

INDIAN - - -  
NATIONAL - - -  
CONGRESS - - -

1920  
to  
1923.

THE  
Indian National Congress.

1920—1923.

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Being a collection of the resolutions of the Congress and  
of the All India Congress Committee and of the  
Working Committee of the Congress  
from September 1920  
to December  
1923.

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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Preface .. .. .	V
Some resolutions passed by the A. I. C. C. at Benares on 30th May, 1920 .. .. .	VI
Calcutta Special Session 1920 .. .. .	1
All India Congress Committee Meetings in 1920 .. .. .	11 to 24
At Calcutta on 9th September .. .. .	11
At Bombay on 2nd October .. .. .	12
At Nagpur on 24th December .. .. .	24
Nagpur Session 1920 .. .. .	25
All India Congress Committee Meetings in 1921 .. .. .	57 to 80
At Nagpur on January 1st .. .. .	57
At Bezwada on 31st March and 1st April .. .. .	60
At Bombay on 28th, 29th and 30th July .. .. .	63
At Delhi on 4th and 5th November .. .. .	72
At Ahmedabad on 24th, 25th, 27th and 28th December .. .. .	78
Working Committee Meetings in 1921 .. .. .	81 to 145
At Nagpur on January 1st, 2nd and 3rd .. .. .	81
At Calcutta on January 31st and February 1st, 2nd and 3rd .. .. .	83
At Bezwada on March 31st and April 1st .. .. .	90
At Allahabad on May 10th .. .. .	94
At Bombay on June 14th and 15th .. .. .	97
At Bombay on 31st July and 2nd August .. .. .	102
At Patna on 16th August .. .. .	109
At Calcutta on 6th, 7th, 8th and 11th September .. .. .	113
At Bombay on 5th October .. .. .	120
At Delhi on 3rd, 5th and 6th November .. .. .	126
(Grant's Sub-Committee resolutions .. .. .)	133)
At Bombay on 22nd and 23rd November .. .. .	137
At Ahmedabad on 23rd, 26th, 29th and 30th December .. .. .	141
Ahmedabad Session 1921 .. .. .	147
All India Congress Committee Meetings in 1922 .. .. .	158 to 166
At Delhi on 24th and 25th February .. .. .	158
At Lucknow on 7th, 8th and 9th June .. .. .	161
At Calcutta on 20th to 24th November .. .. .	164
Working Committee Meetings in 1922 .. .. .	167 to 227
At Bombay on 17th January .. .. .	167
At Surat on 31st January .. .. .	172
At Bardoli on 11th and 12th February .. .. .	176
At Delhi on 26th February .. .. .	182
At Ahmedabad on 17th and 18th March .. .. .	184
At Calcutta on 20th, 21st and 22nd April .. .. .	190
At Bombay on 12th to 15th May .. .. .	196
At Lucknow on 6th, 7th and 10th June .. .. .	204

At Delhi on 30th June .. .. .	209
At Bombay on 18th and 19th July .. .. .	211
At Amritsar on 17th and 18th September and at Multan on 21st September .. .. .	214
At Calcutta on 18th, 19th and 25th November .. .. .	219
Gaya Session 1922 .. .. .	229
All India Congress Committee Meetings in 1923 (till September) 238 to	248
At Gaya on 1st January .. .. .	238
At Allahabad on 22nd February .. .. .	249
At Bombay on 25th to 28th May .. .. .	241
At Nagpur on 8th, 9th and 10th July .. .. .	244
At Delhi on 13th, 15th and 19th September .. .. .	247
Working Committee Meetings in 1923 (till September) .. .. .	249 to 295
At Gaya on 1st and 2nd January .. .. .	249
At Bombay on 29th, 30th and 31st January and 1st to 3rd February	251
At Allahabad on 26th and 28th February .. .. .	262
At Poona on 17th April .. .. .	267
At Bombay on 23rd to 25th, 27th and 28th May .. .. .	270
At Nagpur on 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th July .. .. .	281
At Vizagapatam on 2nd and 3rd August and at Nagpur on 6th, 7th and 8th August .. .. .	286
Delhi Special Session 1923 .. .. .	297
All India Congress Committee Meetings held at Cocanada on Decem- ber 26th and 31st 1923 .. .. .	308
Working Committee Meetings—September to December 1923 .. .. .	309 to 314
At Delhi on 19th September .. .. .	309
At Sabarmati on 25th and 26th November .. .. .	310
At Cocanada on 26th December .. .. .	314
Cocanada Session 1923 .. .. .	315
Abstract of Accounts for 1921, 1922 and 1923 .. .. .	331 to 338
Annexure I.—General Statement of Collections and Disburse- ments .. .. .	331
Do. II.—General collections of provinces .. .. .	333
Do. III.—Specific (ear-marked) collections of provinces .. .. .	334
Do. IV.—Expenditure in 1921 .. .. .	335
Do. V.—Do. in 1922 .. .. .	337
Do. VI.—Do. in 1923 .. .. .	338
Index .. .. .	339

## PREFACE.

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This book has been prepared in compliance with the directions of the All India Congress Committee. This committee decided at Cocanada, immediately after the Congress, that all resolutions of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee, together with a statement of accounts, should be printed yearly with the annual report. It was further decided that all the resolutions of the Congress, the All India Committee and the Working Committee, from the Calcutta Special Session in 1920 to the Cocanada Session in December 1923, be published in convenient form.

This book thus deals with the period beginning with the adoption of the policy of non-co-operation by the Calcutta Special Session to the end of 1923. To make the record complete the resolutions of the All India Congress Committee, which met at Benares on May 30th and 31st 1920, dealing with the Khilafat question and the Punjab enquiry and summoning a Special Session of the Congress to consider the adoption of non-co-operation, are also given.

The detailed audited accounts of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for the past three years have been published annually in book form. It is not possible to incorporate them in this book without disproportionately increasing its size. Only brief statements of accounts are therefore given.

