propaganda against India on the Frontier. They were asking people what they gained by the release of Gandhiji which they had been demanding for the last twelve months and what Gandhiji had done for them. The resolution therefore, if passed, would be a message of goodwill to those people.

Khan Ghaffar Khan said it was reported that Lord Irwin had said that the Government would abandon the new road on the Khajoor plain, but had refused the request after he had met the Chief Commissioner of the North West Frontier Province. He had given a message from the Afghids in which the former had asked Gandhiji to come to the Frontier and see things for himself and how millions were squandered in order to keep India in bondage. The Afghids had also suggested that Gandhiji should be their arbitrator and if Gandhiji found the Afghids were faultless, he was to press upon the Government to leave their country and make them free.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said Gandhiji alone could restore peace on the Frontier and the borderland and thereby help in reducing the huge military expenditure.

Peer Bukah also supporting the resolution, said the Government were stunned to see the influence of Gandhiji in the Frontier and the spirit of non-violence in the last struggle. They smelt Bolshevik danger in all this and through their advanced policy captured Khajoor plain in order to carry out blockade of the Afghids. This was not regarded sufficient and during the last nine months, bombs worth twenty-six lakhs were dropped on the Afghid country. The speaker said in spite of all this, the Afghids had no quarrel with the Indians and they would prove most loyal and brave gatekeepers in the Swaraj Government of this country.

The resolution was unanimously passed.

RESOLUTION ON CONGRESS PROGRAMME

Gandhiji thereafter moved the following resolution on the declaration of Fundamental Rights.

"This Congress is of opinion that to enable the masses what Swaraj as conceived by the Congress will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them."

The Congress therefore declares that any constitution which may be agreed on its behalf shall provide or enable the Swaraj Government to provide for the following fundamental rights of the people such as: (a) Freedom of association; (b) freedom of speech and Press; (c) freedom of conscience and free profession and practice of religion, subject to public order and morality; (d) protection of culture, language and script of minorities; (e) equal rights of and obligations of all citizens without any bar on account of sex; (f) no disability to attach to any person by reason of religion, caste or creed in regard to public employment, office or power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling; (g) equal rights of all citizens of access to and use of public wells, public roads and all other places of public resort; (h) right to keep and bear arms in accordance with regulation and reservations made in that behalf.

(1) No person shall be deprived of his liberty nor shall his dwelling or property be entered into sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with law. (2) Religious neutrality on the part of the State. (3) Living wage for industrial workers, limited hours of labour, healthy conditions of work, protection against economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment. (4) Labour to get free from serfdom or conditions bordering serfdom. (5) Protection of women workers and specially adequate provision for leave during maternity period. (6) Prohibition against employment of children of school-going age in factories. (7) Right of labour to form unions to protect their interests with suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes by arbitration. (8) Substantial reduction of land revenue and agricultural rent paid by peasants, and in the case of un-economic holdings exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary, relief being given to small Zamindars, whenever necessary by reason of such reduction. (9) Imposition of progressive income-tax on agricultural incomes above a fixed income. (10) Graduated inheritance tax. (11) Adult suffrage. (12) Free primary education. (13) Military expenditure to be reduced by at least one-half of the present scale. (14) Expenditure and salaries in the civil departments to be largely reduced. No servant of the State other than specially employed experts and the like to be paid above a certain fixed figure which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month. (15) Protection of indigenous cloth by the exclusion of foreign cloth and foreign yarn from the country. (16) Total prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs. (17) No duty on salt. (18) Control over exchange and currency policy so as to help Indian industries and bring relief to the masses. (19) Control by the State of the key industries and mineral resources. (20) Control of usury direct or indirect.

"It shall be open to the All-India Congress Committee to revise, amend or add to foregoing declaration so far as such revision, amendment, or addition is not inconsistent with the policy and principle thereof."

MAHATMAJI'S SPEECH

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

KARACHI, March 31.

Mahatmajiji read the text of the resolution, and at the end of it he explained its meaning and scope. "Brothers and Sisters," he began, "you have heard with great patience what I have read. Our main question and concern will be that of the poor people."

What I wanted or meant about our minimum I have said in my eleven points already. It was my object too that we could place these eleven points before the R. T. C. But later it was thought that it would be of advantage to have a clear idea of our minimum and to elaborate these eleven points and to place them later before the R. T. C.