Care has been taken to avoid errors but many mistakes must have crept in in spite of every effort. One such mistake, small in itself but liable to mislead greatly, I should like to point out here. On page 76 the amount of Tilak Swaraj Fund collections shown opposite the United Provinces is Rs. 41,10,304. This should be Rs. 4,10,304.

The main burden of seeing this book through the press has fallen on my colleague, Syt. Raghupati Sahai, the Under-Secretary of the All India Congress Committee.

ALLAHABAD:  
25th November 1924.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU  
*General Secretary,*  
A. I. C. C.

*Resolutions relating to the Punjab Enquiry, the Turkish situation and the summoning of a special session of the Congress to consider the adoption of non-cooperation, passed by the All India Congress Committee at Benares on 30th and 31st May 1920:—*

3. That, having carefully considered the report of the Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee, the Hunter Committee's report as well as the despatches of the Government of India and the Secretary of State thereon, the All India Congress Committee resolves:—

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

(b) that a petition be presented to Parliament on the subject of the Punjab tragedy and that Parliament be requested to take immediate steps to institute proceedings, by way of impeachment or otherwise, to bring Sir Michael O'Dwyer to justice in respect of his oppressive regime in the Punjab and especially of his responsibility in connection with the events of 1919 in the Punjab.

(c) that the British Congress Committee and the Congress Delegation in England be authorised and requested to take immediate action to move the British Parliament and the British public with a view to secure full justice in the matter.

(d) that Parliament be requested to take such steps as are necessary to place General Dyer, Col. Johnson, Col. O'Brien and Mr. Bosworth Smith before His Majesty's Court of Justice in

Great Britain for the cruelties committed by them in April and May, 1919, in Amritsar, Gujranwala, Kasur and other places in the Punjab.

And urges:—

(e) that the Rowlatt Act should be repealed,

(f) that Rai Sahib Sri Ram Sud and Malik Sahib Khan be dismissed and prosecuted.

(g) that a local enquiry be instituted into the corrupt practices of minor officials whose names have been mentioned in the statements published in the Congress Commission's report and that they should be dismissed and prosecuted, where sufficient evidence is available.

(h) that His Excellency the Viceroy be recalled.

(i) that the fines collected from the people who were convicted by the special tribunals and Summary Courts be refunded and all indemnities imposed on the cities affected be remitted, that wherever the same have been collected they should be refunded and that compensation be awarded to those who have suffered in the disturbances or whose relations have fallen victims and have themselves been left unprovided for.

(j) that a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to draft the petition to Parliament:—

The Hon'ble Pt. Motilal Nehru.

The Hon'ble Pt. M. M. Malaviya.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

Mr. C. R. Das.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar.

The Hon'ble Pt. Gokaran Nath Misra (convener).

4. That the All India Congress Committee records its indignant protest against the general policy and attitude of the Secretary of State for India on the Punjab affairs as disclosed in his despatch on the Hunter Committee's report and against the action of His



Majesty's Government in accepting the principal recommendations of the majority of the Hunter Committee and in disposing of the grave and vital issues involved in the Punjab tragedy, affecting the conduct of their responsible agents, without giving an opportunity for public criticism or debate in the Houses of Parliament on the gross outrages committed on His Majesty's subjects in India.

5. That the All India Congress Committee desires to place on record its profound disappointment and dissatisfaction with the report of the majority of the Hunter Committee on the events of last year in the Punjab and elsewhere and its complete dissent from their principal findings and recommendations.

6. That the All India Congress Committee records its opinion that the inquiry conducted by the Hunter Committee was incomplete, one-sided and unsatisfactory by reason of the refusal to grant the necessary facilities asked for by the Congress Sub-Committee to enable it to tender evidence, thereby shutting out important evidence and specially that of the very leaders of the Punjab whose acts, among other things, the Committee was called upon to investigate.

7. That the All India Congress Committee deplors that the report of the majority of the Hunter Committee should be tainted with racial bias and a desire to overlook and justify the manifest and proved grave acts of commission and omission of the Government of India and the Punjab Government and the many acts of inhumanity perpetrated by officers appointed during the Martial Law regime and that it should thus accentuate the tendency to count Indian life and honour as of little consequence.

8. That the All India Congress Committee unhesitatingly rejects the conclusion of the majority that the Punjab was in a state of open rebellion and accepts the conclusions of the minority and the Indian member of the Government of India to the contrary.

9. That the All India Congress Committee considers that the Government of India and the Punjab Government grievously erred in proclaiming Martial Law in the Punjab in every case after the disturbances had been quelled, in allowing it to be inhumanly adminis-

ered, and in continuing its administration for periods altogether too long,

10. That the All India Congress Committee is clearly of opinion that Satyagraha was not responsible in any manner or degree for the disturbances in the Punjab and elsewhere and entirely dissents from the conclusions of the majority and minority of the Hunter Committee on this point; on the contrary the Committee places its emphatic conviction on record that the teachings of Mr. Gandhi and the Satyagraha movement exercised a great restraining influence on the people in all parts of the country during a period of anxiety and excitement.

11. (a) That All India Congress Committee regrets to learn that nearly 88 persons who were imprisoned in connection with last year's troubles in the Punjab and under sentences of Martial Law Tribunals are still undergoing imprisonment, and requests His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab to set them at liberty in conformity with His Majesty's Gracious Proclamation of December last.

(b) That, in view of the special circumstances of the cases of Ratan Chand and Bugga Chaudhri, the Committee appeals to the Government of India and the Punjab Government to stop their contemplated transportation to the Andaman Islands.

12. That a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to collect funds for propaganda and other work in connection with the wrongs of the Punjab. (The names have been omitted).

13. The All India Congress Committee is emphatically of opinion that the peace terms offered to Turkey constitute a flagrant violation of the solemn pledges of His Majesty's Government, and are in complete disregard of the principle of national self-determination accepted by the allied powers and of the Muslim religious sentiment in India. Having regard to the fact that the resources of India were freely used during the war in Asia the Committee deplores that their employment should have eventuated, under the

terms of the said treaty, in the virtual destruction of the power and prestige of the Khilafat and the removal of the Holy Places of Islam from the custody and control of the Khalifa and their being placed under Christian influence or control.

The Committee strongly urges that, in the interest of peace and contentment in India, the terms of the Turkish Treaty should be revised to bring them into conformity with the said pledges and the just sentiments of Indian Mussulmans.

14. This Committee resolves that in view of the general situation in India with reference to Indian public feeling on the Turkish Peace terms, the action of His Majesty's Government regarding the Punjab atrocities and the policy being pursued in giving effect to the Reform Scheme through the proposed draft Rules and Regulations, a Special Session of the Congress be convened at Calcutta as early as possible and not later than the 15th September, 1920, to consider the adoption of a policy of non-cooperation or of any other suitable course of action.

15. That the Provincial Congress Committees be invited to submit as early as possible to the General Secretaries their views on the principle and programme of non-cooperation and that this Committee should meet to consider those views some time before the Special Session of the Congress.

# INDEX.

	PAGE.
<b>A</b> ccounts, abstract of, .. .. .	331
Do. detailed, to be published monthly by all national institutions .. .. .	97
Do. of Reception Committees .. .. .	22
Africa, East, Indian National Congress .. .. .	57
Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Svt. George Joseph to go to, .. .. .	318
Do. Do. Indians in, (and see Kenya) .. .. .	52, 253
Do. South, Indians in, .. .. .	52, 253
Ahmednagar Depressed Classes Home, grant to, .. .. .	198
Ajmer elections .. .. .	193, 199
Ajmer P. C. C., grant to, .. .. .	131, 311
Akalis, congratulations to and appreciation of, .. .. .	214, 232, 303
Akali Dal, proscription of, .. .. .	311, 320
Akali Sahayak Committee .. .. .	311
Akali situation .. .. .	310, 320
Ali Brothers, imprisonment of, .. .. .	74, 120
Aligarh D. C. C., affiliation of, with Delhi P. C. C. .. .. .	93, 125
Aligarh disturbances .. .. .	67
Allahabad compromise, terms of .. .. .	240, 262
All India Congress Committee—allotment of members to provinces .. .. .	82, 86, 93, 100, 256
Do. Do. Congress Committee—authority defied by some P. C. Cs. .. .. .	246, 282
Do. Do. Congress Committee, election of members of, as delegates .. .. .	114
Do. Do. Congress members imprisoned, substitutes for .. .. .	218
Do. Do. Do. Do. member's resignation, procedure on, .. .. .	291
Do. Do. Congress Committee members, travelling allowance of, .. .. .	293
Do. Do. Congress Committee, notice of meetings .. .. .	97
All India Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, see Swarajya Fund.	
Alwar .. .. .	51
Andhra Ceded Districts, grant to, .. .. .	136, 188
Andhra, Civil Disobedience in respect of grazing tax in, .. .. .	116
Andhra Depressed Classes work, grant for, .. .. .	203
Andhra Jateeya Kalashala, grant to, .. .. .	130, 134
Andhra, loan for khaddar work to, .. .. .	214
Andhra P. C. C., grant to, .. .. .	130
Andhra—Utkal Boundary dispute .. .. .	125, 203, 292, 312

	PAGE.
Andrews, Mr. C. F., thanks to, ..	53, 269
Angalur Jateeya Parishramalayam, grant to, ..	130
Antyaja Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, grant to, ..	191, 198
Anti-drink campaign ..	60, 66
Anti-drug campaign ..	60
Arbitration courts ..	8, 18, 222
Arrears from Provincial Congress Committees	59, 83, 91, 95, 113, 192
Assam, grant to, ..	129, 174, 210, 218
Do., loan to, ..	129, 219
Do., payment of workers in, ..	210
Assistant Secretary, additional, for A. I. C. C.	281
Aswini Kumar Dutta, Svt., death of, ..	317
Auditor appointed ..	103
Ayurvedic System of Medicine ..	36
Azamgarh and Civil Disobedience ..	131
<b>B</b> adrul Hasan, loan to Mr. for khaddar work in Hydera- bad, (see also Hyderabad khaddar work) ..	191, 260, 267
Baganapalli ..	81
Ball allowed in non-political cases ..	223
Banarsidas Chaturvedi, Svt., to go to East Africa, ..	312
Bardoli Constructive Programme (and see constructive programme) ..	180
Do. Constructive Programme, concentration on, ..	160
Do. resolutions confirmed by A. I. C. C. ..	158, 159
Do. Taluqa Conference ..	175
Baroda ..	81
Bastar State ..	111
Behar Floods ..	301
Behar P. C. C., grant to, ..	133
Do. Do. loan to, ..	133, 219
Behar Rashtriya Vidyalaya, grant to, ..	273
Bellary district ..	102, 126
Bengal elections to A. I. C. C. in 1921 ..	106, 108
Bengal, loan to, for khaddar ..	272
Do. no remission of quota ..	212
Do. workers, grant for, ..	270
Berar P. C. C. representation on A. I. C. C. ..	86
Bezwada meeting of A. I. C. C. ..	60
Do. resolutions fulfilled ..	64, 69
Bharatpur ..	81
Bhargava, Svt. Gauri Shanker, claim of Ajmer P. C. C. on, ..	226
Bijapur D. C. C., grant to, ..	139, 170
Bomanji, Mr. S. R., donation to Swaraj Fund ..	59, 95
Bodh Gaya temple ..	253
Bombay compromise ..	241
Bombay disturbances ..	137
Do. Do. loan to Delhi P. C. C. for Special Congress ..	293
Bombay P. C. C. to give balance in hand to Seth Jannalal Bajaj ..	201
Do. P. C. C. to give balance in hand to Gujrat ..	137