"I have already told you that this resolution is an elaboration of the eleven points. Now we are going to tell the world what exactly we want through our minimum demands. Please tell me if you are dissatisfied with this by making it known. We are all eager to get Swaraj. We will do everything to get it too, but then for such a task as this, we must have our materials ready. We must for instance, take up the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. Personally, I do not see why two fine cultures which have so many points common to them should not understand each other. After all the Bhagwat Gita and the Quran are the same. I believe much could be done by working together."

"Secondly from the resolution you will see that we have given equal rights to men and women. Even on the question of votes, we have given them equal rights. Why not? Have we not given women better facilities and treated them better than anyone else? It is not possible in the present scheme of things for a woman to become a Vice-President, but do you not know that in our Government everything is possible? Was not the first woman President of our Congress Dr. Annie Besant? Did not Sarojini Naidu become President? Did not women become dictators in our recent struggle? As regards religious neutrality, we are not going to make any difference because of a man's religion. Religion will not be a barrier and the cause of any difference of treatment to individuals. As regards labourers, we are going to make their lives better in every way in the factories we run. We will manage the factories in such a way that the labourer's wife and children are happy. The Swaraj Government will give labourers their wherewithal. The hours of work will be eight hours per day. The labourer's material welfare will be looked after. We will think of him as our brother. His position is to-day because the government to-day is not ours. When to-morrow the government comes into our hands, all these evils could be remedied. I will not talk at length over other details. If you ever keep a diary please make a note in it of the fact that when Swaraj comes there will be no duty on salt. Salt will be free for all."

"Gandhi is forbidden," Gandhiji continued "in Mahomedan Law. If anyone charges interest it is considered as crime. Hindumism however permits it, but our brethren do levy a terrible rate. We have Gujaratis, Banias and Marwaris who do this trade. To prevent this we are going to ask them not to charge them more than five per cent or at most eight per cent in their dealing. We want to fix such rent as will be possible for poor men, to pay and as will not materially affect the interests of the landlord or zamindars. I must tell you that this scheme was prepared at short notice within twenty-four hours. I am aware it is incomplete, and that there are many mistakes in it too. It is not a final document nor is it God's last word on the subject. This is only for your guidance, but there is nothing very dreadful about it. Its acceptance need cause no alarm. I do not think therefore there is any need for amendments."

"It is up to you to give life to the skeleton of the scheme. I request you to adopt it and pass it and help us. With these words Gandhiji completed the narration of his 'dream of Government.'"

MR. SEN GUPTA'S APPEAL

Mr. Sen Gupta, supporting the resolution, said it, as some of us apprehended, negotiations with the present British Government would fail and the masses would have to come once again to their rescue and fight the battle, it was therefore necessary that the masses should know exactly what the Congress spoke.

Mr. Prakasham and Mr. R. K. Bose moved amendments and expressed the view that the present time was most inopportune to bring forward a resolution of this character. They also criticised some of the clauses as liable to misrepresentation.

Mr. Maslamani supported the resolution on behalf of Catholic Christians. Mr. Nekiram Sharma also supported the resolution.

MOTION CARRIED

Closure was moved and the resolution was put and carried at 10-30 p.m.

At the stroke of 12, the President, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patil, adjourned the session of the Congress sine die. Earlier in the evening Dr. Chaitram Gidwani thanked the various sub-committees and workers who had made the Congress a success in such a short time.

Mr. Neidun offered enthusiastic gratitude on behalf of the Congress to the Reception Committee. She referred to the death of Mr. Ganesh Shanker Vidyalbhai in Calcutta and hoped his blood would cement Hindu-Muslim unity. She concluded with a stirring appeal to young India to live and work for freedom and make India free.

MR. VALLABHBHAI'S CLOSING REMARKS

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patil in closing the session, referred to the work of the Congress and said they had passed two resolutions which might be regarded as a landmark in the history of India. One was in regard to the 'Dolhi' truce and the second in the matter of the declaration of fundamental rights.

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patil said that the decision of the Congress in ratifying the Gandhi-Irwin settlement showed

that the country regarded it as an honourable settlement entered into with due regard to the national prestige. In this connection he referred to the opposition to the pact by the younger people. Mr. Patel said it would only be a matter of six months by which time the result would be finally known. "What are six months in the lives of young men? For old people like me and Gandhiji it meant everything. We may not live for the next six months. But our ambition is to see India free before we die. It is befitting for young men to give us that chance."