	PAGE.
Bombay P. C. C. old balance of .. .. .	112, 127
Do. Special Session Funds .. .. .	186
Do. T. S. F. Collections—contribution to All India Funds .. .. .	260
Boycott of British goods, see British goods.	
Do. Councils, see Councils.	
Do. Law Courts, see Courts.	
Do. foreign cloth, see foreign cloth.	
Do. foreign goods, see foreign goods.	
Do. Schools and Colleges, see schools.	
Do. titles, see titles.	
British Committee of Indian National Congress .. .. .	83, 125, 143, 286
Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. library of .. .. .	125
British dominions and colonies, Indians in, .. .. .	52, 253, 269, 287
British Empire exhibition, abstention from participation in, .. .. .	305, 319
Do. Empire Indian labour in, stoppage of emigration .. .. .	287
British goods, boycott of, committee to enquire into, .. .. .	320
Burma floods .. .. .	221, 304
Do. grant for civil disobedience .. .. .	301
Do. repression in, .. .. .	274
	62
<b>C</b> anara, South, floods in, .. .. .	289, 301, 310
Cape Town British Indian League .. .. .	236
Cattle, protection of, .. .. .	38
Central India .. .. .	81
C. P. Hindustani P. C. C. congratulated on stand for national flag .. .. .	268
Do. Do. Do. grant to, for flag struggle .. .. .	284
Do. Do. Do. loan to, .. .. .	133, 224
Do. Do, Dc. representation on A. I. C. C. .. .. .	86
C. P. Marathi—Special Committee to carry out Gaya programme .. .. .	266, 274
Ceylon, Indian labourers in, committee to enquire .. .. .	320
Chandavarker, Sir Narayan, death of, .. .. .	317
Chauri Chaura, condemnation of, .. .. .	177
Chinchwad Anatha Vidyarthi Griha, grant to, .. .. .	135
Civic Guards .. .. .	307, 312
Civil Disobedience .. .. .	61, 68, 204, 208, 234, 262, 319
Do. Do. authorising provinces to start, .. .. .	72, 122
Do. Do. Committee .. .. .	300, 309, 321
Do. Do. conditions for, .. .. .	73, 126
Do. Do. Enquiry Committee .. .. .	163, 164, 166, 205, 220, 226, 270
Do. Do. grant by Burma for, .. .. .	274
Do. Do. individual .. .. .	152, 159, 160, 176
Do. Do. in Lahore .. .. .	98

	PAGE.
Civil Disobedience in respect of grazing tax in Andhra ..	116
Do. Do. in U. P. ....	131
Do. Do. mass .. .. .	150, 160, 165, 175, 220
Do. Do. mass, suspended .. .. .	177
Do. Do. mass, warning against, .. .. .	138, 220
Do. Do. offensive .. .. .	145, 168
Do. Do. of orders under sec. 144 cr. P. C. in Hardoi .. .. .	111
Do. Do. warning against hasty, .. .. .	185
Cochin .. .. .	81
Colleges, see schools. ....	
Collections in Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon .. .. .	259
Communal unity .. .. .	154
Compromise, Bombay .. .. .	241, 246
Do. terms of Allahabad .. .. .	240, 262
Conciliation committees in districts .. .. .	302, 312
Conferences, resolutions of, to be treated as recommenda- tions only .. .. .	265
Congress activities other than civil disobedience suspended	152
Do. Bulletin .. .. .	182, 189, 207, 262
Do. departments .. .. .	318
Do. Session 1923 to be held in first week December	224
Do. Stores to deal with only handspun khaddar .. .. .	194
Connaught, boycott of visit of Duke of, .. .. .	34
Constitution .. .. .	38, 322
Do. revision of .. .. .	23, 156, 301, 322
Constructive programme, Gaya .. .. .	234, 239, 243
Do. Do. of Bardoli .. .. .	160, 163, 180, 204, 208, 299, 319
Contracts Boycott Committee .. .. .	59
Do. , refusal to complete .. .. .	34
Conversion Enquiry Committee .. .. .	306, 309
Councils, boycott of, .. .. .	8, 19, 30, 232
Do. Do. suspension of propaganda for .. .. .	241, 299
Do. elections to be contested by non-cooperators .. .. .	224
Do. entry .. .. .	165, 223, 240, 299
Do. propaganda, suspension of .. .. .	240, 263
Courts, arbitration, see arbitration .. .. .	
Do. , boycott of British .. .. .	8, 18, 29, 60, 222, 233
Do. Do. Do. not to extend to non-political cases	223
Cow slaughter, thanks to Muslim associations for resolutions on, .. .. .	37
Criminal Procedure Code Section 144 .. .. .	111
Currency Committee, minority report of .. .. .	33
Curriculum, new, for Schools &c. .. .. .	87
Cutch .. .. .	81, 117
<b>D</b> acca National College, grant to, .. .. .	270
Das, Deshbandhu C. R., compromise proposals by, .. .. .	267
Defence permitted in non-political cases .. .. .	223
Defence, right of private, declared .. .. .	223, 235

# INDEX

343

	PAGE.
Delegates, Congress, according to 1911 census .. ..	100
Do., election of A. I. C. C. members as, .. ..	114
Do. Do. of President, Secretaries &c. as, .. ..	115
Delegation fees of Amritsar Congress and Calcutta Special Congress .. ..	119
Delhi P. C. C., loan from Bombay. P. C. C. for Special Congress .. ..	293
Departments in Congress .. ..	318
Depressed classes, committee for, .. ..	162, 207, 212, 250
Do. Do. work in Andhra, grant for, .. ..	203
Do. Do. Do. in Madras, grant for, .. ..	198, 264
Deputation, Congress, to England .. ..	94
Do. to tour country for Gaya programme .. ..	256
Dharwar Enquiry Committee .. ..	102, 110, 113, 118, 128
Dissemination of News Committee .. ..	106, 125
District Boards to be entered .. ..	221
Doaba, repression in, .. ..	303
Documents, registration of, allowed .. ..	291
Dujana .. ..	81
Durban Point Indian association .. ..	236
Darbars, refusal to attend, .. ..	8, 16
<b>E</b> armarked donations, no division of .. ..	275
Earthquake in Japan .. ..	300
Economic Boycott Committee .. ..	82, 86
Education, free, urgent need of, .. ..	37
Educational scheme, national, .. ..	212
Election complaints from Bengal and Madras .. ..	72
Empire Day celebration, abstention from, .. ..	287
Empire, India's partnership in, .. ..	253, 269, 287
Employment Bureau in Bombay .. ..	256, 270
Do. for those giving up Government Service .. ..	179
Esher Committee .. ..	38
Exchange, rise in, .. ..	33
Export of food stuffs .. ..	51
<b>F</b> amine relief, allocation of money for, .. ..	106, 134
Do. Do. in Punjab .. ..	106, 134
Fatwa prisoners to be released .. ..	168
Fiji, Indians in .. ..	52
Flag Day .. ..	245, 283
Flag Satyagraha at Jubbulpore .. ..	268, 279
Do. Do. at Nagpur .. ..	243, 245, 268, 273, 282, 304
Do. Do. Do. expenses .. ..	288
Do. Do. Do. grants for, .. ..	284, 285
Do. Do. Do. Syt. Vallabhbai Patel put in charge of, .. ..	285
Flag, Sikh Colour in national, .. ..	292
Flag struggle, death of a prisoner .. ..	295
Do. Do. appreciation of Syt. Vallabhbai Patel's ser- vices .. ..	295



	PAGE.
Floods in Behar, Canara and Burma .. .. .	301
Food Stuffs, export of .. .. .	51
Foreign cloth boycott .. .. .	239, 303
Do. Do. Do. instructions .. .. .	64, 122
Do. Do. house to house collections of, .. .. .	112
Foreign goods, boycott of .. .. .	8, 20, 304
Foreign policy of Congress .. .. .	70, 75, 109, 113, 123
Foreign propaganda .. .. .	32, 58, 90, 172, 182, 189, 226
<b>G</b> andhi Ashram Benares, grant to, .. .. .	134, 267
Gandhi Day .. .. .	194, 245, 283
Gandhi, Mahatma, arrest of, .. .. .	184
Do. Do. conviction of, .. .. .	186
Do. Do. hartal on anniversary of incarceration of, .. .. .	282
Do. Do. interview with Viceroy .. .. .	97
Do. Do. sole executive authority .. .. .	152
Do. Do. tribute to, .. .. .	161, 206, 231
Gandhinagar Committee of Delhi, offer of land by .. .. .	254, 288
Gandhi's birthday, celebration of Mahatma .. .. .	218
Gandhi, Syt. Maganlal, put in charge of Khaddar department .. .. .	273, 283
Ganjam D. C. C. grant to, .. .. .	136
Gaya constructive programme .. .. .	234, 239, 277
Gaya Reception Committee's dues .. .. .	277
Gidwani, Acharya, to help Akalis .. .. .	341
Godrej's, Mr., donation to be applied to agricultural improvements .. .. .	260, 279, 290
Government loans, repudiation of, .. .. .	230
Government servants and Congress .. .. .	121, 179
Do. Do. appeal to, .. .. .	31
Do. Do. propaganda amongst, .. .. .	74
Grants, no further, .. .. .	140, 310
Do. to private individuals for khaddar manufacture .. .. .	117
Grants sub-committee .. .. .	107, 129, 133
Gujarat, loan of five lakhs to, for khaddar .. .. .	271
Do. payment of three lakhs to, by Trustees Bombay T. S. F. .. .. .	216, 224, 261
Do. to be given total balance in hand in Bombay .. .. .	132, 201
Guruditsingh, Baba, Congratulations to .. .. .	15, 6
Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee, Shromani, proscription of, .. .. .	311, 320
Guru-ka-bagh Commission of Enquiry .. .. .	214, 227, 276
Do. Do.—condemnation of brutalities and congratulations to Akalis .. .. .	214
Do. Do. occurrences .. .. .	214
<b>H</b> and spinning and hand weaving .. .. .	8, 20, 29
Hardeva Narayan Singh, death of, in Jail .. .. .	295, 317
Hardoi and orders under section 144 .. .. .	111
Hartal on day of landing of Prince of Wales .. .. .	123
Do. on 18th March 1923 (Gandhi Day) .. .. .	252
Do. on 6th and 13th April .. .. .	92, 187
Do. on 26th August 1923 for Kenya .. .. .	287
Hartals to be stopped pending Round Table Conference .. .. .	168
Hathras Congress Committee .. .. .	100, 105