Proceeding, Mr. Vallabhbhai said the Congress was not the monopoly of any particular class of people. It belonged to the nation. It would one day pass on to younger people who should not be impatient of time. They should devote these six months in propagating khaddar and in effecting boycott of foreign cloth. In this connection, he gave a notice to foreign cloth merchants and said if they did not stop importing foreign cloth they might have to repent, because the Congress was going to have a hundredfold more power.

Proceeding, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patil said even if Gandhiji had made a mistake young men should not do likewise. Their aid should be to follow truth fearlessly and faithfully. Mr. Vallabhbhai said that talk did not count. It was service, it was action that made man respected. If they had strength behind them and if they did not approve of any constitution which the country had as a result of the Round Table Conference, they could always throw it into the waste paper basket. But if they had not the sanction of action behind, thousands of Gandhis could not get them freedom. Young men, he said, should be like the Frontier leader, Sirdar Abdul Ghaffar Khan who told Gandhiji that he was not concerned whether the settlement was good or bad. He was a soldier and his concern was to obey the orders of his Commander Gandhiji.

In conclusion, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patil referred to the anti-Gandhi demonstration on his arrival here on the 25th March and said the behaviour of young men like that could not enhance the prestige of the Congress. No man ever had such a large following as Gandhiji had to-day and their insubordination Gandhiji could not be regarded as anything but most reprehensible.

After "Bande Mataram" had been sung, the Congress was adjourned sine die.

the general proposition which was set out in the preamble. It would be endorsed by everybody. No single thinking person could refrain from endorsing it, but when they came to details and began to fill the picture Englishmen and the world objected. He did not mind their objection. If it repelled his hearers how he certainly minded it, and he would withdraw the resolution.

Mr. Satyamurti said that if Mahatmajiji felt the Congress delegation would be adversely affected without this resolution, let them by all means pass it without details which it was dangerous to go into.

Mahatmajiji said that he fully realised the danger, but it was no danger in the language of the masses. They had to face it if they were going to start with a clean slate, and get proper support from the villages. They must not have Swaraj with many handicaps. His hearers would be quite safe in placing themselves in his (Gandhiji's) hands.

Mr. Satyamurti: The real danger is to the future Government. I suppose I make myself clear.

Mahatmajiji: I understand that also. If you accept the principle we can carry on the discussion. If you reject it, I shall withdraw the resolution. I might take the sense of the meeting informally so that I shall know whether we are to proceed with the discussion and hammer the resolution into shape. If we cannot possibly swallow it to-day, we shall take it back and I shall appreciate that sense of the meeting also.

Mr. T. Prakasham said that it was advisable to drop this resolution for the present.

Mr. Prakasham expressed the view that by this piece of legislation Mahatmajiji's hands were not going to be strengthened. It was calculated, on the other hand, to hamper his work, and that of the delegation. No one thought that the masses or other classes would not have justice at the hands of the Congress delegation. The resolution would introduce a lot of difficulties, and he must say that it had been hastily conceived.

Mahatmajiji observed: Surely, you must allow your agents to decide what would strengthen their hands and what would hamper them.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaranayaya said they had just the fear that if the principle was accepted, the resolution would be rushed through.

Mahatmajiji said that at this stage, he merely sought for an informal vote for his own opinion.

MAJORITY FAVOUR MOTION BEING PROCEEDED WITH

A vote was then taken, and it was found that the majority was in favour of the resolution being proceeded with. To a question from Mr. Tirumala Rao, Gandhiji said that the resolution was most decidedly an elaboration of his eleven points.

The President then declared that he had received already heaps of amendments, and he would not receive any more.

MR. JAMNADAS MEHTA'S SUGGESTION

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said that he welcomed the resolution on the ground that for the first time the Congress recognised the position of Labour in Fundamental Rights. He was very glad that the Congress had come to give a lead in the matter of Labour problems and a lead direct to those who were in reason and out of the Congress as a capitalist organisation. He would however make a few suggestions. The constitution need not embody many things which the resolution covered such, for instance, free primary education, which need not be embodied in the fundamental rights at all. State regulation of exchange and currency was provided for in the fundamental rights, and this was considered to be a most reactionary thing in the world (Mr. Satyamurti: Hear, hear). The future Swaraj Government could certainly have the full right of control over exchange and ratio, but it could not regulate it. The regulation was an executive act, and by providing for it in the fundamental rights, the Cabinet of the future Swaraj Government would be enabled to manipulate the ratio in the same manner as the present Government was doing, because it had administrative powers.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaranayaya sounded a note of warning against hurrying these matters. Many points required examination by experts. He said that the principle having been accepted by the Committee, the Working Committee might take the resolution back and examine it most carefully and anxiously in consultation with experts on such matters as ratio, currency, exchange, military problem and land revenue. The Committee might then publish their considered opinion though a manifesto. Because any document which went in the name of the Congress was bound to be minutely examined by experts all over the world, they must see that no unnecessary ambiguous or wrong word was put in the resolution. When they got a Swaraj Government on the basis of adult franchise, it would be for the electorates to go into many of these matters. He did not see why the Congress should go into such meticulous details and tell the Swaraj Parliament in every conceivable matter what it should do and should not do. That showed their want of faith in the Swaraj Government. Undoubtedly they had to assure the toiling masses that when they got Swaraj it was not going to be mere transfer of power from one bureaucracy to another, but it was going to be a Swaraj for the masses. That was secured by guaranteeing to them real economic freedom, which the first sentence in the resolution spoke of.

MR. SATYAMURTI'S CRITICISM

This resolution, said Mr. Satyamurti, at once sought to establish a Socialist State in India (voices: No, no). He was not for it, or against it.

GANDHIJI'S EXPLANATION

Mahatmajiji said that Mr. Satyamurti's argument did not appeal to him. It had been discussed there and there by the Working Committee with many other people. It was merely a general clause it was good enough for himself and Mr. Satyamurti. It was not good enough for the villagers whom they wanted to reach and penetrate. Every one of the twenty points was absolutely essential so that they might tell the villagers what they were going to do under a Swaraj Government. They ought to lay their cards on the table. It was not sufficient to endorse

Let them take for instance No. 19, of the fundamental rights—control by the State of the key industrial industries and mineral resources. This meant that when the Swaraj Government came into being it was going to buy up all private industries? Could they afford to do it? He could give quite a number of instances to show how hastily the resolution had been drafted. State regulation of the ratio as Mr. Jamnadas said was a most dangerous thing. Let them not seek to take a leap in the dark and agree to have a Socialist State. This document provided for adult suffrage, and if a Swaraj Government was based on adult suffrage why should they not leave it to them to legislate in these matters, contenting themselves now with declaring that the starving millions of India would have real economic freedom? If the resolution went through as it was, it would become a matter of litigation by a private citizen against the State. That was obvious. Again, it was sought to provide equal right to citizens to use public roads, wells and places of public resort. Temples would not come under the clause. Unless they qualified it by the addition of the words "maintained by public funds" in the matter of salaries, were they going to immediately reduce all salaries to 500. He did not think it would be either practicable or wise to effect such drastic cuts so soon after the advent of the Swaraj Government. Notwithstanding their consolation today that this resolution entitled them to be called Socialist and not capitalist, item 19 would place all power in the hands of a capitalistic Government. There was no use asking them if they accepted the principle of the resolution. It was very difficult to decide the principle from the various items, because some items were matters of constitution and others were of legislation. Matters for legislation should not be inserted in a constitutional document. That this was not the idea the language of the resolution did not show. If it was merely a manifesto of a posture to the people of this country that the Congress was to lay this and that, it might be more happily worded.

Mr. Prakasham said that he did not accept the proposition that because the Working Committee had considered the matter they in the Subjects Committee had nothing but to accept it. However much the Working Committee might have discussed it, the Subjects Committee, he believed, had the duty of applying its own mind. He was really anxious that the Congress should not do anything in haste. Questions affected other parts of the world as well. When independence came, the substance of independence came, they would certainly come up before the public and their representatives who would be the persons who should have to regulate the whole thing. He submitted that the resolution was not opportune, and it betrayed the nervousness of the Working Committee. Let the Congress delegation get them as much as they could, and it would be time to consider all these matters.