INDEX

345

	PAGE.
Hindi prachar in Madras .. .. .	251, 256
Hindu-Muslim differences, Committee to adjust, .. .. .	226
Do. Do. Do. Enquiry Committee .. .. .	306, 309
Do. Do. District Conciliation Committees .. .. .	302
Hindustani in Madras, grant for, .. .. .	280, 284
Do. to be used in Congress .. .. .	128, 139
Home Rule League, India, of America .. .. .	57, 92
Horniman, Mr. B. G., .. .. .	37
Hunter Committee Report .. .. .	VI, 4
Do. Do. Do. Govt. of India's Review of, .. .. .	5
Hyderabad khaddar work .. .. .	191, 262, 267, 270
<b>I</b> mperial conference, absence from, .. .. .	287
"Independent," re-starting of, .. .. .	196
"India" newspaper .. .. .	32, 94, 98, 143, 285
Indian National Service, see National .. .. .	
Indian States, Responsible Govt. in, .. .. .	36
Do. Do. see states .. .. .	
Information Bureau in England .. .. .	95, 98, 170
Instructions to carry out non-cooperation .. .. .	11, 13, 16
<b>J</b> agraon school, grant to, .. .. .	134
Jamkhindi .. .. .	248, 292
Jamnalal Bajaj, congratulations to Seth, on conviction .. .. .	246
Do. Do. donation for maintenance of lawyers .. .. .	84, 194
Do. Do. Trustees T. S. F. to transfer money to, .. .. .	201, 210
Do. Do. to continue in charge of Khaddar Dept. .. .. .	276
Japan, earthquake in, .. .. .	300
Jat Anglo-Sanskrit High School, Rohtak, grant to, .. .. .	139
Jayaker, Mr. M. R., .. .. .	176
Johannesburg British Indian Assn. .. .. .	236
Joseph, Syt. George, to represent Congress in East Africa .. .. .	312, 320
Jubbulpore Flag Satyagraha, see Flag .. .. .	
<b>K</b> abul Committee, affiliation of, with Congress .. .. .	199, 237
Kamal Pasha, congratulations to, .. .. .	155, 218, 232, 305
Kannada area .. .. .	248
Karachi resolution .. .. .	121
Karjat Congress Committee, grant to, .. .. .	134
Karnatak, loan to, .. .. .	90, 219
Kashmir .. .. .	81
Kasturiranga Iyengar, death of Syt. S., .. .. .	317
Kathiawad .. .. .	81
Kanteram, Andhra, grant to, .. .. .	130
Kenya, Indians in, .. .. .	269, 287, 305, 319
Kenya, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. George Joseph to visit, .. .. .	320
Kerala, grant to, for Malabar .. .. .	132
Kerala, loan to, .. .. .	90, 219
Kerala P. C. C., grant to, .. .. .	136, 187
Khaddar Board, All India, formation of, .. .. .	321
Khaddar Dept., grants to, by Bombay T. S. F. Trustees, .. .. .	
see Jamnalal Bajaj .. .. .	
Khaddar, grant of 3 lakhs for, .. .. .	184

	PAGE.
Khaddar, Scheme .. .. .	190, 200, 257
Khilafat question .. .. .	6, 27
Kitchlew, Dr., to help Akalis .. .. .	311
Kolhapur .. .. .	81
Krishna Ashram, Guntur, grant to; .. .. .	130
<b>L</b> abour Committee .. .. .	59, 91, 254, 294
Labour in British Empire, Indian, stoppage of emigration .. .. .	320
Labour organisation, grant for, .. .. .	279
Labour, organisation of Indian, .. .. .	35, 86, 223, 236
Labourers in Ceylon, Indian,—Committee to enquire .. .. .	320
Lajpat Rai Day .. .. .	245, 281
Lajpat Rai, Lala, welcomed back from jail .. .. .	305
Land Acquisition Act .. .. .	35
Language of province to be used in provincial proceedings etc. .. .. .	139
Law Courts, boycott of, see Courts .. .. .	
Lawrence Statue .. .. .	254
Lawyers' allowances from Swarajya fund .. .. .	84, 175, 194
Lawyers and Law Courts, interpretation of Congress resolution .. .. .	99, 195
Lucknow Compact regarding Muslim representation to be given effect to by Congress Committees .. .. .	100
Lawyers, disabilities upon practising, inadvisable .. .. .	212, 222
Lawyers' fund .. .. .	194
Levees, Government, see Durbars .. .. .	
Loans, repudiation of, .. .. .	233
Local Boards to be entered .. .. .	221
Lohara .. .. .	81
Lokamanya B. G. Tilak, see Tilak .. .. .	
Lokamanya memorial, see Tilak memorial .. .. .	
<b>M</b> ac-Swiney, homage to, .. .. .	33
Madras elections to A. I. C. C. in 1921 .. .. .	106, 108
Madras P. C. C., grant to, .. .. .	136
Maharashtra P. C. C., grant to, .. .. .	136
Maharashtra representation in A. I. C. C. .. .. .	142
Malabar, Commission of enquiry for, .. .. .	129, 186, 203, 209
Malabar rebellion, Commission of enquiry into, .. .. .	76
Malabar relief, grants for, .. .. .	132, 133, 134, 169, 188
Malaviya Conference at Bombay .. .. .	168, 169
Malaviya, Pt. Madan Mohan, .. .. .	176
Malegaon excesses, condemnation of, .. .. .	67
Mahratta states .. .. .	81, 248, 292
Martial Law Enquiry Fund Punjab .. .. .	170
Masulipatam D. C. C., grant to, .. .. .	130
Mazumdar, Syt. A. C. .. .. .	160
Mazumdar, Syt. Ambika Charan, death of .. .. .	231
Meetings, prohibition of, .. .. .	150, 151
Membership, Congress, year of, .. .. .	174

INDEX

347

PAGE.