Mr. N. S. Varadachari considered this to be the star resolution of the Congress. If it refused to pass it, it meant it was prepared to go back on the history of the past twelve months. The eleven points of Mahatma Gandhi had gone into the history of India and they could not be erased now. There was no use of the substance of independence until it could be translated into writing. That was what the masses wanted to-day and that was what the Congress should enable them to get if they were to live a strong and virile nation. India was in a peculiar position as that the major part of its population were illiterate and uneducated. With the programme now placed before them the world would believe that the Congress and the nation meant business. Call it socialism or by any other name it made India a nation. Otherwise it could not be. Considering the peculiar position of India, its vastness and the magnitude of its problems, it would be suicidal to progress if at this late hour the Congress went back on its past resolutions and views, and passed merely a general resolution which provided nothing in the paper here and now.

Mr. K. T. Bashyam (Banzure) said that the present outlook about all other resolutions before the Congress. It befitted apprehensions in the country that after all was said and done the Congress did not stand by the poor. This resolution would only the Mahatma Gandhi in his negotiations in England. The happiness of the masses was the bedrock of political advancement, and this would be afforded by the present resolution which gave scope and heart to every Indian to feel that he had opportunity in his country to grow to the full stature of manhood. The Subjects Committee then adjourned.

SUB-COMMITTEE'S ALTERATIONS

It was announced by Pandit Jawaharlal that a small committee would go into the amendments, and see how far the resolution could be altered to meet the objections raised by the members. The Sub-Committee met and redrafted the resolution. Changes were effected not only in the general part of the resolution but also in a number of items. "Control of mineral resources" was altered into "control of ownership of mineral resources". Two more rights were added they being "(1) protection of the culture, language and script of the minorities and (2) no person shall be deprived of his liberty, nor shall his dwelling or property be entered, sequestered or confiscated save in accordance with the law."

DISCUSSION ON REDRAFTED RESOLUTION

On the Subjects Committee reassembling at 3-30, the redrafted resolution was read.

Some discussion followed, in which Mr. Mutturam Prasad gave the resolution to be presented for opinion of the Provincial Congress Committees on the plan of work for the future constitution as embodied in the resolution and should come up for discussion at the next meeting of the A. I. C. C. The motion was put and lost, 60 voting for and 77 against.

Mr. Prakasham, rising at this stage asked Mahatmajiji and the President to consider whether this proposition could not be taken back. He said, "I said, that it had been brought up in haste by the Working Committee. The position of landholders in U. P. has been referred to by a previous speaker. He knew the position of landholders in his own province of Andhra. These matters ought to be considered full and well."

The President, intervening: "You say this resolution has been drafted in haste."

Mr. Tirumala Rao: "In view of the narrow vote, the resolution may be withdrawn and brought back later."

Pt. Jawaharlal explained the position. He asked the House to consider whether the withdrawal of the resolution at that stage would not put them in a somewhat false position. "Here a resolution," he said, "to which we attach great importance. Except two or three, most of the points have been agreed to by the Congress on various occasions. The voting has shown that there is a decided majority. Even on the motion for adjournment, there was a decided majority against. As when the resolution is actually put there may be a bigger majority. It hardly fair for me that in spite of majority being in favour of its considering it now, we should withdraw it or I should agree to have the discussion adjourned. After the addition of the last clause, the resolution did not commit you to any detail, but it committed you to certain principles. Certainly the details can be cleared up at A. I. C. C. to-morrow or later. It has been talking in vague phrases for long time. It is time that we should specially state what you can do go what we propose to do."

Mr. Gauri Vallabhbhai Pant explored the President not to rush to resolution.

Mahatmajiji stated that Pandit Jawaharlal was not agreeable to withdraw the resolution. Every member could regard himself as absolutely free to vote as he liked. He would assure the House the resolution would be in accordance with the desire of Pandit Jawaharlal. Nehru more than that of the speaker who really co-operated with him in the discussion. The resolution must be dealt with in the usual manner.

The resolution was put and carried 91 voting for and 50 against.

FURTHER DETAILS

(Associated Special Service.)

KARACHI, Mar. 31.

Gandhiji speaking on the resolution on fundamental rights in the Subjects Committee said: "The resolution has been prepared by him and Pandit Jawaharlal. If they wanted to warp to the peasants what Swaraj meant they must give details. We need a few details. The resolution might be the subject of complaint by the British people. We must be plain and frank and tell the world what exactly we want, and tell the peasants what a Congress delegation to the Round Table Conference would strive for."

Referring to reduction of salaries, Gandhiji said India could not afford to pay salaries on the present scale. Vakil and Doctors, like Mr. Muns and Dr. Ansari need not be afraid of this clause. They could rob Raj and Maharajas (laughter). The resolution would strengthen the Congress position.

After Gandhiji's speech, an informal discussion followed during which Gandhiji said he wanted to take the opinion of the House with regard to the solution. If the House accepted the principle, then they might proceed hammer into shape. If the principle was not accepted he was willing to withdraw it.

Mr. Satyamurti suggested that it would be better to stick with the enunciation of the general principle laid down in the first sentences. It would be a source of danger to the Swaraj Government if its constitution were burdened with all the details given in the resolution. Mr. Prakasham moved that the resolution be not taken up at this stage. He said the Congress Delegation should go to the Round Table Conference unhampered.

After some more informal discussion the House agreed to the principle, and proceeded to discuss the resolution.

A number of amendments were given notice of.

OPPOSITION VIEWS

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, discussing the resolution, felt it to be a reply to those critics of the Congress who, or out of session, derided it as a capitalist organisation. He however felt it provision to confer the right of regulating the exchange ratio to the future Government of India was the most dangerous one. They could give it control over exchange and finance but not the regulation of the exchange ratio.

Mr. Satyamurti felt the resolution was inopportune and might create considerable complications to the future Swaraj Government. If 20 points were incorporated in the Constitution. For instance, a man might claim damages if his son was not provided free primary education. Further, many items in the resolution could be interpreted as a matter of legislation and not for incorporation in the constitution. Provisions for the reduction of salaries of military expenditure, and the question of regulating taxation were such as would bind the Finance Member and make his task extremely difficult. He suggested the resolution be withdrawn and be issued later on.

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(Continued from page 9)

the shape of a manifesto after it had formally been examined by financial and other experts.

Mr. Vishvanatham held there was no "atmosphere" for a Socialist State in India which the resolution sought to impose on this country. Exclusion of foreign cloth from India could not be a matter of constitution, but that of legislation.

Mr. Prakasam said he had given notice of an amendment that all collections of land revenues should be stopped till the whole of the agricultural indebtedness was wiped out from the country. He did not favour the idea of passing a resolution simply because some people had called the Congress a capitalist organisation.

Mr. Varadachari supported the resolution and it alone would tell the masses what the Congress stood for and what the Congress intended to do for them. The Congress, he said, could not go back on the eleven points of Gandhi. The present resolution was nothing but an amplification of those eleven points.

Mr. Sherwani thought it was a dangerous doctrine to commit the Congress to the eleven points and then to the twenty points which could not be opened for discussion. Criticising the resolution from the agriculturists' point of view, the speaker said the uneconomic holdings which, according to the resolution were to be rent free in future were not defined in the resolution. He held uneconomic holdings were necessary in many cases as far

as United Province was concerned. Mr. Sherwani said deciding whether there should be income under Swaraj and without fixing minimum wages of labour, the Government has fixed five hundred rupees minimum salary of civil servants. This was unfair. Could the Government and the agriculturists be asked when industrialists could have a year in addition to the protecting their industries?

Mr. Vishvanatham, on the other hand, pointed out that the resolution had outlasted the efforts of the Congress during the last 45 years. Gandhiji he thought should be asked in London what would be the programme of his movement and it was therefore necessary to have a resolution like that before the House. He also pointed out that it was just possible the Congress might not be the future Government of India and it was therefore necessary to bind the future Government on what the Congress expected them to do.

The President adjourned further discussion of the resolution which time the Sub-Committee of the Subjects Committee would consider the resolution.

RESOLUTION REDRAFTED BY SELECT COMMITTEE

As the result of the deliberations of the Select Committee, which consisted of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Dr. Pattabhi and Mr. Sanyamurti, and which sat for two hours, the resolution on the declaration of fundamental rights was recast.

PLEA FOR POSTPONEMENT

The redrafted resolution was taken up by the Subjects Committee for discussion. Mr. Asaf Ali criticised it as insufficient and incomplete in many respects. For instance, nothing was said of protection and extension of rights of peasants. Then again, it was the right of every child to be educated by the State, but only a halting provision was made in the resolution for primary education.