Membership of primary Congress bodies .. .. .	96, 109
Mesopotamia, recruiting for, .. .. .	8, 20
Military service under Government .. .. .	181
Mill hands of Madras, help to dismissed, .. .. .	139
Mill owners, appeal to, .. .. .	65
Mohammad Ali, Maulana, welcomed back .. .. .	305
Moplah riots .. .. .	119
Moplah riots not due to non-cooperation or Khilafat .. .. .	154
Moplahs, forcible conversions by, .. .. .	119, 155, 204
Moplah train tragedy, .. .. .	155
Motilal Ghose, Babu, death of, .. .. .	219, 231
Multan, grant for relief at, .. .. .	252
Multan, Hindu Muslim tension at, .. .. .	215, 225, 252
Municipalities to be entered .. .. .	221
Muthia, Chutki and Khaliyani, division of, between Congress and Khilafat Committees, .. .. .	132
Muzaffarnagar, affiliation of, with Delhi P. C. C. .. .. .	92
Mysore .. .. .	81
<b>N</b> abha abdication .. .. .	300
Nadiad National Education Board, grant to, .. .. .	192
Nagpur Asahyog Ashram, grant to, .. .. .	131
Nagpur Flag Satyagraha, see Flag .. .. .	
Nagpur Reception Committee and delegation quota .. .. .	110, 116, 216, 289
Nagpur Session report .. .. .	170
Nagpur Tilak Vidyalaya, grant to, .. .. .	131
Naidu, Mrs. Sarojini, to visit Kenya .. .. .	320
Namdhari Sikhs, representation for, .. .. .	215
Nankana massacre, horror at, .. .. .	62
Natal, delegates from, for Congress .. .. .	166
Natal Indian Congress Committee .. .. .	236
Natrajan, Mr. K., .. .. .	176
National Education Committee .. .. .	197
National Flag Satyagraha, see Flag .. .. .	
Nationalist Journals Ltd., loan to, .. .. .	195
Nationalising educational institutions .. .. .	29
National Medical College, Calcutta, grant to, .. .. .	270
National Pact, see pact .. .. .	
National Schools, see schools .. .. .	
National Service, Indian, .. .. .	30, 83, 318
National Service, Indian, qualifications for .. .. .	87
National Week, April 6th to 13th .. .. .	187
National Week, March 10th to 18th .. .. .	253
"Navayuga", grant to, .. .. .	262
Nehru, Pt. Jawaharlal, to help Akalis .. .. .	311
Nehru, Pt. Motilal, welcomed on return from jail .. .. .	162
Newspapers persisting in creating communal trouble to be boycotted .. .. .	302
Nizam's territories .. .. .	81
Non-cooperation, instructions to carry out .. .. .	11, 13, 16
Non-cooperation resolutions .. .. .	6, 27, 149, 299, 321
Non-violence .. .. .	31

<b>O</b> bject of Congress .. .. .	27
Ohdedar, Dr. M. N., .. .. .	3
Organisation of Congress Committees .. .. .	29
Ottama, Syt. U., .. .. .	62
<b>P</b> act, National, .. .. .	239, 244, 275, 278, 289, 301, 317
Pallipadu Ashram, grant to, .. .. .	134
Panchayats, see arbitration courts .. .. .	212, 222
Pataudi .. .. .	81
Patel, Syt. Vithalbhai, appreciation of services during flag Satyagraha .. .. .	295
Patel, Syt. Vithalbhai, accounts of, .. .. .	91, 98
Personal assistant to President sanctioned .. .. .	280
Picketing .. .. .	160, 178
Picketing of Government schools stopped .. .. .	181
Police, appeal to, .. .. .	69
Pledge for volunteers, see Volunteers .. .. .	
Pratap Narain Bajpai, Syt., death of, .. .. .	317
Press Advisory Committees .. .. .	302, 312
Press, manifesto to, .. .. .	302, 313
Press representatives at A. I. C. C. meetings .. .. .	162, 211, 219
Prince of Wales, no welcome to, .. .. .	63, 123
Prisoners to be released before Round Table Conference .. .. .	168
Private defence, right of, .. .. .	235
Prohibition .. .. .	154
Provincial Congress Committee accounts .. .. .	103
Provincial Congress Committees' defiance of A. I. C. C. .. .. .	246, 282
P. C. C.s' financial year .. .. .	173
P. C. C. to send quarterly statements of accounts .. .. .	173
Provincial quotas to A. I. C. C. .. .. .	84, 161, 184
Provincial quotas to A. I. C. C. to be reduced to 50 p. c. .. .. .	205
Provincial rules laying down disqualifications for election .. .. .	212, 222
Publicity Bureau .. .. .	262
Pudukottah .. .. .	81
Punitive Police Tax Committee .. .. .	207
Punjab atrocities and British Cabinet .. .. .	6
Punjab Enquiry Sub-Committee .. .. .	vi, 4
Punjab, Hindi districts of, .. .. .	92
Punjab, leaders to visit, .. .. .	262
Punjab P. C. C., grant for famine relief .. .. .	106, 134
Punjab Relief Fund accounts .. .. .	103, 275
Punjab Relief Fund to be transferred to A. I. C. C. .. .. .	170
Punjab Sub-Committee accounts .. .. .	71
Punjab wrongs .. .. .	6, 27
<b>R</b> aghmal, Seth, donation of, .. .. .	255
Rajagopalachariar, Mr. C., authorised to negotiate with Mr. Das etc. .. .. .	268
Rajamundri Depressed Classes Mission .. .. .	136
Rajputana .. .. .	81
Rajshahi Jail, escape of convicts from, .. .. .	93

# INDEX

349

	PAGE.
Rambhuj Datt Choudhry, Pandit, death of, ..	299
Reception Committees, accounts of, ..	28
Recruiting for Mesopotamia ..	8, 26
Reform Scheme, draft rules and regulations ..	x
Registration of documents allowed ..	291
Rents, see taxes ..	
Reports, fortnightly, of work to be issued ..	143
Repression by Government ..	37, 61, 149, 163, 204, 208
Repression in Burma ..	62
Repudiation of Government loans ..	233
Requisition meeting of A. I. C. C. ..	247
Reverse councils ..	33
Revision of constitution, see constitution ..	
Rohtak, Anglo Vernacular School, grant to, ..	188
Round Table Conference at Bombay ..	168
<b>S</b> acrifice, Call for, ..	29
Saharanpur, affiliation of, with Delhi P. C. C. ..	92
Sandur ..	81
Satyabadi Vidyalaya, grant to, ..	273, 288
Satyagrah Committee ..	300, 309, 321
Satyagrah, Nagpur Flag, see Flag ..	
Sarwarkar, Syt. Vinayak Damodar, continued in incarceration of, ..	317
Schools, active propaganda calling upon boys to leave Govt. schools to be suspended ..	222
Schools boycott to be maintained ..	235
Schools and Colleges, withdrawal of children from Govt., ..	8, 17, 28, 221
Schools, National, ..	8, 17, 18
Secretaries, General, ..	53
Security demanded from Non-Co-operators ..	99
"Servant," grant to, ..	270
Service, Indian National, See National ..	30
Shuddhi and anti Shuddhi enquiry ..	306, 309
Sindh P. C. C., grant to, ..	136
Sindh P. C. C., loan to, ..	206
Single transferable vote, method of, ..	115
Sikh colour in national flag ..	292
Sikhs, Namdhari, representation from, ..	215
Sikhs—protection of their interests ..	51, 103
Social boycott forbidden ..	181
Social Conference, Indian National, grant to, ..	259
Social Service Dept. ..	181
Soldiers and the people ..	30
Sopariwala, Syt., appointed auditor ..	103
Special Constables, Non-Co-operators to refuse to act as, ..	118
Special Session of Congress ..	245, 247, 262, 271, 282, 285, 287
Spoor, Mr. Ben, welcome to, ..	22
States, Indian, ..	81, 139, 251
States, Responsible Government in Indian, ..	36
Student movement ..	86
Sufferers, sympathy with and congratulations to, ..	36, 62, 67, 74, 153, 236

	PAGE.
Swadeshi .. .. .	9, 20, 74
Swaraj Fund .. .. .	21
Swarajya .. .. .	7, 27
Swarajya Fund, All India Tilak Memorial, .. .. .	30, 76, 77, 83, 84, 97, 182
Swarajya Fund, A. I. T. M., division of, .. .. .	84, 98, 162, 184
Swarajya Fund, A. I. T. M., half to be kept reserved .. .. .	250, 259, 309
Swawalamban Rashtriya Vidyalaya, grant to, .. .. .	273
<b>T</b> amil Nad, loan of one lakh for khaddar .. .. .	272
Tamil Nad, loans to, .. .. .	90, 267
Taxes to be paid to Government, .. .. .	177
Taxes to be paid to zamindars .. .. .	176, 178
Taxes, refusal to pay, .. .. .	28, 90
Temperence work, grant for, .. .. .	259
Terms of peace with Govt. to be settled by A. I. C. C. .. .. .	153
Thana District Board .. .. .	66
Thana District Congress Committee, grant to, .. .. .	131
Thread used in sewing need not be handspun .. .. .	171
Tilak, Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar .. .. .	3
Tilak, Lokamanya, Memorial Sub-Committee .. .. .	21
Tilak Memorial Fund .. .. .	12
Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund, All India, see Swarajya Fund .. .. .	30
Titles, boycott of, .. .. .	7, 16
Trade Unions, sympathy with, .. .. .	34
Train tragedy, Moplah, .. .. .	155
Travancore .. .. .	81
Treasurers .. .. .	58, 70
Treaties between Imperial Govt. and neighbouring states .. .. .	124
Trustees, Bombay, grant of three lakhs to Gujrat, .. .. .	216, 224, 261
Trustees, Bombay T. S. Fund, to transfer money to Seth- Jammalal Bajaj .. .. .	201, 210, 261
Turkish Government, propriety of Indians fighting .. .. .	101
Turkish Peace Treaty .. .. .	12
Turkish situation—authority to Working Committee .. .. .	238
Turks, congratulations to, .. .. .	155, 166, 218, 232, 305
<b>U</b> nani system of medicine .. .. .	36
U. P. P. C. C., amount reserved for, .. .. .	131, 136
U. P. P. C. C., contribution to A. I. C. C. .. .. .	202, 276
U. P. P. C. C., grants to, .. .. .	134, 136, 167, 195
U. P. P. C. C., grant to be treated as loan, .. .. .	267
U. P. P. C. C., loans to, .. .. .	202
U. P. P. C. C., permitted to advance Loan to Nationalist Journals Ltd. .. .. .	97, 266
Journals Ltd. .. .. .	195
Unity, inter-communal, .. .. .	31
Untouchability .. .. .	32, 154, 162, 244
Untouchables and depressed classes, request to Hindu Mahasabha .. .. .	259
Mahasabha .. .. .	278
Untouchables, Committee to better conditions of, .. .. .	205
Utkal, loan for khaddar work to, .. .. .	214
Utkal P. C. C., grants to, .. .. .	105, 130, 187, 288

## INDEX

351

PAGE.

<b>V</b> iceroy, Mr. Gandhi's interview with	97
Volunteer Corps	21, 93, 114
Volunteer Corps, all to be amalgamated	140
Volunteer organisation, All India,	318
Volunteer organisations, instructions for	140
Volunteer organisations, selected volunteers in	138
Volunteer pledge and Jamait-ul-ulema	183
Volunteer processions stopped	178
Volunteer, revision of lists of	179
Volunteering, concentrating on	149, 152
Volunteers, bravery of, in Bombay	138
Volunteers' conference, grant for	310
Volunteers, different classes of	174, 175
Volunteers, disbandment of	150, 168
Volunteers, lists of	144
Volunteers' names to be published	145
Volunteers of C. P., congratulation on defence of Flag	273
Volunteer's pledge	141, 143, 150
Volunteer's pledge, meaning of "use" of khaddar	171
<b>W</b>	
ales, no welcome to Prince of	63, 123
Wedgewood, Colonel, welcome to	22
Working Committee	58, 70, 76, 79, 238, 242, 247
Working Committee members to supervise provincial work	85
Working Committee, resignation of	241, 242, 246, 275
Working Committee, travelling expenses of members	280
Working Committee quorum	82
Working Committee, vacancies in	71, 160, 161
Working Committee's powers	69
<b>Z</b>	
amindars, assurance to	178
Zamindars, rents and taxes to be paid to	176, 178