Mr. B. K. Rose said that such an important resolution should not be passed in a hurry. The masses could not understand eleven points and twenty points. They only understood sufficient food and clothing. We wanted expert opinion to be taken on many points and consideration of the resolution delayed for some time.

Mr. T. A. K. Sherwani also urged postponement of the consideration of the question. He said Zamindars had not been given proper protection.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was opposed to both postponement or circulation of the resolution. He frankly admitted that the resolution, if carried into effect, might not take India to an economic social heaven, but it would certainly go a long way in alleviating the sufferings of the poor starving millions. He refuted the allegation that the resolution wanted to tax the poor cultivator who was already overburdened. They wanted to tax only the big Zamindars who were to-day going free. The resolution was certainly not an attempt to import socialism into India. That would be done when the proper time arrives. But the things proposed were even done by Capitalist England to-day.

Mr. Mathrapershad's motion for circulation of the resolution to the Provincial Congress Committees for eliciting public opinion was rejected.

Thereupon Mr. T. Prakasam and Gouribabai Pant made personal appeals to Pandit Jawaharlal and Gandhi to withdraw the resolution as it would alienate the land owning classes from the Congress.

Gandhi said the House was in possession of the resolution, and only the House could accept or reject it. He asked the members to vote on merits of the resolution and not be swayed by any other consideration.

The resolution was put to vote and carried by 99 votes to 50.

The Committee adjourned till 9 tomorrow morning.

PRAYER INTERVAL FOR MUSLIM DELEGATES

A MISUNDERSTANDING CLEARED

(Associated Special Service)

KARACHI, Mar. 31.

At to-day's sitting of the Subjects Committee, a reference was made to some misunderstanding which arose three days ago out of the demand of Maulana Zafar Ali for adjournment of the House for fifteen minutes in order to permit Mussalmans to say their prayers. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, explaining matters, said what Maulana Zafar Ali demanded was a declaration of the right of Mussalmans by the Congress to leave meetings of Congress organisations for the purpose of saying their prayers for fifteen minutes, during which time their right of voting or right of speaking on any motion or right of moving amendments would not be impaired. The fact that a certain Mussalman who was to move an amendment to a certain resolution had to go for prayers would not be an argument for taking away his right to move that amendment on his return.

President Patel gave that assurance to Moslem members of the Congress whereupon Maulana Zafar Ali thanked the House and said the incident be regarded as closed.

ELECTION OF NEW SECRETARIES

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

KARACHI, Mar. 31.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Jai Ramdas Doulalram and Dr. Syed Mahmud have been recommended by the Subjects Committee to be Congress Secretaries during the next year.

(Associated Special Service.)

KARACHI, Mar. 31.

The All-India Congress Committee decided to have one or more general secretaries instead of two as at present, and elected Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Syed Mahmud and Mr. Jai Ramdas Doulalram as general secretaries for the next year. The Committee resolved to shift the Congress Office to Ahmedabad with Mr. Raja Rao as Assistant Secretary.

UTKAL TO BE VENUE OF NEXT CONGRESS

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

KARACHI, Mar. 31.

At the Subjects Committee this afternoon Utkal was decided to be the venue of the next Congress. Sholapur was favoured by a large section, but Utkal was backed by many more when votes were actually taken.

DELHI PACT RATIFICATION

DELHI PRESS COMMENTS

(ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA.)

NEW DELHI, Mar. 31.

The news of the ratification by the Congress of the Jinn-Gandhi agreement reached the newspapers too late in the night for comment in this morning's papers, but brief references are made which applaud Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues of the Congress Working Committee for so successfully handling the Congress at Karachi.

MR. VALLABHBHAI'S ADDRESS

INDIAN PRESS COMMENTS

(ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA.)

ALLAHABAD, Mar. 31.

The "Leader," commenting on Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's Congress Presidential address, says that it was thoroughly businesslike and notable for its simplicity of style and restraint of expression. The views expressed in it were the echoes of those recently voiced by Mr. Gandhi who dominates the counsels of the Congress.

The "Pioneer" says that in it there was much that may well be described as reasonable and was on the whole a good essay on compromise and bid for peace.